THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

Building of *ROME*

TO THE

Ruin of the COMMONWEALTH.

By N. HOOKE, Esq;

VOL. V.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

DUBLIN:

Printed for WILLIAM WATSON, at the *Poets Heads* in *Caple-Street*. MDCCLXVII.


BRITISH MUSEUM
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THE ROMAN HISTORY,

SEVENTH BOOK.

From the death of the younger GRACCHUS, in the year of *Rome* 632, when *real Liberty expiring*, the *Form* only of the old Conſtitution remained, to the Dictatorſhip of SYLLA, in 671, who changed the very *Form* of that Conſtitution.

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THE ROMAN HISTORY.

SEVENTH BOOK.

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INTRODUCTION.

WHEN, in the year of *Rome* 386, the conteſt between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, on occaſion of the new laws preferred by the Tribune *Licinius*, was come to ſuch a degree of heat, as to threaten a ſudden flame of civil war; the great CAMILLUS, being then Dictator, turned himſelf towards the Capitol, and, having prayed the Gods to put an end to the commotion, made a vow to build a temple to CONCORD, if union might be reſtored among his fellow-citizens. To his devotion he added his beſt endeavours to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity, not by a bloody exerciſe of his dictatorial power, but by exhorting the furious diſputants to mutual conceſſions. His perſuaſions proved effectual: the *Patricians* ſuffered the new laws in favour of the *Plebeians* to take place: the *Plebeians* conſented to the creation of a new magiſtracy [the Prætorſhip] in favour of the *Patricians*; and, by this compromiſe, an end was put to the fierce, and dangerous conflict: and what, though already mentioned, is well worthy to be repeated, The

See Vol. II. B. III. c. 4.

domeſtic peace, thus reſtored, had no conſiderable interruption for the ſpace of 230 years, till thoſe Licinian *laws of freedom and equality*, the obſervance of which had ſo long maintained the happy *coalition*, were outrageouſly violated by the *Nobles*[b]. To put a ſtop to this abuſe, which, if not checked, muſt totally ruin the

[a] In the year 466 there was a *ſeceſſion* of the debtors and bankrupts to mount *Janiculum*; but as Mr. *Moyle* obſerves (Vol. I. p. 116.) "this is omitted by ſeveral hiſtorians in the catalogue of the *Roman* ſeditions;" and "all authors agree that it was compoſed without "bloodſhed by *Hortenſius* the Dictator, and that it ended in the revival "of an excellent but antiquated law." He adds, "From this tumult "to the ſedition of *Gracchus*, in the 620th year of the city, *Rome* enjoyed a profound quiet and proſperity, not interrupted by the leaſt domeſtic diſſenſion: an example of laſting tranquillity that can be paralleled in no monarchy whatſoever. This interim of time was the "moſt happy and moſt glorious period of the Roman Commonwealth, *&c. Ibid.* ch. x.

[b] During the *Regal ſtate*, and for many years after the eſtabliſhment of the *Commonwealth*, none but the *Patricians*, that is, none but the Senators and their deſcendants, were NOBLE. Hence in many places of *Livy*, and other authors, we find *nobilitas* uſed for the *Patrician* order, and ſo oppoſed to *plebs*. But in aftertimes, when the *Plebeians* obtained acceſs to the *Curule* magiſtracies, they (without ceaſing to be *Plebeian*) procured, by thoſe honours, the title of NOBLE, and left it to their poſterity: [Vid. *Sigon. de Jur. Civ. Rom.* lib. ii. cap. xx.] And theſe *Plebeian Nobles* were, generally ſpeaking, united with the *Patrician* in political views and meaſures. *Kenn. Antiq.*

"The common diviſion of the people into *nobiles*, *novi*, *& ignobiles*, "was taken from the right of uſing pictures or ſtatues; an honour only allowed to ſuch whoſe anceſtors or themſelves had bore ſome curule office, that is, had been *Curule Ædile*, *Cenſor*, *Prætor*, or *Conſul*. He that had the pictures or ſtatues of his anceſtors, was termed "*Nobilis*; he that had only his own, *Novus*; he that had neither, *Ignobilis*. So that *jus imaginis* was much the ſame thing among them as "the right of bearing a coat of arms amongſt us: and their *Novus* "*Homo* is equivalent to our upſtart gentleman" *Ibid.* Part II. B. III. ch. I.

What Mr. *Kennet*, in the ſame chapter, writes concerning another diviſion of the *Romans*, the times we are entering upon make very proper to be here tranſcribed

"When we find the *Optimates* and the *Populares* oppoſed in authors, "it would be unreaſonable to make the ſame diſtinction betwixt theſe "parties, as *Sigonius* and others lay down, *That the* POPULARES *were* "*thoſe who endeavoured by their words and actions to ingratiate themſelves with the multitude, and the* OPTIMATES *thoſe who ſo behaved* "*themſelves in all affairs as to make their conduct approved by every good* "*man*

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the free conſtitution of *Rome*, was the enterprize of *Tiberius Gracchus*, for which he was murdered by a band of Ruffian-Senators, headed by *Scipio Naſica*, who had neither magiſtracy, nor even the warrant of a ſpecial commiſſion from the Senate; though the greater part of its members approved the attempt, and aſſiſted him in the execution. But when *Caius Gracchus* was to be taken off, for having renewed his brother's enterprize, the nobles, who remembered the diſadvantages they brought themſelves under, by acts of violence without the ſhow of authority, and who had now a Conſul fit for their purpoſe, and wholly at their devotion, armed him with a deſpotic power to execute the dictates of their rage. And when *Opimius*, by maſſacres and by executions without previous form of proceſs, had cut off the moſt active partiſans of the popular cauſe, he had the piety (in this, without queſtion, an emulator of the devout CAMILLUS) to erect, in memory of his exploit, a temple to CONCORD, as if by the ſoft arts of perſuaſion, and by mutual conceſſions, the civil commotion had been quieted. The people could not behold this monument of tyrannical outrage without in-

See Vol. IV. B. VI. c. 7.

" *man.* This explication agrees much better with the ſound of the " words, than with the ſenſe of the things. For at this rate the *Optimates* and the *Populares* will be only other terms for the *virtuous* and " the *vicious*; and it would be equally hard in ſuch large diviſions of " men, to acknowledge one ſide to have been wholly HONEST, and to " affirm the other to have been entirely *wicked*. I know that this opi- " nion is built on the authority of *Cicero*; [*Duo genera ſemper in hac " civitate fuerunt—ex quibus alteri ſe populares, alteri optimates et haberi " et eſſe voluerunt. Qui ea, quæ faciebant, quæque dicebant, jucunda " multitudini eſſe volebant, populares; qui autem ita ſe gerebant, ut ſua " conſilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates habebantur.* Cic. pro Sext. " 45.] but if we look on him, not only as a prejudiced perſon, but as an " orator too, we ſhall not wonder, that in diſtinguiſhing the two parties " he gave ſo infamous a mark to the enemies ſide, and ſo honourable a " one to his own. Otherwiſe the murderers of *Cæſar* (who were the " *Optimates*) muſt paſs for men of the higheſt probity; and the follow- " ers of *Auguſtus* (who were of the oppoſite faction) muſt ſeem in gene- " ral a pack of profligate knaves. It would therefore be a much more " moderate judgment, to found the difference rather on *Policy* than " on *Morality*, rather on the principles of government, than of Religion " and private Duty."

Plut. dignation. Under the inſcription, on the frontiſpiece of the temple, was fixed up in the night, by an unknown hand, a line to this effect,

SENSELESS FURY BUILDS A TEMPLE TO CONCORD[c].

And, indeed, what could be more extravagant than to hope, that domeſtic peace and union would be the effect of ſuch meaſures; or that any meaſures could be effectual to thoſe ends, ſo long as the ſource of the diſunion remained?

Dr. *Midd.* Pref. to L. of *Cic.* p. 37. A late celebrated writer conſiders the government of *Rome* as *then* "brought to its *perfect* ſtate, when its "honours were no longer confined to particular families "[the *Patrician*] but propoſed equally and indifferently "to every citizen; who by his virtue and ſervices, "either in war or in peace, could recommend himſelf "to the notice and favour of his countrymen;" and therefore he commends the *Tribunes of the Commons* (as I have elſewhere obſerved) for their labouring this point, and ſays, "they were certainly in the right, and acted "like true patriots." Nevertheleſs the ſame writer, in the very ſame diſcourſe, preſently adds, "The Tri-"bunes however would not ſtop here; *nor were content* "*with ſecuring the rights of the Commons without de-*"*ſtroying thoſe of the Senate*; and as oft as they were "diſappointed in their private views, and obſtructed "in the courſe of their ambition, uſed to recur always "to the populace; whom they could eaſily inflame to "what degree they thought fit, by the propoſal of *fac-*"*tious* laws for *dividing the public lands to the poorer Citi-*"*zens*; or by *the free diſtribution of corn*; or *the aboli-*"*tion of all debts*; which are all contrary to the quiet, "and diſcipline, and public faith of ſocieties. This "abuſe of the tribunician power was carried to its great-"eſt heighth by the *two Gracchi*, who left nothing unat-"tempted, that could mortify the Senate, or gratify "the People; till by their *Agrarian Laws*, and other "*ſeditious* acts, which were greedily received by the

See Vol. II. 4th. Edit. p. 339. and Obſervations, &c. Vol I. p. 362.

[c] VECORDIÆ. OPUS. ÆDEM. FACIT. CONCORDIÆ.

"city

" city, they had in great meaſure overturned that " *Æquilibrium* of power in the Republic, on which its " peace and proſperity depended."

Surely it muſt appear ſomewhat ſtrange, that this admired author ſhould applaud the *Tribunes*, as *true Patriots*, for effecting that which it was impoſſible for them to effect by any other meaſures than thoſe which he condemns as *factious* and *ſeditious*. Should it be granted, that what he ſays of *dividing the public lands*, *diſtribution of corn*, and *abolition of debts*, is, in the general, true, yet certainly it is not true with regard to the particular caſe of the *Roman* Republic. In vain would *Licinius* (in 386) have obtained the law which capacitated PLEBEIANS for the higheſt offices in the ſtate, had the *Patricians* been ſtill permitted to engroſs to themſelves the *lands* and poſſeſſions belonging to it[a]. Nor, to make that *law* effectual, and thereby eſtabliſh an *Æquilibrium* of power in the Republic, would his *Agrarian Law* have

See Vol. II. p. 330. 3d Edit.

[a] Dr. *Middleton*, in judging of theſe matters, ſeems to have paid too blind a deference to the authority of *Cicero*. The ingenious tranſlator of ſome of *Cicero*'s orations into *Engliſh*, not dazzled by the ſplendor of his author's amazing talents, writes thus, in the preface to his third volume, p. 7. " I am ſorry to ſay it, but it appears that our author, " though an excellent *Senator*, was but an indifferent *Patriot*; and, " though always an advocate for the *Government*, he ſeems often to have " loſt ſight of the *Conſtitution*. ———

" As our author, from his firſt entering upon public life, was a " party in all the tranſactions of his own times, it is unjuſt to form a " deciſive notion of public meaſures, perſons, or characters, from his " writings. ———If I find that the people of *Rome*, from the confeſſion " of our author, from the concurring teſtimonies of all writers, and " from the nature of their conſtitution, had not only a *natural* but a " *poſitive* right to the benefit of *Agrarian Laws*, I am warranted by " hiſtorical credibility to look upon this as an indiſputable fact. There- " fore when I ſee them ſtruggling for the *enjoyment of thoſe privileges*, " I am bound in common juſtice to think them *in the right*, and thoſe " who oppoſe them *in the wrong*.—When I ſee a juſtifiable meaſure " purſued, and all the reaſon that I know for oppoſing that meaſure, " muſt be gathered from the repreſentations of the other party, with " whom there is *no difference as to facts*, common ſenſe obliges me to be " very cautious, and diſtruſtful in believing the repreſentations of that " party, and look upon them as colourings deſigned to *heighten the beau-* " *ty* of his own *features*, and to give a ſtronger *relief* to the *deformity* of " his antagoniſt."

Ibid. B. III. ch. 4. §. 1. *Ibid.* § 3.

been ſufficient, without the *Abolition of the Debts*; thoſe debts retaining the debtors in a real ſervitude to the *Patrician* creditors, the noble uſurers. (There was experience of this during many years after the *Plebeians* were, by a law enacted in 308, made capable of the military Tribuneſhip.) Whatever portion, in the diſtribution of the public lands, might have fallen to any poor indebted commoner, his creditor would ſoon have got it from him in payment either of the principal ſum, or of exorbitant intereſt. And ſo long as the nobles were poſſeſſors of all the lands, ſo long they could not but be abſolute Lords of the State. "Land (ſays a very "ingenious writer) is the true center of power; and "the balance of dominion changes with the balance of "property.—This is an eternal truth, and confirmed "by the experience of all ages and governments; and "ſo fully demonſtrated by the great *Harrington*, in his "OCEANA, that it is as difficult to find out new argu-"ments for it, as to reſiſt the cogency of the old." The nobles of *Rome*, in the time of *Tiberius Gracchus*, ſeem to have been fully convinced of this; when, even upon the terms of receiving, in money, the value of the lands they had uſurped, they could not with any patience liſten to the propoſal of transferring them to the poor *Plebeians*.

See *Obſerv.* p. 66.

See *Moyle's* Works, Vol. I. p. 72.

See *Rom. Hiſt.* Vol. IV. B. VI. c. 7.

The *Æquilibrium*, of which the admired writer ſpeaks, had been deſtroyed ſome years before either of the *Gracchi* was in the office of Tribune: their attempt was to re-eſtabliſh equality and liberty. And as to the charge againſt them, that they *were not content with ſecuring the rights of the Commons, without deſtroying thoſe of the Senate*, it may be anſwered, that the proper authority of the Senate, that is, their influence in the direction of thoſe affairs, which concerned the *whole* State, was not the thing in queſtion, in the times of the *Gracchi*: nor does it appear that they had any view or deſire to deſtroy it. *Caius* enlarged the prerogative of the Senate in one inſtance; and, while times continued *regular*, that is, while things ſtood upon a foot of equality, the Senate's authority, its influence, its weight in the

Ibid. c. 10.

the councils, and tranſactions of the State, was never diminiſhed. The people did always ſuffer themſelves to be governed by the ſentiments of the Conſcript Fathers, when thoſe ſentiments did not tend to the deſtruction of equality: but the Fathers, intoxicated and blinded by their covetouſneſs and ambition, neither would nor could ſee their own intereſt, as a Senate, in the reformations propoſed by the *Gracchi*; they choſe rather to have power than authority, rather to be feared than reverenced. And therefore it would ſeem that all the miſchiefs which, after the murder of thoſe two excellent patriots, happened to the Republic, from civil diſſenſions, ought to be principally imputed to the Senate's inexcuſable folly of returning to its old purſuit of unconſtitutional wealth and ſway. See *Obſerv.* p. 201.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that, when *Rome* had attained to that prodigious height of power and opulence, to which ſhe was raiſed by the conqueſt of *Macedon* and *Carthage*, the SCHEME of *confining the eſtates of the great men within the limits preſcribed by the* Licinian Law, *or within any fixed limits, and of hindering the Roman Freemen of inferior rank from alienating their Lands*, was impracticable; the proper anſwer ſeems to be, That, if ſo, then it was impracticable to preſerve the conſtitution any longer: For nothing can be more abſurd than to imagine *Liberty* and *Equality*, an *Æquilibrium* of power, to endure in a State, where the majority of thoſe, who make the laws, and determine the moſt important affairs of the Public, have no Land[a], no ſtable Property; and who, for a ſubſiſtence, depend chiefly on what they can get by

 ſelling

[a] The ingenious writer, above quoted, imagines, (perhaps without ſufficient ground) that *Polybius* was unacquainted with the true cauſes of the Revolutions of the Roman Government. I ſhall tranſcribe, from the writer's Eſſay, ſome paſſages that are introductory to his charge againſt the *Greek* Hiſtorian, and are pertinent to our preſent ſubject.

" *Romulus*,———to reward the good affections of his new ſubjects, *Moyle's*
" made an equal diſtribution among the People, of the territories belong- Works,
" ing to *Rome*, except of the Crown and Church Lands: and as he Vol. I.
" grew greater, divided all the Conquered Lands among the multitude, p. 62.
" (a cuſtom followed by moſt of the ſucceeding Kings.) This done [*Varr. de*
" tion was a falſe ſtep, never to be reconciled to the true intereſt of *Re Ruſt.*
" ſovereign power, from that eternal principle, that *equality of poſſeſ-* l. i. c.
ſion 10.]

ſelling their votes to the rich and the ambitious. And from theſe premiſſes this inference will, I think, be unavoidable, That all the ſevere cenſures, which have been paſt upon thoſe perſons, who, after the murder of the GRACCHI, aimed at *Oligarchy* or *Monarchy*, all the invectives againſt JULIUS CÆSAR, *as the Invader and Deſtroyer of the liberties of his country*, are idle talk, empty, unmeaning declamation.

CHAP. I.

A brief relation of the domeſtic and foreign Tranſactions of the *Romans*, from the death of *Caius Gracchus*, in the year 632, to the beginning of the *Jugurthine war* in 642.

The Conſuls for the year 633 were *P. Manilius* and *C. Papirius Carbo*.

Y. of R. 633. Bef. Chr. 119. 333d Conſulſhip.

THAT *Papirius Carbo*, whom we have ſeen a Commiſſioner for the execution of the *Agrarian Law*, and, profeſſedly, a faſt friend of *Caius Gracchus*, ſhould be immediate ſucceſſor, in the Conſulſhip, to *Opimus*,

"*ſion makes equality of power*: " and whenever the balance of property "ſways to the People, the Monarchy naturally reſolves into a popular "government.———

P. 63, 64. ——" The generous ambition of extending their Empire, made the " Kings of *Rome* ſacrifice the rights of the Monarchy to the liberties of " the People; for without Freedom and Property they found it impoſ- " ſible to compoſe a brave or a numerous *militia*; both which are the " genuine roots of a Commonwealth: for a People that have property " in poſſeſſion, and ſwords in their hands, rarely ſubmit to the dominion " of one.

——P. 71. " The [Roman] Monarchy reſolved into an Ariſtocra- " cy; and that into a Democracy; and that too relapſed into a Mo- " narchy, as the balance of lands varied from one order to another.

" Theſe periods and revolutions of Empires are the natural tranſmig- " rations of dominion, from one form of government to another; and " make the common circle in the generation and corruption of all " States. The ſucceſſion of theſe changes POLYBIUS knew from ex-

perinece

Opimus, the principal actor in the murder of *Gracchus*, will appear very ſtrange, if we do not call to mind, that it was cuſtomary to *elect* the Conſuls many months before the time appointed for their entrance on the office. *Carbo* had unqueſtionably been *deſigned* to the Conſulſhip, while *Gracchus*'s friends were the prevailing party: otherwiſe, it would be very hard to account for his being, at this time, in that high ſtation[a]. For, that the late maſſacres, perpetrated by the Nobles, had ſtruck an extreme terror into the minds of their adverſaries, there needs no ſtronger proof than the part which *Carbo* acted, preſently after his taking poſſeſſion of the conſular faſces. When *Opimius* was, by one of the Tribunes, brought into judgment before the people, for having put *Roman* citizens to death without previous trial and condemnation, *Carbo* undertook his defence. Indeed the commencing this proſecution, while the accuſed and his faction were [b] triumphant, ſeems to indicate

"perience, but not from their true natural cauſes: for he plainly de-
"rives theſe alterations from moral reaſons; ſuch as vices and corrup-
"tions. the oppreſſion and tyranny of their Governors, which made
"the People impatient of the yoke, and fond of new forms; and not
"from the change of the only true ground and foundation of power,
"Property."

The Reader, if he conſiders thoſe extracts, from *Polybius*'s 6th book, which are in p. 118—123 of the *Obſervations &c.* will, perhaps, judge, that he imputes the deſtruction of Liberty, and of the Æquilibrium of Power, in the Roman State, to covetouſneſs and ambition, no otherwiſe than as the unequal and undue diſtribution of property among the members of it, in the latter times of the Republic, was owing to the prevalency of thoſe vices.

[a] Though the time of the Comitia for other matters was undetermined; yet the Magiſtrates, after the year of the City 601, when they began to enter on their place on the kalends of *January*, were conſtantly *deſigned* about the end of *July*, or the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Kenn.* Pt. II. B. III. ch. xvi.

[b] *Popillius*, formerly condemned to baniſhment for the like violent and illegal proceedings againſt the friends of *Tiberius Gracchus*, had juſt been recalled at the motion of *L. Calpurnius Beſtia*, one of the Tribunes. *Cic.* in *Brut.* 34.

Cicero boaſts much of this, That, not at the motion of *Opimius*, nor by a decree of the Senate, but at the requeſt of a Tribune, *Popillius* was reſtored, HIS ENEMIES BEING SLAIN. *Nunquam de* P. Popillio L. Opimius *fortiſſimus conſul—ſenatum aut populum eſt cohortatus.* Poſt Red. ad Quir. 4.

Nihil

cate that it was a mere farce, where the *Tribunes* acted in concert with the *Nobles*, who knew before-hand what *Carbo*, in his fright, would do, and were ſure of a judgment in favour of *Opimius*. Be that as it will, *Carbo* employed all his eloquence (and he was a great orator) to defend the murderer of his friend *Caius Gracchus*. Nor did he content himſelf with urging, in behalf of his client, the decree of the Senate under which he had acted; but maintained that the action itſelf was juſt, and that the killing *Gracchus* was for the public good[a]. His rhetorick being aſſiſted by the influence of his conſular authority, and by the whole weight of the Senate, who were made parties in the cauſe, it is no great wonder if, at this juncture, *Opimius* was acquitted. The Comitia, likewiſe, at the motion of *Octavius*, one of the Tribunes, abrogated the law of *Caius Gracchus* in relation to the diſtribution of corn, and paſt another where the largeſs was leſs; and, according to *Cicero*, neceſſary for the people.

Liv. Ep. c. 61. Cic. in Brut. cap. 62. Cic. pro. Sex. 48. Cic. Off. l. ii. c. 21.

But *Carbo*, who had thus baſely deſerted one party, was himſelf in the following Conſulſhip of *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, deſerted by both parties, and ſuffered to fall a victim to the early glory of the celebrated LUCIUS CRASSUS, an orator, at that time but one and twenty years of age: who picked out this hated offender, as a proper ſubject whereon to make the firſt trial of his talent for accuſing at the bar[b]. *Craſſus*, being

Y. of R. 634. Bef Chr. 118. Cic. de. Orat. l. iii. c. 20.

Nihil unquam ſenatus de P. Popillio *decrevit: nunquam in hoc ordine Q. Metelli mentio facta eſt: Tribunitiis ſunt illi rogationibus,* INTERFECTIS INIMICIS, *reſtituti.* Poſt Red. in Sen. 15.

And again, *Illis qui expulſi ſunt inique, ſed tamen legibus reducti,* INIMICIS INTERFECTIS, *rogationibus tribunitiis, inimicorum injuria probro non fuit. Pro Dom.* 33.

[a] *Cum* L. Opimii *cauſam defendebat apud populum*—C. Carbo *conſul, nihil de* C. Gracchi *nece negabat, ſed id jure pro ſalute patriæ, factum eſſe dicebat.* Cic. de Orat l. ii. c. 25.

[b] *Val. Max.* l. vi. cap. v. reports, that one of *Carbo*'s ſlaves, having ſtolen from him a little box, in which were many papers that would have ſerved to convict him, brought it to *Craſſus*, who generouſly ſent back the ſlave in chains to his maſter, together with the box unopened; and the ſame author, l. iii. c. vii. ſays, that *Carbo* was condemned to baniſhment,

being naturally baſhful, and having to do with a man of eminent abilities, no ſooner began to ſpeak, but his heart failed him, he turned pale, trembled, and was unable to proceed. The Prætor, *Fabius Eburnus*, who preſided in the court, perceiving his diſtreſs, adjourned the trial to the next day. Cic. de Orat. l. i. cap. 26.

The matter of the charge is no where mentioned, but from paſſages which *Cicero* has preſerved of *Craſſus*'s oration, it appears, that the proſecution was ſet on foot by *Carbo*'s new friends. "*Carbo*, (ſays *Craſſus*,) "though you *defended Opimius*, the judges will not "therefore look upon you as a good citizen; for that "you then diſſembled, and in your *defence of Opimius* "had ſomething elſe in view, is manifeſt: becauſe you "have often in public aſſemblies deplored the death of "*Tiberius Gracchus*; were an accomplice in the murder "of *Publius Scipio*; in your Tribuneſhip propoſed *that* "law [the law[a] empowering the People to re-elect as "often as they pleaſed the ſame men to be their Tri-"bunes] and always diſſented from the *honeſt*." Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. 40.

Cicero tells us[b], that *Carbo*'s coming over to the *honeſt* not being ſufficient to engage the *honeſt* to protect him, he, to avoid an ignominious ſentence[c], put an end to his own life, and (as the report went) by poiſoning himſelf[d] with Cantharides.

baniſhment, but in this diſagrees with *Cicero*; and though the former ſtory has in itſelf nothing improbable, yet as *Cicero* never mentions it in any of his panegyrics on *Craſſus*, the truth of it may very well be doubted.

[a] The law did not paſs in the Tribuneſhip of *Carbo*. See Vol. II. p. 542.

[b] De Leg. l. iii. c. xvi. Cui ne reditus quidem ab bonos ſalutem a bonis potuit afferre.

[c] *Cic.* in *Brut.* cap. xxvii. ſpeaking of *T. Gracchus* and *Carbo*: *ſed eorum alter propter turbulentiſſimum tribunatum ab ipſâ Republicâ interfectus eſt; alter propter perpetuam in populari ratione levitatem morte voluntaria ſe a ſeveritate judicum vindicavit.*

N. B. By this it would ſeem that *Carbo* was proſecuted for the part he had acted in the diſpute, before his Conſulſhip; and ſo *Pighius* conjectures that the inquiſition was continued concerning the ſedition, and the accuſed tried by the Prætors.

[d] *Cic. Ep. Fam.* l. ix. ep. 21. *Caius* [Papirius Carbo] *accuſante L. Craſſo, Cantharidas ſumſiſſe dicitur.*

It

It was in this Conſulſhip that the renowned CAIUS MARIUS firſt became a Stateſman, being now one of the [c] Tribunes of the People; a Hero who had no Statues nor Pictures of his Anceſtors to ſhew, had no eloquence, no *Greek*; but whom, nevertheleſs, we ſhall hereafter ſee a match for the learned, and illuſtrious NOBLES, in their own way of carrying on buſineſs; of talents not inferior to theirs for terminating civil diſputes and promoting CONCORD. At the time of his election to the Tribuneſhip, he was known only for a brave ſoldier, and ſkilful officer, of ſingular aſſiduity and alacrity in ſervice, unblemiſhed life, ſtrict probity, exemplary ſobriety, and a peculiar patience of hardſhips and diſcipline. By theſe qualities, eſpecially the laſt, he had, during the *Numantine* war, recommended himſelf to the eſteem and favour of *Scipio Æmilianus*, whoſe only difficulty in that war was to baniſh luxury from his camp, and reſtore the ancient diſcipline among his troops. *Scipio*, from his obſervation of the martial talents of *Marius*, who was then but twenty-three years of age, gave a kind of prophetic teſtimony of his future glory: for, being aſked in flattery, by ſome of his officers, *where, in caſe of any accident to himſelf, the Republic would find a General?* he, gently clapping *Marius* on the ſhoulder, anſwered, *Perhaps, here:* words, which, as *Plutarch* reports, were heard by *Marius* as oracular, and which animated him with the hope of being one day able to make a figure in his country. Yet he laboured under great diſadvantages with regard to this ambition, by reaſon of his obſcure birth, and illiberal education. Born at *Arpinum* *, or in a village near it, he had there paſſed all his early youth with his Parents, who were poor, and earned their bread by the labour of their hands: As ſoon † as

Plut. in Mar.

* A City anciently of the Samnites, now in the Kingdom of Naples.

† Salluſt.

[c] *Pighius* conjectures he was Quæſtor in 629, and his Province *Sicily*; though it does not evidently appear that he was ever Quæſtor, ſince nothing certain can be built upon this paſſage of *Valerius Maximus*, which is the only foundation of his ſuppoſed Quæſtorſhip: *Arpini honoribus judicatus inferior, quæſturam Romæ petere auſus eſt: patientiâ deinde repulſarum, irrupit magis in curiam quam venit.* Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. ix.

he

he was able to bear arms, he had entered himſelf a ſoldier [a], and, from that time, had lived, almoſt wholly, in Camps and the Toils of War; and (to uſe the Phraſe which *Plutarch* has borrowed from *Plato*) had never ſacrificed to the *Muſes* or the *Graces*: However, in the military Road to Honour, he took ſuch effectual Care to diſtinguiſh himſelf, that when [after ſerving the term, by Law required, for a Qualification] he put in for the Poſt of *Tribune in a Legion*, he had the Vote of every Tribe: For though few of the Citizens knew his Face, none of them were Strangers to his Name and Character.

That Intrepidity, Reſolution, Steadineſs, would be the Stile of his behaviour in *Civil* Offices, no leſs than in *Military*, he gave ſufficient ground to expect, preſently after his commencing *Tribune of the Commons*, which (as above mentioned) was in this Year, 634. Having propoſed to the People a law more effectually to prevent candidates for offices from tampering with the voters, the Senate (who did not like the meaſure) made a decree that the law in queſtion ſhould not be put to the vote, and they ſent for *Marius* to give an account of his conduct in this matter. *Marius* appear-

[a] Is natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, *Ubi primùm ætas militiæ patiens fuit, Stipendiis faciundis*, non Græca facundia *neque urbanis munditiis, ſeſe exercuit*; ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primùm tribunatum militarem, &c.

Plutarch reports, that *Marius* made his firſt Campaign under Scipio Æmilianus, at the ſiege of Numantia, and was then about 18 years old. But neither of theſe can be true, if, as Plutarch himſelf repeatedly tells us, *Marius* died at the age of 70. For it is certain that the Death of Marius happened in the year of Rome, 667; conſequently he was born in 597, and was twenty-three, in the year 620, when Scipio beſieged Numantia. And as 17 was the age when the *Romans* were reckoned capable of bearing arms, and, according to both Salluſt and Plutarch, Marius became a ſoldier about that age, we muſt ſuppoſe that he had ſerved five or ſix years before he came under *Scipio*'s command, who had no military employment from the year 606 to 619. It is alſo reaſonable to think, that *Marius*, when *Scipio* made him the compliment above mentioned (in the Text) was an officer, and had more experience in war than is to be got by ſerving one year, or a year and a half. Dr. Middleton, nevertheleſs, in Vol. I. p. 24. of his Life of *Cicero*, has adopted Plutarch's miſtake.

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ed indeed, but not as to anſwer for his conduct. Without any ceremony he let the Conſul know that he would ſend him to priſon, if the decree were not inſtantly revoked. *Cotta* turning to *Metellus*, aſked his opinion, who ſignifying his approbation of the decree, *Marius* called in one of his ſerjeants, and bade him lead *Metellus* to priſon. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes; but not one of them interpoſed, and the Senate were obliged to revoke their decree. Then *Marius* haſtened to the Comitia, and got his law paſt.

This action of their new Tribune made the people imagine they had found a Champion who would fight all their battles againſt the Senate, with the like inflexible Reſolution: He very ſoon undeceived them: for with a ſteadineſs equal to that, with which he had oppoſed the Senate's decree, he oppoſed a motion of one of his Collegues, for a free diſtribution of corn to the citizens, and defeated the deſign: ſo that now, ſays *Plutarch*, he gained the eſteem of both parties, being looked upon as a man who would gratify neither at the expence of what he thought the public good. He ſeems however to have loſt a great part of his credit, when, not long after, ſtanding ſucceſſively for the Curule Ædileſhip, and the Plebeian, both in one and the ſame day, (the firſt inſtance of the kind) he could carry neither; and when, three years after his Tribuneſhip, though choſen Prætor, he was the laſt named, and even the validity of his election diſputed, as if procured by illegal methods. It ſeems a ſlave of one *Caſſius Sabaco*, a particular friend of *Marius*, had been ſeen in the voting-place among the citizens, who were giving their ſuffrages. *Sabaco*, upon his examination, could not deny the fact, but pretended, that being extremely thirſty, he had called for ſome water, and that his ſervant, though he had indeed brought it, did not ſtay a moment [a]. Among thoſe, whom the accuſers of

[a] *Sabaco*, for this affair, was the next year, 638, expelled the Senate by the Cenſors *Metellus Dalmaticus*, and *Domitius Ænobarbus*, (two very wrong-headed men, if we judge of them by their behaviour when Generals,

of *Marius* deſired might be examined, was his patron *Caius Herennius*, who pleading that the law exempted patrons from giving teſtimony againſt their clients, the Judges would have admitted the excuſe; but *Marius* himſelf oppoſed it: he ſaid, that from the time any man became a Magiſtrate, he was no body's client: which, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was not true but of thoſe who obtained the *Curule Magiſtracies*. It does not appear what evidence *Herennius* gave, or whether he gave any; nor what foundation there was for the charge; but in the end, the Judges being equally divided in opinion, *Marius* ſtood confirmed in his office. We are not told where his juriſdiction was. The next year he went *Proprætor* into further *Spain*, where he had ſome ſucceſs againſt the *Luſitanians*, and ſettled a Colony of *Celtiberians* at *Colenda*, in reward for their having aſſiſted him in his expedition. From this time we hear no more of him, as acting any part in public life, till the *Jugurthine* war, a memorable period of the *Roman* ſtory, on account both of the ſurprizing events of the war itſelf, and of the civil commotions it gave birth to at *Rome*. But before we enter on the war with *Jugurtha*, it will be proper to ſee what had been doing in the military way, while the affair of *Caius Gracchus* was depending, and what was afterwards done during the ten years between his murder and that war.

The conqueſts of the Romans *in* Tranſalpine Gaul.

OF all the Nations beyond the *Alps*, the *Salyi*, ſays *Florus*, were the firſt who felt the *Roman* arms. The city of *Maſſilia* *, ever faithful and friendly to *Rome*, had complained of the hoſtile incurſions of thoſe her neighbours. It has been already mentioned, that

Or *Sallu-vii.* See Vol. IV. P. 385. * *Mar-ſeilles.*

Generals.) They ſaid that *Sabaco* deſerved to be ſtigmatized, whether he ſpoke true or falſe: if falſe, for his perjury; if true, for his intemperance. They alſo degraded 32 of the Senators, among whom was *C. Licinius Geta*, a man of conſular dignity, and who was himſelf afterwards choſen Cenſor. *Liv. Epit.* lib. lxii. *Cic. in Cluent. Val. Max.* lib. ii. cap. ix.

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in the year 628, *Fulvius Flaccus*[a], then Conſul, *began* the war, and that it was *continued* by one of the ſucceeding Conſuls, *Sextius Calvinus*, who vanquiſhed the enemy in a pitched battle, made a complete conqueſt of their country, and, the next year, when Proconſul, having built the city of *Aix*, planted there a *Roman* Colony, the firſt that ever paſſed into *Tranſalpine Gaul*.

See Vol. IV. p. 390.

After this ſucceſs there could not be wanting a pretext to make further acquiſitions. It was alledged, that the *Allobroges* (who inhabited a tract of country that lies between the *Rhone* and the *Alps*, from the *Iſere* to the lake of *Geneva*, and whoſe capital was *Vienne*,) had granted protection to *Teutomalius*, king of the *Salyi*, when diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom. This was ſufficient. But it was further alledged, that they had ravaged the lands of the *Ædui*, at that time in alliance with the Republic: for the *Romans* ſeldom failed to have allies at the back of whatever people they purpoſed to ſubdue. It is ſaid however, that the *Ædui* had of their own motion ſought the friendſhip of the *Romans*, and were proud to be by them called Brethren. Over theſe *Allobroges*, aſſiſted by the forces of *Bituitus*, king of the *Arverni*, the Conſul *Domitius*[b], in 631 obtained, by means chiefly of his elephants, a victory, in which he ſlew 20000 of the enemy, and took 3000 priſoners. The vanquiſhed brought a new army into the field. Their whole force is ſaid to have amounted to 200,000 men; yet *Fabius* (ſucceſſor of *Domitius*) with only 30000 gave them an entire overthrow upon the banks of the *Rhone*; in which river, their bridge breaking under them in their flight, moſt of them were drowned. *Domitius*, who was ſtill in the Province, hearing that *Bituitus*, totally diſcouraged by his ſecond defeat, was diſpoſed to aſk peace of the Conſul, and ſubmit, invited him to an amicable conference; and when the King came, ſeized on his perſon, and ſent

Autunois in *Burgundy*.

Auvergne.

Y. of R. 632. Bef. Chr. 120.

[a] The ſame *Fulvius* who was afterwards ſlain with *Caius Gracchus*.

[b] Collegue of that *Fannius*, who being elected Conſul on the recommendation of *C. Gracchus*, employed his conſular power in oppoſing him.

him

him priſoner to *Rome*, the Proconſul being angry that he choſe rather to yield to the Conſul than to him. The Senate, ſays *Valerius Maximus*, could not approve the deed, yet would not releaſe the King, leſt he ſhould renew the war; but having got his ſon into their hands, they gave him a *Roman* education, and then ſent him home[c].

Fabius, at his return to *Rome*, called himſelf *Allobrogicus*, and had a triumph, of which the captive Monarch, clad in the ſplendid arms he uſed to wear, was the principal ornament. *Domitius*, ſome time after, with the ſame King to attend him, had the like honour of the *triumph*: though indeed he had already triumphed abroad; for with his army following him in proceſſion, he had been riding up and down the conquered countries, like an over-grown idiot, upon an elephant. *Florus* remarks, that theſe two Generals were the firſt of the *Romans* that ever inſulted the vanquiſhed nations, by erecting, in their countries, trophies of the victories obtained over them. Y. of R. 633. Bef. Chr. 119. *Sueton. in Ner.* cap. 2.

In this ſame year *Quintus Metellus*, (the eldeſt ſon of *Macedonicus*) had his triumph, as conqueror [in 630] of the iſlands called *Baleares*: and the vain man, for having with his heavy-arm'd Legionaries defeated a

[c] This year *Q. Mucius Scævola*, called the *Augur*, to diſtinguiſh him from *Q. Mucius Scævola*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, went Prætor into *Aſia*, where he reformed the abuſes of the Publicans, and regulated the affairs of the province with ſo much juſtice and integrity, that the *Aſiatics* inſtituted a feſtival in honour of him, and called it *Mucia*, from his name. *P. Rutilius Rufus*, one of the moſt worthy men in *Rome*, aſſiſted him in quality of Quæſtor. *Cic. de Fin.* lib. 1. cap. iii. *Aſcon. Pæd. in Divinat.* & 2. *Verr. Val. Max.* lib. iii. cap. xv. § 6.

Val. Max. (lib. viii. cap. xv. § 6.) ſays, that *Q. Mucius Scævola*, collegue to *Craſſus* in the Conſulſhip (which *Scævola* was the *Pontifex Maximus*) ſo excellently adminiſtered affairs in *Aſia*, that the Senate uſed to propoſe his Government as an example to the Magiſtrates that were ſent into the provinces. *Pighius* (in anno 632 & 654) ſays, that both *Scævolas* were Prætors in *Aſia*, and that both employed *Rutilius*, the one as his Quæſtor, the other as his Lieutenant; and applies the two Quotations above from *Aſconius Pædianus* to *Scævola* the Pontifex, though *Aſconius* ſpeaks of *Rutilius* as being Quæſtor, not Lieutenant to *Scævola*.

number of Fiſhermen, who went naked, and fought only with ſlings, fooliſhly took the title of *Balearicus*.

Y. of R. 634. Bef. Chr. 118. App. in *Illyricis.*

In 634 the Conſul *L. Metellus* leading an army into *Illyricum*, the *Segeſtani*, a People of that country, ſurrendered to him: after which, he, without any provocation, entered *Dalmatia*, where, being received amicably, he took up his winter-quarters in the capital, and, for this exploit, he had a triumph upon his return to *Rome*, and called himſelf *Dalmaticus*.

Y. of R. 635. Bef. Chr. 117.

The next year *M. Porcius Cato*, and *Q. Marcius Rex* being Conſuls, the former was ſent into *Africa*, (on what occaſion is not known) and there died. *Marcius*, who had *Tranſalpine Gaul* for his province, ſubdued the *Stæni*, at the foot of the *Alps*, and planted a Colony at *Narbonne*, called from him *Narbo Marcius*, which became the capital of the Roman conqueſts in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, when, four years after, they erected them into the form of a Prætorian province.

Y. of R. 636. Y. of R. 637.

[a] In the following Conſulſhips of *L. Metellus Diadematus*, (ſecond ſon of *Macedonicus)* and *Q. Mucius Scævola*; *C. Licinius Geta*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus*, it does not appear that any thing was done in the way of conqueſt.

Y. of R. 638. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt.

But in the year following, *M. Æmilius* [b] *Scaurus* (collegue to *M. Metellus*, third ſon of *Macedonicus)* having *Tranſalpine Gaul* for his province, made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Carni*, at the foot of the *Alpes Penninæ*. He afterwards employed his army in draining the marſhes near the *Trebia* and *Placentia*, and making roads in that country. At his return home he was decreed a triumph; and, by the Cenſors *Metellus Dalmaticus*, and *Domitius Ænobarbus*, named Preſident of the Senate, in the place of *Metellus Macedonicus*, who died this year, and whoſe bier was carried by his four ſons, of whom one had been Conſul and was now Cenſor,

Strab. l. v. p. 217. Faſt. Capit. *Plin.* l. ii. c. 54. *Velleius Pater.* l. i. c. 11.

[a] It was in the former of theſe Conſulſhips that *Marius* ſuffered the affront before-mentioned, when he ſtood for the Ædileſhip, and in the latter, that being choſen Prætor he was proſecuted for bribing.

[b] A further account of *Scaurus* will be given where the knowledge of his character is more neceſſary.

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the ſecond had alſo been Conſul, the third at this time Conſul, and the fourth ſoon after [the very next year obtained the Conſulſhip.

Scaurus this year got two new laws paſſed; the one forbidding the uſe of ſome foreign dainties; the other, concerning the votes of the Freedmen [c]. *Plin.* l. 8. c. 57. Y. of R. 639. Bef. Chr. 113.

The *Scordiſci*, a People of *Thrace*, originally deſcended from the *Gauls*, who followed *Brennus*, having made an irruption into *Macedon*, *C. Porcius Cato*, (who had been raiſed to the Conſulſhip with *M Acilius Balbus*) was ſent with an army to defend the province. Surpriſed by the Barbarians in an ambuſh, his army was routed with ſuch ſlaughter that ſcarce a man, except himſelf, eſcaped. The conquerors immediately ſpread themſelves over *Theſſaly* and *Dalmatia*, as far as to the *Adriatic*, where finding a vaſt extent of waters that put a ſtop to their progreſs, they, in deſpite and rage, darted a ſhower of javelins into the ſea. Soon after, *Didius*, Prætor of *Illyricum*, falling upon them ſuddenly, while they were plundering the country, put them to the rout, and drove them back into *Thrace*. *Cato*, at his return to *Rome*, was proſecuted for extortion in his province, and being condemned went into baniſhment to *Tarraco* in *Spain*. The ſum in queſtion was no more than about 32 pounds, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, or 150 according to *Cicero*; a mere trifle; but *Paterculus* moſt gravely remarks, that men had more attention to the nature of the crime, and the diſpoſition of the criminal, than to the extent of the injuſtice done. The Knights, who were the Judges at this time, muſt have been very worthy men, contrary to what *Cicero* would have us believe; or this remark of *Paterculus* is very much miſ- *Flor.* l. iii. c. 4. *Liv.* Epit. l. 63. *Cic. pro Balb.* l. 11. *Cic.* in Verr. 3. c. 80. & 4. c. 10. L. ii. c. 8.

[c] Freedmen. This, as *Pighius* conjectures, enacted that the Freedmen ſhould vote in the four Urban Tribes, whereas from the time of *Sempronius* (the father of the *Gracchi*) they had been confined to one Tribe.

It is ſaid that this haughty Conſul was ſo offended with the Prætor *Decius Mus*, for not riſing up when he paſſed by him, that he made his Lictors force him to it, and break his Curule Chair to pieces. He alſo by edict prohibited the bringing cauſes before that Prætor's tribunal. *Auct. de Vir. Illuſtr. in Scaur.*

placed. The condemnation of *Cato* was undoubtedly owing to ſome private ſpleen, or perhaps the public indignation againſt him, for letting himſelf be ſurpriſed by the enemy, and thereby loſing the lives of ſo many citizens, whoſe kinſmen and friends could not forgive him.

Jul. Obſeq. c. 97. *Oroſ.* l. v. c. 15. *Plut. in Quæſt. Rom.* c. 83.

In this Conſulſhip happened an accident which alarmed the Roman ſuperſtition, and was followed by a diſcovery that occaſioned a good deal of noiſe and buſtle at *Rome*. *Helvius*, a Roman Knight, going with his daughter into *Apulia*, was overtaken upon the road by a ſtorm of thunder. A flaſh of lightning killed the young woman, and the horſe ſhe rode upon, at the ſame time ſtripping her of her clothes, and the horſe of his ſaddle and bridle The Augurs declared that this miſchance portended diſgrace to unmarried women, and the Equeſtrian order. Soon after a criminal correſpondence was diſcovered between three Roman Knights and three Veſtals.

Y. of R. 640. Bef. Chr. 112. *Feneſtell. ap. Macrob. Sat.* l. i. c. 10.

And the next year, when *C. Metellus*, ſurnamed *Caprarius*, (the fourth ſon of *Macedonicus*) and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, were Conſuls, *L. Metellus* the Pontifex, and the pontifical college condemned *Æmilia*, the moſt guilty of the three prieſteſſes, to the uſual puniſhment in ſuch caſes; but acquitted the other two, *Marcia*, and *Licinia*, the latter of whom was defended by her relation *Craſſus* the Orator, he being then 27 years old.

Aſcon. Ped. in. Cic. Orat. pro. Mil. c. 12. *Cic. in Brut.* c. 43. *Val. Max.* l. iii. c. 7. § 9. *Ovid. Faſt.* l. v. *Jul. Obſeq.*

The People, diſſatisfied with this ſentence, ordered the cauſe to be tried anew; and by a ſpecial commiſſion appointed *L. Caſſius* to be Judge; a man ſo ſevere, that his Tribunal was called *Scopulus Reorum*; that is, the rock, on which, thoſe who were arraigned before him, were ſure to ſplit, if they were guilty. He condemned *Marcia*, and *Licinia*, and ſeveral others; and to expiate their crime, the Senate, after conſulting the [a] *Sibylline* books, ordered a temple to be built to *Venus Verticordia*, who was to be implored to change the hearts of the Roman women, and make them more chaſte. When the ſtatue of this Goddeſs was to be conſecrated,

[a] *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Sibylline* books directed the *Romans* to bury alive two *Greeks* and two *Gauls*, as offerings to certain ſtrange malignant Genii. *Plut. in Quæſt. Rom.* c. lxxxiii.

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the Romans judged it proper to give the honour to her of all the ladies who had the beſt reputation for chaſtity. First a hundred Ladies of the moſt irreproachable manners were ſelected from the reſt; then from this number ten were taken by lot; and theſe ten gave the preference to *Sulpitia*, daughter of *Paterculus*, and wife of *Fulvius Flaccus*. *Plin.* l. vii. c. 35. *Val. Max.* l. viii. c. 15. § 12.

Among the accuſed was *M. Antonius*, the famous orator, and grandfather of the Triumvir. He was at this time Quæſtor, and juſt ſetting out from *Brunduſium* for *Aſia*, when he received notice that an accuſation was lodged againſt him before *Caſſius*. By the law, he might have declined appearing, as being employed in the ſervice of the Commonwealth; but chuſing to ſtand a trial, he came back to *Rome*. It is ſaid that, though innocent, he was ſomewhat alarmed, when the proſecutors demanded that a young ſlave, who was ſuppoſed to be privy to his intrigue, ſhould be examined by torture, becauſe he doubted of the reſolution and ſteadineſs of the youth. But the boy bid his maſter fear nothing, offered himſelf to the torture, and ſupported it with an unſhaken conſtancy. *Val. Max.* l. iii. c. 7. *Val. Max.* l. vi. c. 8.

An inundation of Barbarians from the North, at this time threatened *Italy*. The *Cimbri*, a People whoſe origin is uncertain, but who not long before this inhabited the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* (now *Jutland* and *Holſtein*) had in[a] confederacy with the *Teutoni*, their neighbours, left that country to ſeek for new habitations *Plutarch* makes their number amount to 300,000 fighting men, who were followed by a yet greater number of women and children. At firſt they fell upon the *Boian Gauls*, who inhabited part of the *Hercinian* foreſt, (which part had from them the name of *Bohemia*,) by whom being repulſed, they turned towards the Roman provinces, penetrating into *Noricum*. The Conſul *Papirius*, whom the Senate immediately ordered into *Illyricum*, to oppoſe their progreſs, poſted himſelf in the paſſes of the *Liv. Epit.* 63. *Tacit. de Mor. Germ.*

[a] According to *Liv. Epit.* l. lxvii. and *Jul. Obſeq. de Prodig.* 103. the *Teutoni* did not join the *Cimbri* till ſome years after this: but *Velleius Paterculus*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Eutropius*, and *Oroſius*, ſpeak of the *Teutoni* as joined with the *Cimbri* in all their wars with the *Romans*.

Alps, and thence ſent to aſk why they ravaged the territory of the *Norici*, who, he ſaid, were *Friends of the Romans*, though, in truth, the *Romans* had no treaty of friendſhip with them. The *Cimbri*, by their ambaſſadors, anſwered, that they reſpected the Roman name, had no intention to attack any Nation in alliance with *Rome*, were going to quit *Noricum*, and to ſeek a ſettlement in countries where the *Romans* had no concern. *Papirius*, believing this anſwer to proceed from fear, and wiſely projecting to gain abundance of honour by a ſtroke of perfidy, furniſhed the *Cimbrian* Ambaſſadors with guides, who, under pretence of conducting them back by the beſt road, were to lead them by ſuch a round-about way, as to give him an opportunity, by taking a ſhorter, to ſurprize them, and with his whole army fall upon them at once. The ſtratagem did not ſucceed; the *Cimbri*, though ſurprized, were not diſconcerted; they drove the Conſul out of the field, and had it not been for the ſudden tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather, would have deſtroyed his whole army. The Barbarians made no advantage againſt the *Romans* of their victory; but, for ſome reaſon unknown, turned away to the country of the *Helvetii*, where they were probably joined by the *Ambrones*, (who are thought to have been a Canton of the *Helvetii*) and from thence ſpread themſelves over *Tranſalpine Gaul*, carrying with them ſlaughter and deſolation.

Strab. l. v. p. 214.

Metellus, the other Conſul, made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Scordiſci*.

Liv. Epit. 63. *Flor.* l. iii. c. 4. Y. of R. 641.

And the next year *M. Livius Druſus* (who was in the conſulſhip with *L. Calpurnius Piſo*) forced them to repaſs the *Danube*, which ſerved ever after as a barrier between them and the Roman provinces.

CHAP.

CHAP II.

The occaſion of the *Jugurthine war*; its commencement, progreſs, and concluſion.

SALLUST tells us, that he wrote the Hiſtory of the *Jugurthine* war for theſe two reaſons, That it was an important and bloody *war*, and of great variety in the fortune of it; and that during this war the *firſt ſtand* was made againſt the inſolent pride of the Nobility; the *commencement* of a ſtruggle maintained with ſuch party-rage as at length to produce a civil war and the deſolation of *Italy*.

To give an account of the cauſe and origin of the *Numidian war*, it will be neceſſary to go a little back. It has been formerly obſerved, that *Maſiniſſa* received from the *Romans* the Kingdom of *Numidia*, in reward of the ſervices he had done them againſt the *Carthaginians*. At his death he left three legitimate ſons, *Micipſa*, *Guluſſa*, and *Manaſtabal*, who without dividing their father's *Kingdom*, ſhared [a] the *Government* of it among them. The two latter dying, *Micipſa* reigned alone. This Prince had two ſons, *Adherbal* the elder, *Hiempſal* the younger. He had alſo a nephew named *Jugurtha*, the ſon of his brother *Manaſtabal*, but whom, being born of a concubine, *Maſiniſſa* had left in a private condition. *Micipſa* however took him into his own houſe, and educated him with his own ſons. *Jugurtha* had great natural talents, was remarkably handſome, and excelled in ſtrength. Active and induſtrious, he continually exerciſed himſelf in riding, throwing the lance, diſputing the prize with his companions in the race, or in hunting lions and other wild beaſts; at which ſports he always endeavoured to be the firſt, or among the foremoſt, to wound the beaſt. And though

[a] The elder *Scipio* is ſaid to have made this diſtribution in virtue of a power given him by the verbal will of *Maſiniſſa* when dying. See Vol. IV. Book V. ch. xxvi.

he performed more hardy exploits than any of his companions, and was much ſuperior to them all in his exerciſes, yet, never boaſting of his advantages, he was by all extremely beloved. At firſt the King of *Numidia*, rejoiced in the good ſucceſs of his care, as thinking *Jugurtha* would be an honour to the Kingdom. But afterwards reflecting on his own great age, the tender years of his ſons, the temptation of a throne, and the fondneſs of the *Numidians* for his nephew, he began to fear, leſt the daring and ambitious ſpirit of that Prince ſhould meet with too favourable an opportunity to diſplay itſelf. Under theſe apprehenſions the King would have privately made away with him, had he not been afraid of a ſedition, or a general rebellion, as the probable conſequence of ſuch an act. Being at this time to furniſh the *Romans* with a body of troops to ſerve under *Scipio* at the ſiege of *Numantia*, he reſolved to give *Jugurtha* the command of them, entertaining ſome hope of getting rid of him by the chance of war; a hope founded on the forward and enterpriſing ſpirit of the youth. But this meaſure, taken for the deſtruction of *Jugurtha*, turned to his advantage. By his ability in council, his bravery in fight, his ſtrict obedience to orders, and his ſucceſs in every enterprize, he gained in a ſhort time the eſteem and love both of the Roman ſoldiers and of their General. There were at that time in the army many perſons, both of the old and new Nobility, with whom wealth was preferable to virtue and honour, all furious party-men, very powerful at *Rome*, and more known than eſteemed among the confederates. Theſe men inflamed the ambition of *Jugurtha*, by telling him, that, at the death of *Micipſa*, he might eaſily make himſelf the maſter of *Numidia*; that he did not want ability for ſuch an enterprize, and that at *Rome* all things were venal.

When *Scipio*, after the reduction of *Numantia*, was about to ſend back the auxiliary troops, he, in the preſence of the whole army, made *Jugurtha* magnificent preſents, accompanied with extraordinary praiſes; and then leading him into his own pavilion, there admoniſhed

niſhed him privately, to cultivate the friendſhip of the Roman People, rather by ſervices to the public, than by gifts to private men; adding, that it would be dangerous to attempt to purchaſe of a few, what belonged to many; that if he would continue in the diligent exerciſe of his talents and virtues, he could not fail of acquiring both glory and a CROWN[a]; but that if he ſhould be ſo haſty to attain his purpoſe as to have recourſe to bribery, his money would prove his deſtruction. After this advice, he diſmiſſed him with a letter for *Micipſa* to the following effect:

"Your *Jugurtha* has behaved himſelf incomparably "well in the war of *Numantia*; to know this, will, "I am ſure, give you much joy. To me his merit "has made him very dear: and I ſhall uſe my beſt en-"deavours that he be equally ſo to the Senate and Peo-"ple of *Rome*. I congratulate you on this occaſion "with the cordiality our friendſhip requires. Your "nephew is indeed worthy of you, and of his grandfa-"ther *Maſiniſſa*."

Micipſa, finding the reports he had already heard of his nephew's merit, confirmed by the Roman General, and, perhaps, now finding his former ſcheme leſs practicable than before, turned his thoughts how to gain the affections of *Jugurtha*, and to ſecure, for a friend and protector of his children; him, whom he could not deſtroy as an enemy; and, with this view he adopted him, and, by his will, left him joint-heir with his own ſons. And when, a few years after, he found himſelf

[a] If we call to mind the unprecedented diviſion, which the firſt *Africanus*, upon the death of King *Maſiniſſa*, made of the regal power among his three ſons; and if we compare it with the diſcourſe of the Roman Nobles, in the camp, to *Jugurtha*; the *encouragement*, which accompanied the more *ſage* advice of the ſecond *Africanus* to the youth, *to hope a* CROWN; and the proceedings of the Roman Senate, in relation to the affairs of *Numidia*, after the death of *Micipſa* and *Jugurtha*'s uſurpation of the kingdom; may we not from the whole, without too great refinement, conclude, that the *Romans* had, at leaſt from the demiſe of *Maſiniſſa*, if not long before, formed the deſign of taking *Numidia* into their own poſſeſſion?

drawing

drawing near his end, he is ſaid to have preſſed his nephew, in a very pathetic manner, to be friendly to his ſons, and to have exhorted his ſons to imitate the virtues of his nephew, their adopted brother, telling them what a reproach it would be to them, if it ſhould appear to the world, that their father had been more happy in adopting, than in begetting ſons.

The old King died, and, when the funeral was over, the three Princes met to conſult about their affairs. At this meeting, *Hiempſal*, the younger of the legimate ſons, a youth of high ſpirit, ſeated himſelf on *Adherbal*'s right hand, that *Jugurtha*, whom he had always deſpiſed for his mean birth, might not be in the middle, the place of honour among the *Numidians*; and it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon by the earneſt intreaties of his brother to remove to the left of *Jugurtha*. And when *Jugurtha* propoſed the repealing all the acts and edicts made by *Micipſa* in the five laſt years of his reign, becauſe the King was then old, and his intellects impaired, *Hiempſal* briſkly anſwered, "by all means; I am entirely of your opinion; for "within the three laſt years you were adopted into the "family." Words which ſunk deeper into the mind of *Jugurtha* than any one at that time imagined. His whole ſtudy from that moment was how to accompliſh a ſpeedy revenge.

According to *Salluſt*, *Jugurtha* compaſſed his deſign by corrupting the hoſt, with whom *Hiempſal* had taken up a temporary reſidence. This traitor admitted by night into the houſe a party of ſoldiers, who having found *Hiempſal* in a loft, where he had hid himſelf upon the firſt alarm, cut off his head, and carried it to their maſter [a]. Upon the news of this baſe murder, the *Numidians* divided themſelves into two parties; the greater number declared for *Adherbal*; but all the beſt ſoldiers adhered to *Jugurtha*. The latter ſoon appeared in the field, and took ſome towns by force; others

[a] If we believe the epitome of *Livy*, *Hiempſal* was vanquiſhed and ſlain in battle by *Jugurtha*.

voluntarily

voluntarily ſubmitted to him; and he puſhed for the entire Monarchy of *Numidia*.

Adherbal, though he had diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to inform the Senate of the murder of his brother, and his own ſituation, yet, depending upon his ſuperiority in number, ventured a battle with the enemy. Being vanquiſhed, he fled into the Roman province, and from thence proceeded to *Rome*.

Jugurtha, now maſter of all *Numidia*, and having leiſure to reflect upon what he had done, began to dread leſt the *Romans* ſhould take up the quarrel of his rival. His only hope of being ſcreened from their reſentment was in his own treaſures, and the covetouſneſs of the Roman Nobles. He diſpatched Ambaſſadors therefore, in all haſte to *Rome*, with immenſe ſums of money, and with orders, firſt, by moſt ample preſents, to ſecure his old friends, then to acquire new; and laſtly, to buy all who were to be bought. The ambaſſadors executed their commiſſion with unwearied diligence; and ſuch a change, ſays *Salluſt*, enſued, that *Jugurtha*, from being hated and deteſted, became a great favourite of the Nobility, inſomuch that ſome, engaged by hope, others, gained by actual bribes, made themſelves ſolicitors to the reſt of the Senate, that no ſevere decree might paſs againſt the King. When the Ambaſſadors thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecure of their point, the Senate gave audience to both parties. *Adherbal* is ſaid to have made a long ſpeech, wherein he diſplayed the uncommon kindneſs which his father *Micipſa* had ſhewn to *Jugurtha*, from his very infancy to the time when he adopted him; the extreme baſeneſs of the latter, whom no obligations could engage to gratitude. He repeatedly expreſſed a concern that he ſhould be troubleſome to the Senate before he had merited their favour by any ſervice, yet he hoped that the remembrance of *Maſiniſſa*'s ſervices, and conſtant zeal for the glory of the Roman name, would be ſufficient to procure, from the Roman Senate and People, a protection for his grandſon.

As ſoon as the King had done ſpeaking, *Jugurtha*'s Ambaſſadors

Ambaſſadors, relying more on the force of their preſents than the juſtice of their cauſe, returned a ſhort anſwer; That *Hiempſal* had been ſlain by the *Numidians* for his cruelty; that *Adherbal* had been the aggreſſor in the late war; that becauſe, being vanquiſhed, he could not do the injury he intended, he now complained; and that as to *Jugurtha*, he earneſtly requeſted of the Senate not to think, that *he* was a different man from him they had known at *Numantia*, nor give leſs credit to his actions than to his enemy's words.

This ſaid, *Adherbal* and the Ambaſſadors withdrew, and the Senate went upon the affair. Not only all thoſe of the *Fathers*, whom *Jugurtha* had corrupted, but thoſe who were under their influence, treated with ſcorn whatever had been alledged by *Adherbal*, extolled, in the higheſt ſtrains of praiſe, the virtue of the King, pleaded for him, ſolicited for him, and, in ſhort expreſſed as much zeal for the juſtification of his infamous actions, as if their own honour had been in queſtion. Some few there were, who, preferring juſtice and good conſcience to money, declared for ſuccouring *Adherbal*, and ſeverely revenging the murder of his brother. The man who ſpoke the moſt warmly for this meaſure, but not from any love of virtue or juſtice, was *Æmilius Scaurus*[c], a perſon of high birth, of active ſpirit, factious, greedy of power, honours and riches, but very ſkilful in concealing his vices. He obſerving in how open and ſhameleſs a manner the King's money was diſtributed among the Senators, and apprehending leſt ſuch proſtitute venality ſhould rowſe the popular indignation, laid a reſtraint, for the preſent, on his habitual covetouſneſs.

The party, however, which favoured *Jugurtha*, prevailed; and it was voted that ten Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into *Africa*, to divide *Numidia* between the two rivals. At the head of theſe Commiſſioners was *L. Opimius*, a perſon of great diſtinction, and at that time of great weight in the Senate, becauſe he had ſo cruelly executed the revenge of the Nobles upon

[c] He was afterwards Conſul and Prince of the Senate, as we have obſerved, in the year 638.

C. Gracchus

C. Gracchus and the Commons. Though *Opimius* had been bought by *Jugurtha*, and had appeared his friend at *Rome*, yet, when that Senator landed in *Africa* with the other Commiſſioners, he was received with wonderful ceremony by the *Numidian*; who, preſently after, by rich preſents, in private, and a promiſe of richer, gained him ſo effectually, that he preferred the intereſt of the King's ambition to his own reputation, honour, and every other concern. The greater part of his collegues were likewiſe gained to the King by the ſame means; ſo that, in the diviſion of *Numidia*, the moſt populous and moſt fertile provinces, which are thoſe bordering upon *Mauritania*, were aſſigned to *Jugurtha*. *Adherbal*'s ſhare had a better appearance, as being better provided with harbours, and fine buildings, but, in reality, had more of ſhew than of ſtrength.

Jugurtha perceiving, by this new partition of *Numidia*, that his crimes, inſtead of being puniſhed, were rewarded by the Roman Deputies, became perfectly convinced of the truth of what his friends at *Numantia* had told him, that all things were venal at *Rome*; and being likewiſe animated by the promiſes of thoſe whom he had juſt loaded with preſents, he boldly reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the territory allotted to *Adherbal*. With this view, at the head of a great army, he made incurſions upon his frontiers, carrying thence abundance of captives, cattle, and other booty, into his own dominions. He ſuppoſed that *Adherbal* would reſent and revenge the injury, and, by making repriſals, furniſh him with ſome ſhadow of pretence to commence a war in form. But *Adherbal*, being a weak and ſpiritleſs Prince, conſcious of his inferiority to his brother, not only in troops, but in the art of war, and depending more upon the friendſhip of the *Romans* than upon his *Numidian* ſubjects, ſent Deputies to *Jugurtha* to complain of his depredations; and, though he received an inſulting anſwer, he choſe to bear every thing rather than expoſe himſelf to an open war. *Jugurtha* finding that he could not provoke *Adherbal* to have recourſe to arms, and being eager to attain his purpoſe, threw

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off all diſguiſe, and with a numerous and regular army invaded his neighbour's kingdom, with a manifeſt purpoſe to make a conqueſt of it. *Adherbal* had now no other choice, but either to abandon his kingdom a ſecond time, or attempt to defend it with the ſword. He choſe the latter. The armies of the two Kings advanced to meet each other, and both encamped near *Cirta*. *Jugurtha*, the night following, ſurprized the camp of his enemy, and forced it. *Adherbal*, with a few horſe, fled to *Cirta*, and, had it not been for a conſiderable number of *Romans* then in the town, who defended the walls againſt the purſuers, the ſame day had ſeen the beginning and end of the war between the two Kings.

Jugurtha laid cloſe ſiege to the place, employing his utmoſt efforts to take it before any meſſage ſhould arrive from *Rome*; for he had learnt that the diſtreſſed King had ſent Ambaſſadors thither before the late battle. The Senate having advice that the Kings were at war, diſpatched three young *Romans* to ſignify to both, that it was the will and appointment of the Senate and People of *Rome*, they ſhould deſiſt from the war, and have recourſe to reaſon, inſtead of arms, for terminating their differences. Theſe Ambaſſadors made the more expedition, becauſe, while they were preparing for their departure, a report arrived (though not much credited) of the battle, and of the ſiege of *Cirta*. When, after their arrival, they had declared their commiſſion to *Jugurtha*, he anſwered to this effect, that there was nothing he ſo perfectly revered as the authority of the Roman Senate—that from his earlieſt youth he had always endeavoured to behave himſelf ſo as to merit the approbation of every good man—that it was by a virtuous, not a vicious, conduct, he had gained the favour of that great man, *P. Scipio*—that *Micipſa*, for the ſame reaſon, and not for want of ſons, had adopted him—that the more praiſe-worthy his courſe of life had been, the leſs patiently was he able to bear with inſults and injuries—that *Adherbal* had inſidiouſly attempted his life; and that, for his part, he had only taken meaſures to preſerve himſelf—that the Roman People would not

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do juſtly if they forbad him to defend what was his right by the law of nations; and he concluded with ſaying, that he would ſhortly ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to ſatisfy the Senate in every particular.

With this anſwer, and without having been permitted to ſee *Adherbal*, the Ambaſſadors returned to *Italy*, while *Jugurtha* renewed his attacks on the place with freſh vigour.

Adherbal, after five months ſiege, driven to extremity by famine, engaged two of his followers to attempt making their way through the enemy's quarters to the next ſea-port, and thence to *Rome*, with a letter from him to the Senate. His Meſſengers had the fortune to ſucceed; they arrived at *Rome*, and delivered the letter. It contained a moving complaint of *Jugurtha*'s unjuſt violences, and more cruel intentions. In the moſt preſſing terms, he begged of the *Fathers*, not that they would reſtore him to his kingdom, (they might give *that* to whom they pleaſed; it was theirs) not that they would preſerve him from death, but only that they would ſave him from falling into the hands of *Jugurtha*, the moſt cruel of men, and who would not fail to tear away his life by the moſt exquiſite tortures.

Some of the Fathers were of opinion, that they ought, with all poſſible expedition, to ſend an army into *Africa*; and, in the mean time, come to a reſolution concerning what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on *Jugurtha*, for his diſobedience to the orders of the Senate. His friends however beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually in his behalf, that they hindered this advice from being followed. All that the favourers of *Adherbal* could obtain, was, that new Commiſſioners, men of dignity and weight in the Republic, ſhould be ſent into *Africa* to decide the differences between the two Kings. At the head of theſe Commiſſioners was *Æmilius Scaurus*, now Prince of the Senate. They ſet ſail three days after their being named; and, landing at *Utica*, ſent orders to *Jugurtha* to repair to them immediately, they having a meſſage to him from the Senate. The King was much diſconcerted to find that men of ſuch high rank and diſtinc-

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tion were come to oppoſe his deſigns. But though he feared the reſentment of the Senate, ſhould he diſobey their orders, yet, urged by the eager deſire he had to accompliſh his grand deſign, he made a general aſſault, in hopes to carry the place at once, deſtroy his rival, and ſo leave nothing to be adjuſted between them by the Commiſſioners. Failing in this attempt, and fearing to provoke *Scaurus*, whom he chiefly dreaded, by any further delay, he repaired to the Commiſſioners, attended by a few of his cavalry, leaving the greater part of his army to continue the ſiege. Many uſeleſs conferences were held; terrible menaces were ſounded by the Commiſſioners in the name of the Senate for his not having raiſed the ſiege. The *Numidian* heard them with much reſpect, but a total diſregard as to any change of his meaſures. He truſted doubtleſs to his money; and *Scaurus* and his collegues were not aſhamed to return to *Rome* without having obtained any thing in favour of *Adherbal*.

When the ill ſucceſs of this commiſſion was once known at *Cirta*, the *Italians*, by whoſe ſteady courage the town had been chiefly defended, and who hoped they ſhould be ſpared out of reſpect to *Rome*, adviſed *Adherbal* to ſurrender himſelf and the city to *Jugurtha*, to covenant only for his life, and leave the reſt to the Senate. The unhappy Prince, knowing that it was in their power to force him to a compliance, followed their advice. *Jugurtha*, admitted into the place, diſcharged his firſt fury upon *Adherbal*, whom he put to death by torture; and then maſſacred all whom he found in arms, whether *Numidians* or ſtrangers.

Notwithſtanding this new murder, with all its aggravating circumſtances, *Jugurtha* did not want advocates, who, when the matter was brought before the Senate, endeavoured to extenuate the crime, and leſſen the horror of it in the minds of thoſe whom at firſt it had extremely ſhocked; and ſo aſſiduous were theſe penſioners of the King in his defence, that if *C. Memmius*, Tribune of the People elect, a man of ſpirit, and a declared enemy to the uſurped power of the Nobles, had

had not fully apprized the Roman People, that a few leading men of a faction were bent upon ſcreening *Jugurtha* from the puniſhment due to his crimes, the affair had been entirely dropt: ſuch a mighty influence had the gold of *Jugurtha* upon the minds of the *venerable Fathers*.

But when the Senate, conſcious of their own guilt, began in earneſt to fear the People's reſentment, they (in conformity to the *Sempronian Law*) decreed that the provinces of the Conſuls elect ſhould be *Italy* and *Numidia*. *Numidia* fell to *L. Calpurnius Beſtia*, *Italy* to *P. Scipio Naſica*. Soon after an army was enrolled for the expedition into *Africa*, and all the funds decreed for its ſupport. See Vol. IV. p. 392.

Jugurtha receiving advice, that, contrary to his expectation, the *Romans* were determined to commence a war againſt him, diſpatched his ſon and two of his moſt truſty friends to the Senate, with private orders, (like thoſe which he had formerly given to his Ambaſſadors on occaſion of the murder of *Hiempſal*) to buy every man that was to be purchaſed. But when theſe drew near to *Rome*, *Beſtia* moved to know the pleaſure of the Senate, whether they ſhould be admitted within the walls, or not? Whereupon it was decreed, that unleſs they were come to ſurrender both the King and his kingdom, they ſhould leave *Italy* in ten days. The Conſul ſignified to them this reſolution, and they returned to *Numidia*. Y. of R. 642.

Beſtia, in the mean while, having compleated his troops, choſe for his Lieutenants, men eminent by their quality, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed for their ſkill in intrigues (among whom was *Scaurus* before-mentioned) under the ſhelter of whoſe authority he flattered himſelf he might, with impunity, do whatever his paſſions ſhould dictate. The Conſul was a brave man, patient of fatigues, a vigilant and able General; but theſe excellent qualities were rendered fruitleſs by a ſordid avarice; ſo that, though upon his firſt entering into *Numidia*, he acted with vigour, yet *Jugurtha* being informed of his ruling paſſion, very ſoon made court to it

with ſucceſs. *Scaurus* entered into the infamous traffic; and it was not the firſt time that he had been corrupted by *Jugurtha*'s gold. The King, at firſt, had hoped no more than to purchaſe a ſuſpenſion of the war, while he might carry on his intrigues at *Rome*; but when he learnt from his Agents that they had entirely gained *Scaurus*, he preſently entertained the flattering project of concluding a peace, in perſon, with theſe worthy Generals. But, before he repaired to the Conſul, he took care to have an hoſtage for his ſecurity. *Sextus*, the Quæſtor, was diſpatched to *Vacca*, a town belonging to *Jugurtha*, under pretence of receiving a quantity of corn which *Calpurnius* had publickly ordered the King's Deputies to provide, there being now a truce in order to the King's ſurrendry in form.

When *Jugurtha* was come to the *Roman* camp, *Calpurnius*, to blind the public, aſſembled his council, where the King, after making a ſhort apology for his conduct, offered to ſurrender himſelf and his kingdom to the Senate and People of *Rome*. The particular conditions were adjuſted in private with *Calpurnius* and *Scaurus*; and, the next day, the King's ſurrendry was formally accepted by the Council, as if the terms had been regularly debated, and unanimouſly approved; and, in purſuance of an order of the Council, thirty elephants ſome cattle, and a conſiderable number of horſes, with a ſmall ſum of money, were delivered up to the Quæſtor. The peace thus concluded, the Conſul, leaving his army behind him, returned home, to preſide in the Comitia for the election of Magiſtrates.

When the tranſactions in *Africa*, and the manner in which they had been carried on, were publicly known at *Rome*, they became the matter of common converſation in all companies, and were every where ſpoken of by the People with deteſtation. The Senate knew not what reſolution to take, whether to diſavow or ratify the ſhameful treaty made by their Conſul. What chiefly hindered them from breaking it, was the great influence of *Scaurus*, ſaid to have been the adviſer and aſſociate of *Beſtia* in the late tranſactions. The anger and

and indignation of the Tribune *Memmius*, before ſpoken of, brought them to a determination. Having called the People together, he upbraided them with their ſervile patience under oppreſſion from the Nobles; with having infamouſly ſuffered their protectors and defenders to periſh undefended and unrevenged; and with fearing, even now, thoſe whom they ought to make tremble, and whom they ſaw lying at their mercy. "I mean not to excite you to arms in order to do your-"ſelves juſtice, a method our forefathers had frequent "recourſe to; there is no need of violence, none of "*ſeceding*; the oppreſſors have taken infallible mea-"ſures for their own deſtruction. When they had cut "off *T. Gracchus*, whom they charged with aim-"ing at the ſovereignty, terrible were the proſecutions "againſt the People of *Rome*. After they had ſlain "*C. Gracchus* and *M. Fulvius*, they put great numbers "of the *Plebeians* to death in priſon; nor were they "induced to end thoſe violent proceedings, by any "regard which they had to the Laws, but by their "own caprice. Well; let the attempt to reſtore to "the Commons their rights paſs for a deſign to ſeize "the Government; be it, that it was lawful, even by "ſpilling the blood of Roman citizens, to revenge an "offence which could not otherwiſe be revenged. Let "us grant theſe things. But have you not ſeen with "indignation, though you winked at it, and ſaid no-"thing, the public treaſury robbed, Kings and Repub-"lics paying taxes to a few of the Nobility, who en-"groſſed to themſelves all the honours, and all the "riches of the ſtate? Nor were they content to com-"mit theſe iniquities with impunity; but at length "our Laws, the majeſty of the Roman People, all "things divine and human, were betrayed by them to "a foreign enemy. Nor do the guilty feel any ſhame "or ſorrow for what they have done; they ſtalk mag-"nificent before your eyes, boaſting of their ſacerdotal "and conſular dignities, and ſome, of their triumphs; "as if they really prized theſe things for the honour, "not the lucre, which they brought. Slaves, pur-

" chaſed with money, obey not the unjuſt commands " of their maſters; and will you, Romans, who are " born to empire, tamely endure to be enſlaved? But " who are they that have thus poſſeſſed themſelves of " the Commonwealth? The moſt flagitious of men, " with hands embrued in blood, inſatiably covetous, " men of matchleſs wickedneſs, and matchleſs arro- " gance, who make a traffic of faith, honour, religion, " diſregarding all diſtinction of right and wrong. Some " have provided for their own ſafety by murdering " your Tribunes, others by unjuſt proſecutions, the " greater part by maſſacres of the Commons; and " thus the more loaded any man is with crimes, the " more ſecure he is from puniſhment. Yet, inſtead of " fearing you, after ſo many crimes, they take advan- " tage of your want of ſpirit to make you fear them. " As they have, all, the ſame objects of hate, deſire, " and fear, they are thence united. And this union " among good men is friendſhip; among bad men, " faction.—But will not you exert your endeavours to " throw off the yoke of theſe men, and to maintain " that liberty which your forefathers procured to them- " ſelves by their virtue, and delivered down to you? " You will aſk me, perhaps, what meaſures I would " adviſe? My anſwer is, I would have you proſecute " the betrayers of the Republic; not in the way of " vengeful violence, not by acts of power, but by the " method of legal proceſs, and by the evidence of *Ju-* " *gurtha*, who, if he has in good earneſt made a ſur- " rendry of himſelf and his kingdom to the Roman " People, will be obedient to your orders. If he ſlight " them, you may thereby judge what ſort of peace and " ſurrendry that is, by virtue of which *Jugurtha* reaps " impunity for his crimes, a few great men immenſe " riches, and the Republic nothing but loſs and diſ- " grace. But perhaps you are not yet weary of their " domination, and, rather than do as I adviſe, chuſe " to have kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights, tribunals, " war and peace, in ſhort, every thing divine and hu- " man depend on the will of a few men; while you,

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" the Roman People, victorious over all your enemies
" abroad, and giving laws to other nations, are con-
" tent with barely living and breathing. For who a-
" mong you has had the reſolution to refuſe the yoke
" of ſervitude? But, though I think it very diſhonour-
" able to have ſuffered an injury without revenging it,
" I could well enough bear that you ſhould pardon
" theſe guilty men, becauſe they are your fellow citi-
" zens, if it were not that your mercy to them would
" be deſtruction to yourſelves; for ſo obſtinately bent
" are they upon evil, that they would think it nothing
" to have eſcaped puniſhment for the miſchief they
" have done, unleſs they might thence be authorized
" to continue their wicked courſes; and you will find
" yourſelves under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to perpe-
" tual ſervitude, or of defending your liberty by force
" of arms —

" I adviſe you therefore once more, and exhort you,
" not to let ſo great iniquity eſcape unpuniſhed. The
" matter in queſtion, at preſent is, not any embezzle-
" ment of the public money, any oppreſſion of our al-
" lies by extortion; thoſe crimes, though of a very hei-
" nous nature, are grown ſo cuſtomary as to be over-
" looked. The authority of the Senate, the empire
" of the Roman People, the Commonwealth itſelf has
" been ſet to ſale both at home and abroad; and un-
" leſs ſtrict enquiry be made into this miſconduct, and
" the guilty be puniſhed, what remains for us but to
" live in bondage under their tyranny? For to do with
" impunity whatever a man pleaſes, is to be a King.

" After all, my intention, Romans, is not to raiſe
" in your minds a wiſh that your fellow-citizens may
" be found guilty rather than innocent, but only to
" exhort you not to pardon the guilty to the ruin of
" the innocent. Conſider, that in the affair of govern-
" ment, it is not of ſo ill conſequence to forget a be-
" nefit done to the public, as to forget an injury. A
" good man, if he be neglected, will only be the leſs
" active in doing good; but a bad man more active
" in doing evil. Beſides, if the ſtate ſuffers no injury

" from bad men, it ſeldom wants any aſſiſtance from " the good."

Memmius, by frequently haranguing the People in this ſtrain, perſuaded them to ſend *L. Caſſius*, (at this time Prætor) into *Africa*, to bring *Jugurtha* thence to *Rome*, upon the public faith; that, by the evidence of the King himſelf, *Scaurus*, and the reſt, who were accuſed of taking the King's money, might be convicted.

While theſe things were doing at *Rome*, thoſe who were left by *Beſtia* to command the army in *Numidia*, following the example of their General, became guilty of the moſt ſcandalous practices. Some, corrupted by *Jugurtha*'s gold, reſtored to him his elephants; others ſold him his deſerters; others again plundered countries with which the *Romans* were not at war. To ſo exceſſive a degree had a ſpirit of covetouſneſs prevailed, and, like a plague, infected them all!

Caſſius had not much difficulty in perſuading the King to make trial of the clemency of the Roman People, rather than of their power; and the Prætor's character of integrity was ſuch, that having privately engaged his own faith for *Jugurtha*'s ſafe return, this Prince conſidered it as a ſecurity equal to that of the public faith.

The *Numidian*, when he came to *Rome* with *Caſſius*, appeared not in the magnificence of a King, but in the garb and with the behaviour of a perſon in diſtreſs. *Memmius* aſſembled the People. Their rage againſt *Jugurtha* was ſuch, that ſome of them were for laying him in irons, others for putting him to death without delay, unleſs he diſcovered his aſſociates in wickedneſs. Yet the Tribune, more ſtudious to maintain the dignity of the Roman People, than to gratify their anger, declared, that, for himſelf, he would have no part in violating the public faith. After which, having ordered ſilence, and *Jugurtha* being brought forth, the Tribune rehearſed all his foul deeds in *Numidia*, and (by his agents) at *Rome*, giving him to underſtand, that though the Roman People knew by whoſe advice and aſſiſtance he had perpetrated all his crimes againſt that

Father

Father who adopted him, and againſt the two ſons of that Father, yet they were deſirous to have a more diſtinct information from himſelf; which information, if he faithfully gave, he might hope much from the honour and clemency of the Roman People; but if he ſuppreſſed the truth, he would not thereby ſave his accomplices, but ruin himſelf and all his hopes. When *Memmius* had ended theſe words, and the Aſſembly were all attention to hear what the King would anſwer, *Bæbius*, another of the Tribunes, inſtantly called out, forbidding the King to ſpeak. The multitude expreſſed their indignation by clamour, menacing looks and geſtures, and, in ſhort, all the ways by which violent anger is uſed to expreſs itſelf, in order to deter him from his purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, as he had received an ample bribe, impudence carried it. The People, thus fool'd, broke up the aſſembly, and ſeparated. There was at this time, at *Rome*, a certain *Numidian*, named *Maſſiva*, the ſon of *Guluſſa*, and grandſon of *Maſiniſſa*, who, upon the ſurrendry of *Cirta*, and the murder of *Adherbal*, had fled from *Africa*, becauſe he had been againſt *Jugurtha* in that quarrel. *Sp. Albinus*, who, with *Q. Minucius Rufus*, ſucceeded *Beſtia* in the Conſulſhip, and to whom the conduct of the war in *Numidia* had fallen by lot, perſuaded *Maſſiva* to ſue to the Senate for the kingdom of *Numidia*, ſince he was deſcended from *Maſiniſſa*, and ſince *Jugurtha*, by his atrocious deeds, had made himſelf both feared and deteſted. *Maſſiva* readily liſtening to the advice, made and preſſed his ſuit to the Senate. *Jugurtha* finding his friends begin to fail him, ſome of them being reſtrained by a conſciouſneſs of guilt, others by the ill repute they were already in, and the fear of encreaſing their infamy, ordered *Bomilcar*, his moſt intimate and moſt truſty confident, to hire aſſaſſins to take off *Maſſiva*, ſecretly, if poſſible; if not, in any way that it could be done. The Confident quickly found perſons qualified for ſuch work: theſe informed themſelves of all *Maſſiva*'s daily motions and haunts; and, when the buſineſs could be no longer deferred, one of the Ruffians, who

Y. of R. 643. Bef. Chr. 109. 342 Conſulſhip.

who had way-layed him, did it effectually, but with ſo little caution, that he was ſeized in the very fact; and being urged by many, and eſpecially by the Conſul *Albinus*, confeſſed who had employed him. *Bomilcar* was arraigned for the murder, but more agreeably to natural juſtice, than to the law of nations, he being one of *Jugurtha*'s retinue, who had come to *Rome* upon the public faith. *Jugurtha*, though manifeſtly guilty of the murder, ſpared no pains to bear down the truth, till he perceived that the odium of the fact was not to be ſtifled by favour or money; and then, though he had engaged fifty of his friends to be ſureties for *Bomilcar*'s appearance, yet being more concerned for the preſervation of his kingdom than the ſafety of the ſureties, and fearing leſt the reſt of his ſubjects would not dare to obey him, if *Bomilcar*, for his obedience, ſhould be puniſhed, he ſent him off privately into *Numidia*. And, in a few days after, he himſelf departed, being ordered by the Senate to leave *Italy*. It is reported of him, that when he was got out of *Rome*, he frequently looked back upon the city without ſaying a word; but at length broke out——O venal city, ripe for deſtruction, and ready to ſell thyſelf, whenever there ſhall be found a purchaſer!

And now the Conſul *Albinus*, with the utmoſt diligence, prepared all neceſſaries for the army, and ſoon appeared there himſelf, eagerly bent on putting a ſpeedy iſſue to the war, either by treaty or victory, before the new elections, which were not far off, could give him a ſucceſſor. On the other hand, *Jugurtha* endeavoured by all means to gain time. One while, he would promiſe to ſurrender himſelf; and preſently after, pretend diſtruſt; now, he would retire before the *Romans*, and then, in his turn, preſs hard upon them, that he might not diſcourage his own men. The war being thus protracted till near the time for the election of Conſuls, *Albinus* left his brother *Aulus*, in quality of Proprætor, to command the army, and returned to *Rome*, without having done any thing either in the way of arms, or by negotiation; which made many conjecture,

ture, that he had ſecret intelligence with the King; for they could not believe that, after ſuch diligent preparations for war, it could be ſo eaſily protracted by indolence alone, without fraud.

The elections at *Rome* happened to be retarded by quarrels among the Tribunes; two of whom endeavoured to get themſelves continued in their office for another year. *Aulus* imagined that theſe domeſtic broils would give him time to finiſh the war by a victory; or, at leaſt, by the terror of his arms, to draw a good ſum from *Jugurtha*. In the month of *January* therefore he drew his forces out of their winter-quarters, and, by long marches, in very bad weather, led them to a town called *Suthul*, where the King had depoſited his treaſures. It was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and ſtood on the top of a ſteep hill, and, at the foot of this hill, was a muddy marſh, formed by the winter floods, which made the place inacceſſible; nevertheleſs, either really blinded by his avarice, or as a feint to terrify the King, he erected moveable galleries, threw up trenches, and made all the other preparations for a ſiege.

Jugurtha perceiving the vanity and weakneſs of the man, artfully contrived to heighten his preſumption, by ſending to him frequent offers of ſubmiſſion, and by pretending great fear, that made him keep with his army in places difficult of acceſs. At length, by giving *Aulus* hopes of a good bargain, he drew him from *Suthul*, into a retired part of the country, whither the Roman followed him, as if he purſued a flying enemy, but, in reality, that their infamous traffic might be the better concealed. In the mean while, the King, by his emiſſaries, practiſed with ſome officers of the Roman army to deſert to him, or abandon their poſts upon a ſignal given. His negociations ſucceeding to his wiſh, he, on a ſudden, in the dead of night, ſurrounded the camp of *Aulus*. A cohort of *Ligurians*, and two troops of *Thracian* horſe, went over to *Jugurtha*; and the firſt Centurion of the third Legion, abandoning that part of the rampart which he had been appointed to defend,

gave

gave the enemy entrance into the camp. Moſt of the *Romans* threw down their arms, and fled to a neighbouring hill, where, when *Jugurtha* had the next day inveſted them, he ſignified to *Aulus*, in a parley, that though, both by famine and the ſword, he had him and his army at mercy, yet, ſenſible of the inſtabillity of human affairs, he was willing, in caſe *Aulus* would conclude a treaty of peace, to grant him and his ſoldiers life and liberty, on condition of their paſſing under the yoke (a gallows), and quitting *Numidia* in ten days. Hard and ignominious as theſe terms were, death, otherwiſe inevitable, terrified the *Romans* into a ſubmiſſion.

It may well be imagined, that the anger of the People of *Rome*, and eſpecially of the braver ſort, was raiſed to a high pitch againſt *Aulus*, on the firſt news of the late ſcandalous treaty. The Conſul *Albinus*, fearing the odium which might be brought upon him, on account of his brother's ill behaviour, and fearing likewiſe the danger which might attend that odium, had recourſe to the Senate for their judgment concerning the late treaty. The Fathers decreed, that no treaty could be binding which was made without the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*. But though *Albinus* had raiſed recruits for the army, and got auxiliary forces from the allies, he was not ſuffered by the Tribunes of the Commons to carry with him thoſe troops into *Africa*. However, he went thither himſelf. His army had, according to the late agreement, quitted *Numidia*, and were now in winter-quarters in the Roman province. After his arrival, he would gladly have gone in queſt of *Jugurtha*, in order to leſſen, by ſome exploit, the odium occaſioned by his brother's ill conduct, yet, remembering the ſhameful flight of the ſoldiers, and the licentiouſneſs they were fallen into through a total neglect of diſcipline, he thought it moſt adviſeable to attempt nothing.

In the mean while, *C. Mamilius Limetanus*, one of the Tribunes, preferred a bill to the People at *Rome* for appointing Commiſſioners to make enquiry after thoſe by whoſe encouragement *Jugurtha* had ſlighted the

the decrees of the Senate; thoſe Ambaſſadors or Generals who had taken the King's money; thoſe who had delivered him up his elephants and deſerters; and thoſe who had made any conventions with him relating to peace or war; and to draw up informations againſt the offenders, in order to their trial. The guilty, though they durſt not openly oppoſe this bill, uſed all clandeſtine means poſſible, by the agency of their friends, and eſpecially thoſe among the *Latine* and other *Italian* allies, to defeat the meaſure. But all their intrigues were ineffectual, the People being incredibly zealous on this occaſion, more from hatred to the Nobles, againſt whom the bill was levelled, than from any concern for the Common Weal. So violent was party-rage at that time! Now, while the reſt of the Nobility were ſtruck with fear, *M. Scaurus*, who had been Lieutenant to *Beſtia*, as was above-mentioned, found means, in the hurry and confuſion the city was in, by the ſtormy exultations of the Commonalty, and the flight of the *Patricians*, to get himſelf appointed one of the three Inquiſitors, who, by the *Mamilian Law*, were to take cognizance of the matters in queſtion. But though he had ſuch an amazing influence as to be choſen one of the Triumvirs, it ſeems that he had not ſufficient to ſcreen his aſſociates in iniquity. It is remarkable that *Salluſt* does not mention the perſons who were arraigned and condemned on this occaſion; but ſays, that the proſecutions were carried on with great ſeverity and violence, according to the then prevailing caprice of the Commons, who now grew inſolent upon victory, as the Nobles had often done before.

On this occaſion *Salluſt* falls into a digreſſion concerning the riſe [that is, the revival] of the oppoſite factions at *Rome*. His words are obſervable, and are to this effect:

"The diſtinction of the People and Senate into oppoſite factions, with all the evils that followed it, aroſe at *Rome*, not many years before; and was the effect of profound repoſe, and a full enjoyment of thoſe things which are in the higheſt eſtimation among men. For, before

before the deſtruction of *Carthage*, the People and Senate proceeded with much temper and concord in the adminiſtration of the State: neither was there any contention among the citizens for ſuperiority and pre-eminence. The fear of their foreign enemies preſerved good order in the whole community: but, as ſoon as they were rid of that fear, then inſtantly ruſhed in ambition and debauchery, exceſſes which proſperity delights in. Inſomuch that the Peace and Repoſe which they had ſo paſſionately wiſhed for in times of war and public danger, proved, now they had obtained it, more deſtructive and calamitous than either; for now the Nobility began to turn their dignity into tyranny, the People their liberty into licentiouſneſs: and each individual, conſidering only himſelf, ſtudied nothing but to gain wealth by every means poſſible."

"Thus, whilſt the two parties were quarreling and fighting for power, the Commonwealth, which lay between them, was miſerably rent in pieces. It muſt be owned, that, in the efforts of faction, the Nobility proved the more prevalent: the authority of the populace, as it is looſe and diffuſed, was found to be of inferior force in the hands of a multitude: ſo that war abroad, and all affairs at home, were wholly managed by a few men: in their diſpoſal lay the treaſury, the provinces, the ſeveral magiſtracies, public dignities and triumphs. The Commonalty were oppreſſed by poverty, and by ſerving in the armies, while the ſpoils of victory were engroſſed by the Generals, and a few Grandees. Nay the parents and children of thoſe very ſoldiers were, at the ſame time, driven out of their rightful ſettlements, if they chanced but to border upon a great man's eſtate. In this manner did avarice, ſupported by power, inſolently, and unmeaſurably, invade, violate, and lay waſte all things: utterly regardleſs of juſtice, and even of common prudence, till, with a blind precipation, it ran furious to it's own perdition. For from the moment that, amongſt the Nobility, there aroſe ſuch as preferred genuine glory to uſurped power, the State

was

was in an uproar, and ſuch civil feuds enſued, as if the univerſe had been tumbling into a chaos."

"For after *T. Gracchus* and his brother *Caius*, men whoſe anceſtors had, in the Punic and other wars, done ſignal ſervice to the State, began to aſſert the liberties of the Commons, and expoſe the wickedneſs of the Oligarchy, the Nobles, conſcious of their own guilt, and thence ſorely diſmayed, had recourſe, ſometimes to the aid of our *Italian* allies, and to ſuch as enjoyed the rights of *Latium*; ſometimes to the Roman Knights, whom the hopes of a confederacy in power with the *Patricians* had detached from the intereſt of the Commons; and, thus aſſiſted, ſet themſelves forcibly to defeat the purſuits of the *Gracchi*. Firſt, they aſſaſſinated *Tiberius*, while a Tribune of the People: a few years after, *Caius*, while a Triumvir for planting new colonies; and, with him, his collegue *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*. And in truth the *Gracchi*, from an eager deſire of carrying their point, in ſome inſtances ſhewed a want of temper. But a good man would chuſe rather to ſuffer an injuſtice, than, by unjuſt meaſures, to ward againſt it. The victory which, [by the worſt of means,] the Nobles obtained againſt the *Gracchi*, they made a moſt inſolent uſe of, dooming numbers of citizens to death, or to baniſhment; meaſures which rather weakened than ſtrengthened the foundation of their own power. For it has proved the ruin of many great States, that the contending parties therein have been bent upon gaining victory at any rate, that they might wreak their vengeance on the vanquiſhed."

It is ſaid that the Triumvirs proceeded with great ſeverity, which, if we conſider that *Scaurus* was one of them, is as ſtrange and unaccountable as that he ſhould have been choſen to that office. *L. Opimius*, *Sp. Albinus*, *Calpurnius Beſtia*, and *C. Cato*, all men of conſular dignity, were condemned; as alſo *Sulp. Galba*, one of the pontifical college, the firſt Prieſt, according to *Cicero*, who was condemned by a public ſentence. As for *Opimius*, the memory of his cruelties, in the affair of *C. Gracchus*, was ſo freſh that the People had no compaſſion

Cic. in Brut. c. 33. 34.

compaſſion for him; and he was obliged, ſays *Plutarch*, to paſs his old age in the diſhonour and ſhame, which he had brought upon himſelf by his avarice and corruption. Yet *Cicero* laments the fate of this *Opimius*, calls him *Præſtantiſſimus*; and ſays he was the only Roman that, having deſerved well of the Republic, was ever condemned by the People; and complains, that he who had left ſo illuſtrious a monument in the Forum, ſhould have his own monument, his ſepulchre, totally neglected on the ſhore of Dyrrachium. By the monument, which *Opimius* left in the Forum, the Orator doubtleſs means the Temple which *Opimius* erected to Concord, in memory of his having humbled and quieted the People by a maſſacre of three thouſand of the citizens. The ſame writer calls the Judges who condemned *Opimius* and his aſſociates *Gracchani Judices*; by which it would ſeem he means the Roman Knights, to whom, by a law of *C. Gracchus*, the right of judging had been transferred. Yet, as the Judges, whoever they were, muſt have formed their ſentence by the report of the Commiſſioners, of whom *Scaurus*, Prince of the Senate, was the chief, a man whom *Cicero* calls *the Guardian of the Republic*, declaring that he not only admired him, but loved him; it is very ſtrange that the report ſhould be ſo little in favour of a perſon who had deſerved ſo well of the Republic as the orator would have us think *Opimius* had done.

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Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the ſon of *Calvus*, and nephew of *Macedonicus*, was now raiſed to the Conſulſhip with *M. Junius Silanus*. The province of *Numidia* fell by lot to *Metellus*, who having no confidence in the old army, made new levies with great diligence, and got together vaſt quantities of proviſions, arms, and all things neceſſary for a difficult war. Though *Metellus*, ſays *Salluſt*, was of a contrary party to the People, yet on account of his good qualities, and eſpecially becauſe he was proof againſt corruption [by money] a neceſſary virtue at this juncture, they conceived great hopes of his ſucceſs. The Conſul choſe *C. Marius* and *P. Rutilius* for his Lieutenants. At his arrival in *Numidia* he found the

the troops ſo extremely diſſolute, ſo unfit for action, or for enduring fatigue, that, though he knew the Roman People impatiently expected an end of the war, he would not venture to lead the army againſt the enemy, till he had reſtored the antient diſcipline. Even the common ſoldiers were grown too indolent to make their own bread, or dreſs their own victuals; they ſold their allowance of corn, and bought bread, and victuals ready dreſſed; and they kept ſervants, and beaſts of burden, to fetch wood, and do all other drudgery, which they ſhould have done themſelves. *Metellus* ſet himſelf to rectify theſe diſorders; and, while he was thus employed, *Jugurtha*, who had intelligence of his proceedings, and knew he was not to be bribed, began now to be really afraid, and to think ſeriouſly of ſurrendering himſelf. To this end, he ſent Embaſſadors to the Roman General, with humble aſſurances that if he might have his own life, and the lives of his children granted, he was ready to yield every thing elſe to the pleaſure of the Roman People. But *Metellus*, conſidering the *Numidians* as a faithleſs People, fickle, and fond of change, inſtead of hearkening in earneſt to the embaſſy, ſecretly tampered with the Embaſſadors, each of them ſeparately; and, finding them fit for his purpoſe, engaged them, by large promiſes, to deliver up to him *Jugurtha*, alive, if poſſible, and, if that could not be done, his dead body. In public, the Conſul gave ſuch an anſwer to the Embaſſadors as the King had wiſhed. Not many days after this, *Metellus* marched his forces into *Numidia*, where he found not any thing like a face of war. The country houſes were full of inhabitants, the fields covered with cattle, and the huſbandmen at work in their farms, as in a time of profound peace. From the towns the King's officers came out, and met the Conſul, offering to furniſh him with proviſions, and with carriages; and, in a word, to obey all his commands. Nevertheleſs he marched on with the ſame caution as if the enemy had been near at hand, cauſing the country on all ſides to be viewed a great way round, becauſe he ſuſpected thoſe tokens of ſubmiſſion to be mere feints, and to be employed

employed to cover ſome inſidious purpoſe. For *Jugurtha* was ſo full of guile, and ſo expert a General, that it was difficult to determine whether he were more to be feared, abſent or preſent, in peace or in war.

Not far from the route that *Metellus* kept, there was a *Numidian* city called *Vacca*, the moſt flouriſhing mart in the whole kingdom, and in which were ſettled many *Italian* merchants. Here the Conſul placed a garriſon, both for the ſake of trying whether this would be quietly born, and for the conveniency of the army, which, by the means of ſo many traders, might be amply ſupplied with every thing neceſſary.

In the mean while *Jugurtha*, by repeated Embaſſies, implored peace, offering to ſurrender every thing to *Metellus* without any condition but his own life, and the lives of his children. The Conſul bribed the laſt Embaſſadors, as he had done the former, to deliver up their maſter to him, and then diſmiſſed them, without either refuſing or promiſing the King the peace he deſired, expecting every hour the execution of the promiſes of thoſe he had corrupted.

When *Jugurtha* compared the words of *Metellus* with his actions, and perceived that arts and devices, like his own, were employed againſt him; that he had only words of peace from the Conſul, and war in fact; that he had loſt his principal city; that the enemy became acquainted with his country, and that his People were excited to revolt; he reſolved, being thus conſtrained by neceſſity, to try the fortune of arms. With this view, having learnt the route taken by the *Romans*, and gathering hopes of victory from the advantages of a certain ſpot where he could poſt himſelf, he raiſed as great a force as he could, and, by private ways, got before the army of *Metellus*.

At a few[a] miles diſtance from the river *Muthul*, which

[a] The uſual reading is *twenty* miles. But this ſeems to be a miſtake of the Tranſcribers. For it is evident, from the context, that the mountain was not far from the river, probably not above *three* miles, at moſt. Mr. *Gordon*, and other Tranſlators of *Salluſt*, by not ſufficiently

which ran from the South, there ſtood, parallel to the river, a waſte uncultivated mountain. Over this mountain the Conſul muſt needs paſs in purſuing his march. In the mid-way between the mountain and the river roſe a high hill, covered with wild-olives, myrtles, and ſuch trees as delight in a dry ſandy ſoil; the plain around it being barren and deſert, except thoſe parts that were neareſt the river. Along this hill *Jugurtha* poſted himſelf with all the cavalry, and a body of choſen infantry; the whole extended in a long line, not deep in file. He gave the command of his elephants, and part of the foot, to *Bomilcar*, poſting him in that part of the line which was next the river.

After this diſpoſition, he paſſed through the ſeveral diviſions of his troops, urging them to call to mind their former bravery and ſucceſs, and to defend themſelves, and his dominions, from *Roman* covetouſneſs; told them, that they were going to engage with thoſe whom they had before vanquiſhed, and conſtrained to paſs under the yoke, cowards, who had only changed their General, not their hearts. He added, that he had taken all the precautions of a provident General to ſecure to them the victory, that they had the advantage of the ground, ſurpaſſed the enemy in number, and were better ſoldiers. While the King was thus encouraging his men, and inſtructing them to keep themſelves ready to fall on, *Metellus*, who as yet knew nothing of the enemy, was coming with his legions down the mountain. When he firſt deſcried *Jugurtha*'s army in ambuſh, he

ently attending to the ſtory, have beſtowed admirable ſenſes on the *Romans*: For, according to them, *Metellus deſcries* [without the help of glaſſes] the *Numidians* in ambuſh at *ten miles* diſtance, and, at the ſame diſtance, his Lieutenant *Rutilius hears* the ſhouts of the two armies when engaged in fight. That the Copyiſt made a miſtake in the *number* of miles, one of the Annotators (in the *Var.* Edit.) thinks to be certain, for this reaſon: That it was impoſſible for *Rutilius* to do in one day what he is ſaid to have done, if the mountain had been twenty miles from the river.———Nec enim fieri potuit, ut Rutilius ab hoc monte præmiſſus a Metello ad flumen, uno eodemque die eo pervenerit, caſtra munierit, et———rurſus redierit ad Metellum, ſi tantum ſpatii interfuiſſet, URSIN.

knew not what to make of the unuſual appearance; for the objects were not diſtinct, yet the trees and buſhes did not ſufficiently conceal the *Numidians* and their horſes. It was not long before he diſcovered the King's ſtratagem; whereupon he made a halt, and changed the diſpoſition of his troops, ſtrengthening that ſide which was next the enemy, and then marched down into the plain. Perceiving that the *Numidians* did not ſtir from their poſt, and fearing leſt his army ſhould be diſtreſſed by thirſt, in a parched and barren ſoil, he ſent forward *Rutilius*, one of his Lieutenants, with ſome light cohorts, and a part of the cavalry, to mark out a camp near the river; for he imagined that the *Numidians* would retard his march by frequent attacks, and, ſince they durſt not venture a pitched battle, attempt to weary out his men with labour and thirſt. He then moved on ſlowly. *Jugurtha* no ſooner perceived that the rear of the *Romans* had paſſed his front, than he detached two thouſand foot to poſſeſs themſelves of that part of the mountain by which the Roman army had deſcended, that it might not ſerve for a place of retreat to them, in caſe they were routed. This done, he ſounded a charge, and, attacking them in the rear, and on both flanks, at the ſame inſtant, threw them into ſome diſorder. The efforts of thoſe who made the ſtouteſt oppoſition were eluded by the manner in which the *Numidians* fought, by whoſe miſſive weapons they were wounded, while unable to bring them to a cloſe engagement. For *Jugurtha*'s cavalry, whenever they were preſſed, did not reire in a body, or to any one place, but diſperſed themſelves as widely as poſſible, and if the *Romans* did the like, in order to purſue them, the *Numidians* turned ſhort upon the purſuers, and, being the more numerous, were ſure to have the advantage. And when, to ſhun the vengeful fury of their enemies, the hill ſeemed to offer them a more ſecure retreat than the plain, their horſes could eaſily make their way through the thickets, while the horſes of the *Romans*, not being uſed to that work, were not able to follow them.

Jugurtha

Jugurtha and *Metellus* ſhewed themſelves on this occaſion to be able Generals, and the victory was long conteſted between them. *Metellus*'s ſoldiers were better than thoſe of the King, but the King had the advantage in numbers, and in ſituation. The *Romans*, being aware that they had no retreat, and that they could not bring the enemy to a cloſe engagement, found it neceſſary, eſpecially as the night was coming on, to force them, if poſſible, in their poſt on the hill. Exerting their utmoſt ſtrength and bravery in this attempt, they ſucceeded; yet few of the *Numidians* were ſlain, which was owing to their ſwiftneſs, and the *Romans* being unacquainted with the country.

During this conflict, *Bomilcar*, to whom, (as we before obſerved) the King had given the command of the elephants, and a part of the infantry, had, at a diſtance, followed *Rutilius*, whom the Conſul had ſent before to mark out a camp near the river: and, when the *Numidian*, having learnt, by his ſcouts, that *Rutilius* was encamped, heard the ſhouts of the two armies that were engaged, imagining that perhaps *Rutilius* would return to the aſſiſtance of his General, he extended his troops in ſuch a manner as he thought was neceſſary to intercept him, and, in that diſpoſition, advanced towards the Roman camp. The *Romans*, though ſurpriſed at his ſudden appearance, drew themſelves up in order ſo expeditiouſly as to be ready to receive the charge, which they did with great reſolution. The battle did not laſt longer than while the *Numidians* had hope in their elephants; and finding their beaſts, by reaſon of the trees and buſhes that hampered them, become wholly unſerviceable, they threw down their arms and fled, eſcaping by favour of the night. Four of the elephants were taken; the reſt, forty in number, were killed. After this victory, the victors, uneaſy becauſe *Metellus* had ſtayed longer than they expected, advanced in good order to ſeek him. He, in the mean time, was marching towards the river, and, it being dark, the two parties, on their approach, miſtook each other

for the enemy. A battle would have enſued, if ſome horſemen, detached to get intelligence, had not diſcovered the truth.

Metellus continued four days in the ſame camp, and thence ſent out ſpies to learn what was become of *Jugurtha*, how he was employed, whether he was ſtill maſter of an army, and how he bore his defeat.

The King had retired into places difficult of acceſs, and was there collecting a more numerous army than he had before; but chiefly of huſbandmen and peaſants; for after a defeat none of the *Numidians* follow the King except his horſe guards, but each man retires whither his inclinations lead him; nor does this bring any ſtain upon their honour, it being the cuſtom of the nation.

Metellus, perceiving by this account, that the King's ſpirit was not yet broken by his defeats, and conſidering that it was impoſſible to force him to fight but upon his own terms, and that the *Romans* loſt more men by a victory, than the *Numidians* by being vanquiſhed, reſolved to change his manner of carrying on the war. He led his forces into the moſt fertile parts of the country, laid waſte the lands, burnt many ſmall towns and caſtles, put all the youth able to bear arms to the ſword, and gave up every thing elſe as a prey to his ſoldiers. This proceeding ſpread ſuch an univerſal terror, that great numbers of the inhabitants ſubmitted to the *Romans*, gave hoſtages, and ſupplied the army with corn and other neceſſaries in abundance. Garriſons alſo were readily received wherever *Metellus* thought fit to place them. By theſe meaſures *Jugurtha* found himſelf more diſtreſſed than by the defeat he had lately ſuffered, being now obliged to purſue an enemy, on the avoiding of whom he had once built his whole hope of ſafety. However, he did not purſue with his whole force, becauſe he would not, on any terms, hazard a general engagement; but, cauſing the main ſtrength of his army to keep together in a proper ſituation, he, by private roads, and in the night, attended the motions of *Metellus* with a choſen body of horſe, and, falling ſuddenly

ſuddenly on ſome parties of Roman ſoldiers that had roamed from the army, and were ſtrolling about the country, ſlew a great number of them, and took many priſoners; nor did a ſingle man eſcape unhurt. After which, he, according to the *African* method of making war again diſappeared[a].

In the mean time, the news of the Conſul's progreſs had cauſed a mighty joy at *Rome*; *Metellus* was the great ſubject of popular applauſe. "He had conduct-"ed himſelf and his army after the old Roman man-"ner: by reſolute bravery he had gained a victory "over enemies who had the advantage of the ground; "he had poſſeſſed himſelf of their country; and had "driven *Jugurtha* (elated by the baſe and daſtardly "behaviour of *Aulus*) to ſeek a refuge in wilds and "deſerts." For all theſe favours of heaven, the Senate decreed thankſgivings to the immortal gods; and, when the conſular faſces were transferred to *Serv. Sulpicius Galba* and *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, for the new year, the Senate continued *Metellus* in his command of the army, with the title of Proconſul. The honours done to the merit of this General made him more eager than ever to compleat his glory by a final victory: yet all his marches and motions were with the utmoſt caution. That he might ſpread more widely the terror of the Roman arms, he divided the troops between himſelf and *Marius*; the two leaders marching and encamping ſeparately, yet not at too great a diſtance to be able to ſuccour each other on occaſion. Y. of R. 645. Bef. Chr. 107. 344 Conſul-p.

Jugurtha, by ſudden irruptions and frequent attacks, kept the Roman legions in continual alarm, and yet found means to avoid a battle: which *Metellus* having, for ſome time, experienced, he reſolved to lay ſiege to *Zama*, a conſiderable town, and of great ſtrength, in hopes that the King would lead his army thither to re-

[a] This year *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, and *Livius Druſus* were Cenſors. *Livius* dying, the law required that *Scaurus* ſhould abdicate; yet he refuſed to do it, till ſome of the Tribunes of the Commons threatened to put him in priſon, if he did not obey. *Plut. in Quæſt. Rom.* p. 276.

lieve it. The King, receiving early notice of the Proconſul's deſign, got to *Zama* before him, and ſtrengthened the garriſon with a body of deſerters, promiſing the inhabitants at the ſame time that he would haſten to their ſuccour. And, accordingly, while *Metellus* was buſy in an aſſault upon the town, and the ſoldiers, whom he had appointed to guard his camp, were negligently beholding the action, the *Numidian* appeared on a ſudden, and forced his way into the camp by one of the gates. The Conſul, upon notice, diſpatched all the Roman cavalry, and, ſoon after, *Marius* with the infantry of the allies, to repel the enemy; and the King did not long abide the charge, but retired to a place of ſecurity. Next day *Metellus*, having poſted all his horſe on that ſide of his camp which *Jugurtha* had aſſaulted, renewed his attacks on *Zama*. The *Numidian* appeared again, fell ſuddenly upon the Roman cavalry, and put the foremoſt ranks into diſorder. As he had mixed ſome foot with his horſe, his troops ſtood firmly to the charge, and the engagement was long and obſtinate. *Metellus* finding, after ſome time, that he could neither take the town, nor force *Jugurtha* to a pitched battle, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege; and, the ſeaſon being far advanced, he retired into that part of the Roman province which lay neareſt to *Numidia*, and there paſſed the winter. But he did not ſpend it in idleneſs; for ſince the way of arms had not ſucceeded to his mind, he applied himſelf to deſtroy the King by the treachery of his own friends. To this end, having contrived to draw *Bomilcar* (*Jugurtha*'s chief favourite before ſpoken of) to a private conference, he ſolemnly promiſed him that the Senate ſhould grant him pardon, and the poſſeſſion of all his effects, if he would deliver up the King either alive or dead. It is ſaid that *Bomilcar* was eaſily prevailed upon; becauſe he feared, leſt if a peace with *Rome* were concluded, he ſhould be given up to puniſhment for the murder of *Maſſiva*. Yet it would ſeem, that he made ſome ſcruple to aſſaſſinate his maſter; for, at this time, he only endeavoured to perſuade him to a voluntary ſurrendry,

exhort-

exhorting him to take pity upon himſelf, his children, and his ſubjects, and to conſider that he had ſufficiently tried his fortune; that his kingdom was now much weakened; that the *Numidians* had long ſuffered all the calamities of war, and might conſult their own ſafety, if he neglected it. At laſt *Jugurtha* conſented to ſend Embaſſadors to the Proconſul, with an offer to ſubmit to whatever conditions of peace he ſhould think fit to preſcribe him. *Metellus*, by the advice of his council, firſt ordered him to pay 200,000 pounds weight of ſilver, to deliver up all his elephants, and a certain quantity of arms and horſes; all which he executed punctually. The Proconſul then demanded that he ſhould yield up the deſerters[a]. *Jugurtha* obey'd in this alſo, and gave up the much greater part of them; ſome few, in the beginning of the negotiation, had eſcaped to *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*. But when, laſtly, the *Numidian* was ordered to repair to *Tiſidium*, there to receive further directions, he began to heſitate. Conſcious of his crimes, and fearing leſt their due puniſhment was approaching, he ſpent ſeveral days without having power to come to any reſolution. At length, the terrible apprehenſion of being precipitated from the Heighth of Royalty, to the low condition of a Slave, determined him to try once more the chance of war.

SALLUST reports, that, about this time, CAIUS MARIUS, being in Winter Quarters at *Utica*, and having offered certain Sacrifices to the Gods, was told by a Diviner, [an *Haruſpex*] *that great and wonderful favours to him were prognoſticated in the Entrails of the Victims; and he might, therefore, boldly purſue whatever deſigns he had formed, ſecure of ſucceſs by the Protection and aſſiſtance of the Heavenly Powers.* The Hiſtorian adds, that MARIUS had, before this, been ſeized with an ardent

[a] According to a fragment of *Appian*, theſe deſerters were *Thracians* and *Ligurians*. The ſame author adds, that *Metellus* cauſed the hands of ſome of them to be cut off; and that, by his orders, the reſt were fixed in the ground, up to the middle, then wounded and tormented by the ſoldiers with darts and arrows, and then burnt, while they were yet alive. *Appius in Fragm.* Lib. VIII.

Deſire

Deſire of the Conſulſhip[b], and that, excepting a Noble Birth, he had, in truth, every Qualification requiſite for riſing to that high Station: *Induſtry, Probity, great Military Skill: In the Field, the high and daring Spirit of a Warrior; in the City, Moderation, the Diſpoſition and Deportment proper to Civil Life. Superior and inſenſible to all the allurements of Riches and Senſuality, he thirſted after Glory alone. And ſo well had he behaved himſelf in the ſeveral offices through which he had paſſed, as to be always thought, by thoſe who remarked his Conduct, to deſerve a higher Station than what he actually filled.* Yet, as worthy a man as MARIUS was TILL THIS TIME[c], (for

[b] It was ſeven years ſince he had been Prætor; whereas the law required but three years interval between the Prætorſhip and the Conſulate. *Cic. de Offic.* l. iii. c. 20.

[c] Tamen is ad id locorum talis Vir (*nam poſtea ambitione præceps datus eſt* &c.) I ſhall here take the liberty to offer to the Reader's Conſideration the following *Queſtion*, which the preſent Caſe ſuggeſts, *Whether the Practice, which ſome Hiſtorians, of Great Name, have fallen into, of prefacing their account of a Man's Actions with giving his* CHARACTER, *either as drawn by former Writers, or as it reſulted to themſelves, from a Survey of all they knew of his Conduct, be not an unfair Practice? Unfair, ſometimes, with regard to the perſon, whoſe actions they are going to relate; always unfair with regard to the Reader: Becauſe ſuch Paintings will naturally prevent his making a free uſe of his own Judgment, and may oftentimes miſlead him?* It is a trite Obſervation, that, in point of Moral Behaviour, no man is more unlike to another, than one and the ſame man has been to himſelf, in different periods of his Life: And yet, if, before we read the Hiſtory of a Warrior or a Stateſman, we are impreſſed with a very diſadvantageous opinion of the turn and diſpoſition of his Heart, we ſhall be apt, without any other reaſon, to impute to unworthy motives all his public actions, in every Stage of his Life; in which Cenſure it is ten to one that we err widely.

And ſo likewiſe, if the character be greatly to the advantage of the perſon characteriſed, this will incline us to overlook, or to conſtrue favourably, or, at leaſt, to ſeek ſome covering to palliate his very worſt Actions, Actions of Baſeneſs the moſt ſhameful and inexcuſable.

Of each of theſe conſequences of *Character-drawing*, I ſhall give an inſtance

PLUTARCH, by introducing his account of MARIUS's Life and Actions, with a very odious *Character* of him, (ſuch as he, indeed, deſerved in his laſt Years) has miſled (as I conceive) certain * Modern Writers of *Roman Hiſtory*, to apply that Character to *the whole Conduct* of MARIUS from his very firſt entrance into the world at 17 years of age

* See *Hiſt. Rom.* by the Jeſuit Catrou & Rouillé

(for Ambition hurried him, afterwards, into ſtrange Exceſſes) he had not hitherto ventured to ſtand for the Conſul-

Il ne connut JAMAIS (ſays the ingenious * Continuator of Mr. Rollin's Roman Hiſtory) *les loix de la droiture, de la franchiſe, de la reconnoiſſance, dés que ſa Fortune, ou l'execution de ſes projets s'y trouva intereſſée. C'eſt un homme qui n'eut qu'une paſſion, l'envie de s'aggrandir, mais qui ne ſe fit* JAMAIS *un ſcrupule d'y tout ſacrifier.* CE FUT CETTE AMBITION QUI LE TIRA DE LA CHARRUE *pour lui faire prendre la profeſſion des armes, par laquelle il eſpera pouvoir s'elever. Il fit ſes premieres* † *Campagnes au Siege de Numance ſous Scipion l'Africain*, &c.

* M. Crevier, Tom. ix. p. 277.

† Vid. ſupr. p. 10. Note a.

The Continuator has this from the Greek Biographer, whoſe teſtimony concerning MARIUS, when *Tribune of the Commons*, he likewiſe adopts, a few pages after. MARIUS—SE FIT EGALEMENT ESTIMER DES DEUX PARTIS, COMME NE CHERCHANT A PLAIRE NI AUX UNS, NI AUX AUTRES, MAIS ENVISEAGEANT UNIQUEMENT LE BIEN PUBLIC.

Dacier's Plat. Tom. ix. p. 281. Vid. ſupr. p. 11.

Theſe two Paſſages muſt ſurely appear not to be very conſiſtent; but this, I think, they will ſerve to evince, That an Hiſtorian, by *Character-drawing, at the Entrance of his Work*, may, ſometimes, bring even himſelf into inconveniencies.

Plutarch, indeed, ſeems not to have been diſpoſed to do juſtice to the character of MARIUS. Perhaps, the rough Soldier's total neglect of *Greek* literature, and his declared Contempt of the *Greek* Language, may have biaſſed the Mind and Pen of the *Greek* Philoſopher and Hiſtorian more ſtrongly than he himſelf was aware of.

" If he could have been perſuaded, ſays Plutarch, (in the Introduction to his life of MARIUS) " to pay his Devotions to the *Grecian Muſes* " *and Graces*, he would not, after bearing ſo many honourable Offices, " and performing ſo many glorious Exploits, have given the Reins to " implacable anger, ill-timed ambition, and inſatiable avarice, paſſions " which carried him to the commiſſion of ſuch horrible Injuſtices and " Cruelties, as rendered him, in his old age, both infamous and miſer- " able."

[By the way; we are not bound to reckon this among the moſt judicious of *Plutarch*'s Reflections, ſeeing, by his own account, SYLLA, who did ſacrifice to the *Muſes* and *Graces*, had more Vices than MARIUS, and ſurpaſſed him in Cruelty.]

Our Biographer intimates to us, that Metellus laid the Foundation of MARIUS's Fortune, by appointing him to be one of his Lieutenants, and that MARIUS behaved himſelf *ungratefully* towards his General, *from the very day they landed in Africa.*

Now, in the firſt place, how can this *Lieutenancy* be ſaid, with any propriety, to be *the foundation of* MARIUS's *Fortune*, who had, already, been raiſed to the *Tribuneſhip of the Commons*, and, after that, to the *Prætorſhip*, and was, at this time, eſteemed the beſt Soldier in the Commonwealth?

And, in the next place, though we find, that MARIUS's *Lieutenancy* proved an immediate Step to the *Conſulſhip*, Does it any where appear, that

Conſulſhip; the Nobility having, for a long time, appropriated the office to themſelves, juſt as if, by Law, they

that this was the Intention of METELLUS? Did he mean ſo great a benefit to MARIUS? No, the contrary is evident: So that no Gratitude was due from MARIUS to METELLUS, as to a perſon, to whom he owed either the foundation of his Fortune, or the means of riſing to the Conſulſhip.

"MARIUS, ſays *Plutarch*, did not conſider himſelf as obliged to "the Conſul for the honourable Poſt of Lieutenant, but to *Fortune* "only, who was now pleaſed to favour him with a fine opportunity "of diſplaying his Abilities, and, thereby, riſing to the higheſt Dig- "nities in the State. *He diſdained to do any thing for the Glory of his* "GENERAL; but, *in all his Actions, had a View to his own Glory, and* "*to that alone.* In this view, he, on every occaſion, gave ſignal proofs "of his Courage; and, as he never declined any great and important "Enterpriſe, through fear of the difficulties and dangers which attend- "ed it; ſo he never, through *Pride*, diſdained to charge himſelf with "the execution of the moſt inconſiderable. Surpaſſing all the other "*Officers* in foreſight and military Skill, he vied with the *Common Sol-* "*diers* in temperance, and in patient enduring of hardſhips and fatigue; "chuſing to eat and lodge no better than they; and, whenever a Camp "was to be fortified, mixing among them, and putting his hand to the "work: By which means he not only gained their affections, but made "them content and chearful in the performance of Duty. For the "Roman Soldiers were much better pleaſed, when a Commander con- "deſcended to ſhare their labours, than when he indulged them in "ſloth and idleneſs."

How to reconcile this Conduct of MARIUS with *his diſdaining to do any thing for the promotion of* METELLUS's *Glory*, ſeems to be ſomewhat difficult: Becauſe certain it is, that, by whatever *paſſions* MARIUS might be ſecretly animated, he well knew, that he could do no Exploit under the Direction and Auſpices of his General, but what would redound to the Credit of his GENERAL: And it is not to be doubted, that METELLUS's *principal* view, when he choſe MARIUS for his Lieutenant, was the advancement of his own Honour, to which he thought the exemplary Behaviour of MARIUS, and his diſtinguiſhed Talents for military affairs, would be greatly inſtrumental; and, in this, he was not diſappointed.

Nor is there any ſhadow of proof, that MARIUS, *from the time of his landing in Africa, had malevolent* * *Diſpoſitions towards his General.* If he had ſuch Diſpoſitions, he kept them concealed from METELLUS; or, if not, SALLUST was perfectly ignorant of this particular, when he wrote the *Jugurthine War*: For this Hiſtorian, having related how *Jugurtha* ſurprized the Roman Camp, and forced his way into it, whilſt METELLUS was employed in the attack of *Zama* (the ſiege of which place he did not undertake 'till the *ſecond* year of his Command, and towards the end of the Campaign) tells us, that the *Proconſul*, when he detached MARIUS, with the auxiliaries, to recover the Camp (from which

* See Catrou, Tom. xiv. p. 59.

they had an exclusive Right to it; handing it from one to another, and looking upon every *New Man*, how distinguished

which the Guard in their consternation had fled) "conjured him, with "tears in his eyes, by their FRIENDSHIP, and by his regard for his "Country, not to suffer a Spot on the Honour of her victorious Army "to remain, nor the Enemy to escape with Impunity." ["*Eumque, "lacrumans, per* AMICITIAM, *perque Rempublicam. obsecrat, ne "quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostes inultos "abire sinat."]

It does not appear, that MARIUS, when Lieutenant to METELLUS, acted otherwise than as a brave and able Officer, zealous for the service of his Country, and the honour of his General; nor that he had a more inordinate Ambition, than even the most HONEST of the *Nobles*, his Cotemporaries. He was now 48 years old, had maintained a conduct hitherto unexceptionable, and having been *Prætor* seven years before, had a legal Right to stand for the *Consulship*. SALLUST, in his account of MARIUS, has marked the *first Steps* by which this famous Roman deviated from the Path of Virtue into that of the most enormous Wickedness: and has plainly told us the Temptation, the Provocation, by which he was seduced.

It was METELLUS's contemptuous Treatment of him, that kindled those passions of Resentment and Revenge, with which he afterwards flamed. A brave Man, and of superior lustre in that branch of Merit which was most esteemed at Rome, is it any wonder that he did not easily brook the haughty Injustice of a Grandee, to whose Successes in war during two years, he had remarkably contributed, and who, yet, despised, and insulted him, for not being nobly born?

The Insolence of the Nobles, and their violation of those Laws of Equality which had been the Source of Roman Greatness, may justly be considered as the occasional Cause of all those mischiefs which Marius brought upon his Country.

I come now to give an instance of the inconvenient consequence of *Character-drawing*, when it is *to the advantage* of the person characterised.

The Continuator of M. Rollin's Roman History, when he first speaks of METELLUS. makes no scruple to say—"THIS CONSUL HAD ALL "THE QUALITIES THAT CAN RENDER A MAN ESTIMABLE; *Ce Consul avoit tout ce qui peut rendre un homme estimable:*" Yet not many pages after, we find that METELLUS had so little sense of Honour, as to think *himself at liberty to use any means by which he might* acquire the Glory of successfully terminating the War, committed to his Conduct.——"Il prit ses quartiers d'hyver dans la Province Ro- "maine, à portee de la *Numidie*. Il ne donna pas ce tems-là à l'oisive- "te et aux delices comme faisoient souvent les autres Generaux: et ne "perdant point de vûe *Jugurtha*, il dressa de nouvelles batteries pour "parvenir à finir la guerre. *Il seroit vraiment louable, s'ill n'eut em-* "*ployé que* DES VOIES D'HONNEUR. *Mais nous avons vû qu'*IL N'E- "TOIT

Tom. ix. p. 251.

p. 168.

diſtinguiſhed ſoever by his Merit, as a *prophane* perſon, unqualified for admiſſion to that *ſacred* Honour. But now,

" TOIT PAS SCRUPULEUX SUR CET ARTICLE. TOUT MOYEN LUI " ETOIT BON POUR REUSSIR."

This is ſaid on account of the Proconſul's ſecretly practiſing with *Bomilcar*, the King's chief Confident, to deliver up his Royal Maſter alive or dead into the hands of his Enemies: On this condition, METELLUS promiſes the Felon, that the Senate ſhall not only pardon the murder he had committed at Rome, but confirm him in the poſſeſſion of his whole Fortune.

When the ingenious Writer ſays, *Nous avons vû qu'il n'etoit pas ſcrupuleux*, &c. he refers to METELLUS's former tampering, for the ſame purpoſe, with every one of the many *Ambaſſadors*, whom Jugurtha, from time to time, had ſent to him, with offers of ſubmiſſion. *Il ſonda ſes Deputes, en les entretenant chacun en particulier; et les trouvant aſſez diſpoſes à ce qu'il ſoubaita d'eux, il leur propoſa et vint à bout de leur perſuader de s'engager à lui livrer Jugurtha vif ou mort. Conduite peu genereuſe, et qui prouve que meme* LES PLUS GENS DE BIEN DU TEMS OU NOUS EN SOMMES SE RESSENTOIENT DU DEPERISSEMENT DES MOEURS. METELLUS, *pour mieux couvrir ſon jeu fait en public à ces Députés une reponſe favorable, & leur donne lieu d' entretenir leur Maître dans de bonnes eſperances.*

Tom. ix. p. 255.

De Off. M. 79, 81, 82.

May we not here apply to METELLUS himſelf, the Cenſure which CICERO paſſes on MARIUS for having calumniated METELLUS? *Poſſumus ne* MARIUM *virum Bonum judicare?*—Explica, atque excute intelligentiam tuam, ut videas, quæ ſit in ea, ſpecies, forma, et notio VIRI BONI. *Cadit ergo in* VIRUM BONUM *mentiri emolumenti causâ* ———? *Nihil profecto minus. Eſt ergo ulla res tanti, aut Commodum ullum tam expetendum ut* VIRI BONI *et ſplendorem & nomen amittas.* QUID EST, *quod afferre tantum utilitas iſta, quæ dicitur, poſſit, quantum auferre, ſi* BONI VIRI *nomen eripuerit? fidem juſtitiamque detraxerit? Quid enim intereſt utrum ex homine ſe quis convertat in belluam an in hominis figura immanitatem gerat belluæ?*

It may not perhaps be improper, on the preſent occaſion, to add to this paſſage from *Cicero*'s Offices, ſome few of the many things which he elſewhere ſpeaks in *commendation* of MARIUS.

Paradox. 2. —Caium Marium *vidimus, qui mihi ſecundis in rebus unus ex fortunatis hominibus: in adverſis, unus ex ſummis viris videbatur, quo beatius eſſe mortali nihil poteſt. Neſcis, inſane, neſcis quantas vireis virtus habeat, nomen tantum virtutis uſurpas: quid ipſa valeat, ignoras*———

Orat. pro Balb. 20. —*Quæres aliquem graviorem? conſtantiorem? præſtantiorem virtute, prudentia, religione, æquitate* [C. MARIO?]

Orat. pro Mil. 3. —*Pudicitiam cum eriperet militi tribunus militaris, in exercitu* C. MARII, PROPINQUUS EJUS IMPERATORIS: *interfectus ab eo eſt, cui vim afferebat: Facere enim probus adoleſcens periculoſè, quam perpeti turpiter maluit. Atque hunc* ILLE VIR SUMMUS, *ſcelere ſolutum, periculo liberavit.*

Plutarch

now, the prevailing paſſion of MARIUS being ſoothed and encouraged by the Diviner's Prediction, he confidently

Plutarch tells us that MARIUS not only *abſolved* the young man, but with his own hands crowned him as a Victor. But what the Biographer adds is remarkable, and ſurely diſcovers an unreaſonable prejudice againſt MARIUS, *Heureux* [I uſe Mr. *Dacier*'s Tranſlation] *s'il avoit Sacrifié ainſi ſon propre ſang à la vertu, et à la ſageſſe, et non à ſa propre ambition, et à ſes vuës d'interêt.* So likewiſe, when *Father Catrou* has related how *Jugurtha* ſurpriſed the Roman Camp while the General was making an aſſault upon *Zama*, he thus proceeds, " *Metellus, tout occupe du ſoin de ſon ataque, n'aprit que des fuiards ae ſon Camp, que Jugurtha y avoit pénétré, A l' inſtant il depute Marius, avec toute la cavalerie de ſon armee, pour enchaſſer l'ennemi.* " Ne ſouffrés pas" " *lui dit il, les larmes aux yeux,* [*The Good Father omits* per amicitiam " perque Rempublicam obſecrat *] " que le Numide puiſſe ſe vanter " d'avoir été plus heureux à nous ſurprendre, que nous à forcer Za- " ma." MARIUS EUT EGARD A SA PROPRE GLOIRE.——IL VOLE " OU SON HONNEUR L' APPELLE." Thus we ſee, that, according to theſe Writers, MARIUS never did a virtuous action, never did what was right from a right Motive. And this indeed is expreſly ſaid by PLUTARCH.——*Si pour bien juger des plus belles actions des hommes, il faut ne les conſiderer ni par elles-memes, ni par la fin qu'ils ont eué, ni par les honneurs qu'ils ont attirés à leurs auteurs mais ſeulement par les motifs qui les ont produites, il eſt certain que ni* LES EXPLOITS *de* Pyrrhus *ni ceux* DE MARIUS, NE MERITENT DE GRANDES LOUANGES, DESTITUES DE CE QUI DOIT SEUL LES FAIRE LOUER, *je veux dire,* DUN MOTIF JUSTE & HONNETE, *qui eſt l'ame des grandes actions. Il n'y que les travaux entrepris pour* LA JUSTICE, *et pour* LE BIEN DES HOMMES *qui ſoient veritablement louables. Or* CE N'A JAMAIS ETE LE BUT *de Pyrrhus, ni* DE MARIUS. *L'un et l'autre n'ont jamais rien fait que pour ſatisfaire leur* AMBITION PARTICULIERE, *et pour remplir ce* DESIR INSATIABLE DE GLORIE QUI LES DEVOROIT.

Tom. 14. p. 80.

* Vid. ſupr. p. 41.

Comp of Pyrrhus and Mar.

M. Rollin, in the Preface to his ſecond Volume of Roman Hiſtory, ſays the ſame of ALL the Romans, That VAIN GLORY was *le* MOTIF UNIQUE *de leurs plus belles actions.* Whether this notion be well founded I ſhall examine elſewhere; at preſent, let us ſuppoſe it an indiſputable Truth: and then let us aſk, What advantage could *Metellus* have over *Marius* in point of *Moral* Character? None, moſt certainly. *Metellus*, if he committed fewer Crimes than *Marius*, was not, for that Reaſon, more virtuous than He. They had neither of them any ſpark of real Virtue.

But let us ſuppoſe, as Plutarch ſeems to do, that it was poſſible for the old Romans to undertake and perform great actions, from a *Love of Juſtice*, and a *regard to Public Good*; or, in other words, that they were capable of Virtue: How does it appear, from any thing, recorded of *Metellus*, that he had more virtue than *Marius*?

If,

dently requeſted, of his General, permiſſion to go to Rome, there to preſent himſelf a Candidate for the Conſular Dignity. METELLUS, who, though poſſeſſed of many good qualities, had a mind tainted with the Pride and Haughtineſs common among the Nobles, pretended, at firſt, to wonder at his Lieutenant's Project, and adviſed him, as out of friendſhip, to be ſatisfied with his Condition, and not entertain any Views above it: and having ſententiouſly intimated to him, *That* ALL *things were not to be coveted by* ALL *men*, exhorted him, *carefully to avoid aſking of the Roman People, what they might with good reaſon refuſe him.* But MARIUS, notwithſtanding this, and a great deal more to the ſame effect, perſevering to ſolicit his Diſcharge, the Procon-

If, in imitation of ſome writers, we were to begin the Hiſtory of the actions of this *Metellus* with a Character of him, ſuch as he ſeems, by his Conduct, to have really deſerved, it would be to this effect.

That he was haughty and inſolent, deſpiſing all merit in men, who were not of his own Rank and high Birth. That he was cloſely connected with the *Honeſt*, and employed his Influence to ſupport them in their uſurpations on the Rights of the People. That, though not to be corrupted himſelf, by *money*, he was a faſt friend to thoſe *Honeſt* men who took Bribes from a Foreign Enemy,

That, to acquire the Glory of ſubduing that Enemy, when he was general of the Roman Army, he did not ſcruple to employ any means, even the baſeſt and moſt odious; and that, when he had opportunities of ſerving his Country by weakening the Enemy, he neglected his Duty out of private Pique and Envy.

I ſay, How greatly would this Character, previouſly given, diminiſh our admiration of *thoſe parts of his Conduct*, on account of which he bears a good name in Hiſtory, and is, at this Day, ſpoken of, as a man of real and diſtinguiſhed merit? The particulars, I mean, are,

1. That he ſteadily refuſed the Oath preſſed upon the *Senators* by the Marian Faction, an Oath which all the other *honeſt* Members, as well as the diſhoneſt, meanly took.

2. That he choſe to go into Exile rather than commence a Civil War.

This was, doubtleſs, very laudable, eſpecially if thoſe who propoſed it to him could have ſupported him! But it might be the effect of mere regard for his own Preſervation, it not being likely that he and his friends would have got the better of Marius.

[By the way, what ſort of *Honeſt* Men were thoſe, who, for the ſake of his perſonal Intereſt, would have involved their Country in a Civil War? *Memmius*, the *Tribune of the Commons*, dehorted the people from ways of violence on a much more weighty occaſion.]

Vid. ſupr.

ſul,

ſul, at length, anſwered him ſharply. "You need not "be in ſuch haſte to go away; it will be time enough "for you to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, when my ſon may "be your Collegue." The Son, at this time, ſerved "under his Father, and was about *twenty* years of age.

Such contemptuous Treatment, far from diverting MARIUS from his purpoſe, ſerved only to make him more eager in the purſuit of it, and to kindle in his Breaſt an inextinguiſhable anger againſt METELLUS. FROM THIS TIME, putting himſelf wholly under the guidance of the worſt of Counſellors, *Ambition* and *Revenge*, he ſaid and did every thing, which thoſe paſſions dictated to him. To the ſoldiers that were under his Command in their Winter Quarters, he allowed unuſual liberty, relaxing the rigour of their Diſcipline, which he had hitherto always enforced, by his own Example, no leſs than by his Authority. Amongſt the Roman Merchants (of whom there were great numbers at Utica) he ſeverely cenſured his General's Conduct, inſinuating, that he was a vain man, had the pride of a King, and, being too fond of command, had protracted the war, without neceſſity: and he boaſted, that, were he himſelf intruſted with only one half of the army, he would, in a few days, have Jugurtha in chains. The Merchants liſtened to this Diſcourſe the more readily, and thought it the more reaſonable, becauſe they had ſuffered, in their Commerce, by the continuance of the war, and becauſe no meaſures ſeem expeditious enough to men who are in great haſte to be rich.

Not to neglect any means by which his Views might be promoted, he made court, even by flattery, to a poor unhappy Numidian, the faculties of whoſe mind were impaired by Diſeaſe. His name was *Gauda*; he was Grandſon of *Maſniſſa*; and being a ſon of *Manaſtabal*, was brother to *Jugurtha*, though by a different Mother. King *Micipſa*, by his Will, had named this *Gauda* to be next in ſucceſſion to the Crown, after his three immediate Heirs. The crazy man having been refuſed, by the Proconſul, certain honours, which could not be granted him without violating the Roman Cuſtoms, was grievouſly

grievouſly affronted. In the height of his Diſcontent, MARIUS accoſts him. "*What! A Man of Regal Dig-*
"*nity*——and a man *of ſuch importance*——*a Grand-*
"*ſon of* MASINISSA *to be treated ſo ignominiouſly!* De-
"mand ſatisfaction at Rome, for the inſult you have
"ſuffered from the General. You may depend upon
"my aſſiſtance. Nothing could hinder your immedi-
"ate Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of Numidia, were *Ju-*
"*gurtha* either killed or taken priſoner; and one of
"theſe would quickly be effected, if I were Conſul,
"and intruſted with the Command of the Troops."

By theſe, and other ſuch like methods, MARIUS engaged *Gauda*, the Roman Knights, the Soldiers, and *many* of the Merchants (and the Hope of a ſpeedy Peace engaged *ſtill* more) to write to their Friends at Rome, inveighing againſt METELLUS for his ſlow procedure in the War, and expreſſing their earneſt deſires, that the Conduct of it might be given to MARIUS. The concurrence of ſo many perſons, in ſoliciting for his Promotion, did him great honour; and the times too ſeemed much to favour his pretenſions; the NOBLES having lately ſuffered a terrible overthrow by the *Ma-*
Vid. ſupr. p. 30. *milian* * Law, and the COMMONS, in general, being now diſpoſed to raiſe *New Men* to the higheſt Dignities.

THOUGH *Jugurtha*, by a fraudulent treaty, had been ſtripped of a conſiderable part of his treaſure, his arms and his troops, yet he now, with great diligence, aſſembled an army, fortified the towns in his poſſeſſion, and endeavoured, by promiſes and threatnings, to bring over thoſe which had revolted from him. *Metellus* had put a garriſon into *Vacca*, one of the largeſt and richeſt cities of *Numidia*, and had given the government of the place to *T. Turpilius Silanus*, an *Italian*, his particular friend, with whom he was connected by the ties of Hoſpitality, ſubſiſting from Father to Son. The chief men of the city, being gained by *Jugurtha*, took the opportunity of a public feſtival to invite the Governor, the Tribunes, and other officers of the garriſon, to feaſt at their houſes. Each man ſtabbed his gueſt, and then the inhabitants fell upon the Roman ſoldiers, and put them

them all to the ſword. Of all the *Italians*, *Turpilius* alone eſcaped: whether this was owing to pity in his hoſt, to compact, or to chance, is not clear[a]: But one thing (adds Salluſt) ſeems to admit of no Doubt, that, by whatſoever way he eſcaped, he was a baſe and deteſtable wretch, ſeeing, in ſo great a calamity, (amidſt a general maſſacre of his ſoldiers, countrymen, and friends) he could prefer an inglorious Life to unſullied Honour.

Metellus, the ſecond day after his loſs of the Town, recovered it by ſurprize, gave it up to be plundered, and put moſt of the inhabitants to death[b].——The Governor *Turpilius*, being brought to a Trial, and making but a weak defence, the Council of War condemned him, and, as he was a Roman Citizen with only the privileges of Latium, he ſuffered the puniſhment of being firſt ſcourged and then beheaded[c].

About the ſame time, *Bomilcar*, perceiving that *Jugurtha* had begun to ſuſpect him, turned all his thoughts to prevent, by a timely Murder of his Maſter, the probable conſequences of that ſuſpicion: and the more eaſily to ſucceed in the Enterpriſe, he engaged a Numidian Nobleman, named *Nabdalſa*, to be his aſſociate in it. Nabdalſa was very rich and very popular, and had uſed to command a ſeparate army, for performing thoſe Military Operations, to which Jugurtha, when happening either to be employed in others of greater importance, or to be fatigued with buſineſs, could not, in perſon, attend. Theſe two Conſpirators having fixed a day for the Aſſaſſination, Nabdalſa repaired to the army (at that

[a] *Plutarch* ſays the inhabitants of *Vacca* ſent *Turpilius* away in ſafety, becauſe of the lenity of his government. *Plut. in Mar.*

[b] *Appian* tells us that the Roman General put to death all the Senators of *Vacca*. *App. in Fragm.*

[c] According to Plutarch, Marius ſo irritated the Council againſt the accuſed, that Metellus, though unwilling, could not avoid pronouncing Sentence of Death upon him; and when, afterwards, the *Innocence* of Turpilius appeared, Marius every where boaſted, that he had lodged in Metellus's Breaſt, a Fury that would perpetually torment him for having killed his Hoſt.

M. Dacier obſerves, that the *Innocence* of Turpilius had not been diſcovered, when SALLUST wrote.

time, poſted in the midſt of the Roman winter-quarters, to preſerve the country from being pillaged). Nevertheleſs, through fear, he failed to keep his appointment. *Bomilcar* therefore ſent a letter to him, reproaching him with his neglect, and encouraging him to continue ſteady in the reſolution they had taken; for that *Jugurtha* would certainly be deſtroyed; and the only queſtion was, whether he ſhould periſh by the bravery of *Metellus*, or by theirs. When this letter arrived, *Nabdalſa* was lying upon his bed, to take a little reſt after fatigue. Having read, and conſidered it, he fell aſleep. Soon after, a *Numidian*, who managed the General's private affairs, and was his favourite, and the confident of all his deſigns except the laſt, entered the tent, and ſeeing a letter upon the pillow, took it up, read it, and then fled to *Jugurtha*. *Nabdalſa*, awaking, miſſed his letter, and being informed of his ſervant's flight, ſent after him in all haſte, but to no purpoſe. He himſelf therefore went directly to the King, aſſured him that he intended to have diſcovered the whole affair, had he not been prevented by his ſervant, and, with tears, begged he might not lie under the ſuſpicion of ſo great a crime. *Jugurtha*, diſguiſing his real thoughts, returned a mild anſwer; and, when he had put Bomilcar, together with many of his accomplices, to death, continued his Diſſimulation, fearing, ſhould he give the reins to his revenge, he might thereby occaſion an Inſurrection: But, after this time, he had no repoſe of mind by night or by day. Fearing his own ſubjects now, as much as he feared the Romans, he could not think himſelf ſecure in any company. He had always a circumſpective eye, was affrighted at every noiſe, and, not knowing where he could ſleep in ſafety, was perpetually ſhifting his apartment, contrary to all Regal Decorum. Sometimes, ſtarting out of his ſleep, and ſnatching up his ſword, he raiſed an Alarm in the Dead of Night: ſo near to Madneſs had the Exceſs of his Fear reduced him.

THE Proconſul, having received intelligence, by deſerters, of the fate of Bomilcar, applied himſelf to make preparations for the War, juſt as if it were now at its Commence-

Commencement; and judging, that if, by an exertion of Authority, he detained his Lieutenant, who never ceaſed importuning him for leave to go home, little benefit was to be expected from his preſence, he at length diſmiſſed him [about twelve days, ſays *Plutarch*, before the Election of Conſuls.] The Letters from *Utica*, and the Publick Harangues of the Tribunes, had ſo prepoſſeſſed *the People* of *Rome* in favour of MARIUS, that the Reception he met with there fell nothing ſhort of his moſt ſanguine hopes: For the Comitia not only raiſed him to the Conſulſhip [with *L. Caſſius Longinus*] but voted him the Command of the Army in *Numidia*, tho' the Senate had, already, by a Decree, aſſigned that Province to METELLUS. Y. of R. 646. Bef. Chr. 106. 345th Conſ-p:

MARIUS, whoſe chief object, now, was Victory in the War againſt JUGURTHA, immediately demanded of the Senate, Recruits for the Legions; ſummoning, at the ſame time, all the braveſt Men, of the *Latine* nation, to attend him: (with the moſt of theſe he was perſonally acquainted, by their having ſerved with him; and of the reſt there were few whoſe Characters he had not learned by common fame.) Many even of the diſcharged Veterans he prevailed upon, by the force of perſuaſion, to follow him in his *African* expedition: nor did he neglect to aſk auxiliary Troops from the Kings and States in alliance with *Rome*.

The Recruits, which the Conſul demanded, were moſt readily and chearfully voted by the Senate; who bearing him no good will, and believing that the People, in general, diſliked the ſervice in *Numidia*, hoped that he would either be unable, through want of men, to purſue the War, or would loſe the affection of the Multitude, by conſtraining them, againſt their inclinations, to give in their names. But, herein, the Fathers were diſappointed: for the People flocked in crowds to be inliſted; every man pleaſing himſelf with the hope of returning home crowned with victory and enriched with ſpoil. MARIUS, indeed, by an Harangue to the Multitude, had contributed, not a little, to raiſe their expectations. Ever ſince his Election, he had made it his

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daily practice to inſult the Nobility, ſometimes particular perſons, ſometimes the whole body; boaſting continually, that he had wreſted the Conſulſhip from them, like ſpoils from a vanquiſhed Enemy: And when all his Demands had been complied with, and he was about to levy ſoldiers, he aſſembled the People, and ſpoke to them in the following manner.

"I know, *Romans*, that the behaviour of thoſe who "have obtained from your favour, the high offices in "the State, has, generally ſpeaking, been very diffe-"rent from what it was before their promotion. While "Candidates, they are full of modeſty, humble peti-"tioners, attentive and active to oblige. Are they e-"lected? Inſtantly they become proud, and lazy for "the reſt of their lives. But this is not my turn of "mind. The good of the Commonwealth is, to my "apprehenſion, of much greater moment, than whe-"ther this man or that be advanced to the Conſulſhip "or Prætorſhip. Nor am I inſenſible of the weighty "charge laid upon me by your very great kindneſs. *To "make preparations for the War, and, at the ſame time, "to be frugal of the Public money; to compel to the Ser-"vice thoſe whom you are unwilling to diſpleaſe; to at-"tend to every thing that concerns the Public, both at "home and abroad; and to do all this amidſt a confedera-"cy of envious, factious men, determined to oppoſe all "your meaſures*, is a more arduous taſk than you, Fel-"low Citizens, can eaſily imagine.

"I conſider too, that, in the diſcharge of High Of-"fices, if other men fail, they are protected from con-"demnation and cenſure by the antiquity and luſtre of "their families, the heroic actions of their anceſtors, "the credit of their relations and friends, and the nu-"merous crowd of their clients and dependants: But "that I have nothing of all this to truſt to; that my "ſole hope and confidence muſt be in my own virtue "and integrity.

"I am likewiſe aware, that all eyes are upon me, and "that while every honeſt and candid obſerver (pleaſed "with my ſucceſsful endeavours to ſerve the ſtate)

"wiſhes

" wiſhes well to me, the Nobles are inceſſantly watch-
" ing for an opportunity to compaſs my ruin. It con-
" cerns me, therefore, to take the more care, that *your*
" *Hopes* be not diſappointed, and that *their Cabals* prove
" ineffectual. From my early youth, I have been in-
" ured to toils and dangers. The Courſe which I have
" hitherto purſued from a diſintereſted Principle,
" ſhall I diſcontinue it now, when you have beſtowed
" on me ſo noble a reward? Thoſe who have only a
" ſemblance of virtue, a diſguiſe which ambition has
" occaſionally induced them to put on, find it difficult
" to preſerve, in their Conduct, even that appearance,
" when they are actually in Power: To me, who have
" all my life been in the practice of virtue, the habit
" of well-doing is become natural.

" You have ordained, that I ſhall have the manage-
" ment of the War againſt JUGURTHA; an Ordinance
" highly diſpleaſing to the Nobles. Now, pray conſider
" with yourſelves, whether it would not be better to
" alter your choice, and employ, upon this, or any o-
" ther like occaſion, ſome one out of that worthy Bo-
" dy; a man of an ancient family, who has abundance
" of images, and no experience in military affairs. You
" will ſee the hurry, the confuſion he will be in, having
" much to do, knowing nothing of the matter, and ap-
" plying himſelf to ſome poor man of the Commons to
" inſtruct him. For this has, generally, been the caſe:
" he, whom you had appointed to the command, has
" been obliged to find ſome other commander from
" whom to receive directions. Nay I myſelf know
" perſons, who did not begin, till they were choſen
" Conſuls, to read the Hiſtory of our Anceſtors, and
" the Military Precepts of the Greeks. Prepoſterous
" proceeding! For though, in the order of time, the
" Election to Offices be prior to the Exerciſe of them,
" yet, in the order of things, Qualification and Experi-
" ence ſhould precede Election.

" *Romans*, compare me, who am but a *New Man*,
" with theſe haughty Nobles. Such Exploits as they
" are wont only to read or hear of, I *have*, partly, *ſeen*

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" *performed*, by other brave men, and *have*, partly, *my-*
" *ſelf performed:* What they have learned from books,
" I have learned in the ſervice. Now, whether Prac-
" tice or Speculation be of the greater value, do you
" judge.

" They deſpiſe me, for my being a *New Man*; I
" them, for their being *ſlothful Cowards:* They reproach
" me with my want of Fortune, I them with their want
" of Virtue. And it is my opinion, that though all
" men have one common nature, thoſe who excel moſt
" in Courage and in Fortitude, are the moſt noble. If
" the Queſtion could be put to the fathers of *Albinus*
" and *Beſtia*, whether (had it been in their option) they
" would have choſen *them* for their ſons, or ſuch men
" as I am: What Anſwer do you think they would
" make? Doubtleſs, that they ſhould have choſen to
" have the moſt worthy men for their ſons. But, if the
" Nobles have reaſon to deſpiſe me, they have the ſame
" reaſon to deſpiſe their own progenitors, whoſe Nobility,
" like mine, took its riſe from Military Virtue. They
" envy my Advancement; let them envy too my Inte-
" grity, my Toils, the Dangers I have paſſed through:
" for by theſe I arrived at the Conſular dignity. Blind-
" ed with pride, theſe men live in ſuch an infamous
" manner, as if they ſlighted the Honours you have to
" beſtow; and yet they ſue for them as confidently as if,
" by their courſe of life, they had deſerved them. Ri-
" diculous deluſion! They propoſe to themſelves to
" riot in the pleaſures of a lazy Effeminacy; and then
" to receive the Rewards of a Laborious Virtue! When
" they make Harangues before you, or in the Senate,
" their eloquence is chiefly employed in extolling their
" Fore-Fathers; from the relation of whoſe gallant ac-
" tions they imagine a luſtre will be derived to them-
" ſelves. The event is quite contrary to their expecta-
" tion: For the more illuſtrious the lives and exploits
" of the Anceſtors were, the more ſcandalous are the ſloth
" and demerit of the Deſcendants. The truth is, the
" glory of Anceſtors is as a light, which, ſhining upon
" their Poſterity, makes them conſpicuous to the public
" eye,

" eye, and ſuffers neither their good nor their bad ac-
" tions to be concealed. There is no ſuch light, I con-
" feſs, ſhining upon *me*; but, what is far better, my
" actions have a luſtre of their own. Mark the equity
" of theſe Nobles! The honours which they arrogant-
" ly claim to themſelves, in reward of other men's at-
" chievements, they think me unworthy to receive in
" reward of my own. And for what Reaſon am I
" deemed ſo unworthy? Why, truly, becauſe I have no
" images, and my Nobility is recent: But, ſurely, the
" man who acquires Nobility to his family, is a much
" more honourable perſon than he, who, born of a noble
" family, becomes a diſgrace to it, debaſes it, makes it,
" by his infamous conduct, leſs noble than it was.

" I know very well, that if they were now diſpoſed to
" anſwer to what I have been ſaying, they could do it
" with a moſt copious and flowing eloquence, and with
" great accuracy: Nevertheleſs, as they have, in all
" places, given a looſe to their tongues againſt me, and
" againſt *you* too, ever ſince you conferred this great
" dignity upon me, I was reſolved to ſpeak my mind;
" leſt my ſilence ſhould be interpreted into a conſciouſ-
" neſs of guilt: Not that I imagine I can ſuffer any real
" hurt from harangues: For if what the Orator delivers
" be true, it muſt be to my praiſe; if falſe, my life and
" manners confute it. But, ſince *you* are blamed, both
" for promoting me to this high ſtation, and for intruſt-
" ing me with a charge ſo important as the preſent war,
" pleaſe to conſider again and again, whether it will not
" be prudent to revoke your decrees. I have no i-
" mages, as I told you before; I cannot, in order to
" inſpire you with confidence in my abilities and integri-
" ty boaſt of Anceſtors, who have been honoured with
" *Conſulſhips* or *Triumphs*: But, if it be neceſſary, I can
" ſhew you SPEARS, A BANNER, RICH HORSE-TRAP-
" PINGS, and other military [a] rewards, which have
" been given me by the generals under whom I have

[a] See Vol. II. B. 2. ch. 25. concerning the military rewards in uſe among the *Romans*.

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" ſerved; and I can ſhew you, upon my body, ſcars " of wounds; and they are all *before*. Theſe are my " images; ſuch is my nobility; not a nobility like " theirs; nor an inheritance, but an acquiſition; a no- " bility, which I have myſelf purchaſed at the price of " hardſhips, labours, and perils.

" That I have no Eloquence, I readily confeſs; and " the want of it gives me very little concern: Virtue " needs no paint, no artificial ornament to ſet it off: " Let our great men have recourſe to the falſe colouring " of Eloquence; for, in truth, they need it, to hide the " infamy of their actions. I never was inſtructed in " Grecian literature: nor had I any inclination to learn " that, which, I found, did not, in the leaſt, contribute " to the increaſe of virtue in the teachers. But I have " learnt leſſons which qualify a man much better to be a " uſeful member of the Commonwealth; I have learnt " to rout an Enemy in the field, to force him in his " ſtrong holds, to fear nothing but infamy, to bear cold " and heat, to lodge upon the bear ground, to endure, " at the ſame time, both hunger and fatigue. It is by " the practice of theſe leſſons that I ſhall animate my " troops; my glory ſhall not be the fruit of *their* toils " *only*; I ſhall not indulge myſelf in eaſe, while they " are ſuffering hardſhips. To keep your ſoldiers to " ſtrict diſcipline, while you are taking your pleaſure, " this is to act the part of a tyrant, not of a general. " The other method of proceeding is the only one that " becomes a commander of his *fellow citizens*; and it " was by ſuch conduct that our fore-fathers acquired " renown, both to the Republick and to themſelves. " And yet our preſent Nobles, having no likeneſs to " *them*, deſpiſe *us*, who endeavour after it; and de- " mand of you all places of power and truſt, not on ac- " count of any thing they have done to deſerve thoſe " honours, but as due to them by inheritance. How " groſsly are the underſtandings of theſe men deceived " by their exceſs of pride! Their Anceſtors left them " every thing that was in their power to leave them; " their wealth, their images, the glory of their exploits:

" but

" but they did not tranſmit their *Virtue* to their deſcen-
" dants; this was impoſſible.

" They call me a clowniſh, uncouth, ill-bred fellow:
" and why? becauſe I do not make elegant entertain-
" ments, nor keep a buffoon, nor give a higher price
" for a ſlave that is to be my cook, than for one that is
" to work at my farm. Every part of this charge I
" readily avow. For I remember to have heard my fa-
" ther and other worthy perſons often ſay, that delica-
" cies and fineries belong to women; labours and rug-
" ged induſtry to men: that the *good* aſpire to glory,
" more than to wealth, and think no furniture ſo orna-
" mental as arms.

" But ſince our Nobles are not of this opinion, let
" them proceed in their own way. Leaving ſweat and
" duſt and ſuch things to us (who indeed prefer them
" to the coſtly banquets of the luxurious) let *them* go
" on as they begun; let them *love*, and *drink*, and *pam-*
" *per their bellies*; let them ſpend their riper years, as
" they have ſpent their youth, in the loweſt of ſenſual
" gratifications. To *theſe* let all their thoughts be con-
" fined.——*No, not ſo* ſay our worthy Nobles: *When*
" *we have made ourſelves infamous and deteſtable by the*
" *practice of all the moſt ſcandalous vices, we will then*
" *contrive to ſnatch the rewards due to the Virtuous and*
" *Brave.* And thus Luxury and Sloth, vices ſo fatally
" miſchievous to the Commonwealth, are to be no hin-
" drance to the ambition of men, the moſt ſhamefully
" ſtained with them; no obſtacle in their way to the
" public ho. ..rs, even the higheſt dignities of the ſtate!

" And now, having anſwered theſe Nobles ſo far as was
" neceſſary, not indeed to expoſe fully the baſe enor-
" mities of their conduct, but to vindicate my own
" character; I ſhall add a word or two in relation to
" the preſent ſtate of public affairs. In the firſt place,
" as to *Numidia*, fear nothing, *Romans*; in effect, the
" victory is yours; for you have now removed every
" thing that hitherto defended JUGURTHA; every
" thing, indeed, that could defend him, *covetouſneſs*,
" *ignorance*, *pride*. Add to this, that you have an ar-

" my

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" my there, well acquainted with the country. It is an " army, I confeſs, not ſo fortunate as courageous: for, " through the covetouſneſs or temerity of its comman- " ders, it has ſuffered a great diminition: and it is " for this reaſon, I would have you, that are of an " age to bear arms, join with me, and take upon you " the care and defence of the Commonwealth. And " do not ſuffer yourſelves to be diſcouraged by the miſ- " haps of others, or by the haughty behaviour of " ſome former generals. Both in marches and in bat- " tles, you ſhall always have me near at hand to conſult " with, and to ſhare with you every danger into which " I lead you: I and you ſhall be upon an equal foot, " with regard to the fatigues, hardſhips, and perils of " war. Never doubt, then, but, with the help of the " Gods, we ſhall conquer; we ſhall *certainly* and *ſpeed-* " *ily* acquire both wealth and honour. And, were theſe " *uncertain*, or *at a diſtance*, yet ſurely it becomes all ho- " neſt men to ſupport the cauſe of their country: for no " mortal will be made immortal by ſloth; nor did ever " any father wiſh that his children might never die, but " that, while they lived, they might live and act like " worthy men. *Romans*, I ſhould ſay more, if words " could put courage into cowards: To the Brave, I " think, I have ſaid enough."

MARIUS perceiving, that the ſpirits of the multitude were elated by his diſcourſe, cauſed proviſions, money, and other neceſſaries for the war, to be with all expedition embarked; and he ſent them away under the care of his lieutenant, A. Manlius. His own diligence he applied wholly to the buſineſs of levying ſoldiers: nor did he, on this occaſion, obſerve the ancient cuſtom of admitting into the army thoſe only, who had ſome eſtate, and belonged to one or other of the five firſt claſſes; without diſtinction, he accepted of all [a] that preſented themſelves; ſo that the greater part of his recruits were of the *Capite-cenſi*, citizens, ſo poor, that they paid only a ſmall poll-tax. His conduct in this particular (ſays Salluſt) was, by ſome, imputed to the ſcarcity of better

[a] *Plutarch* reports, that *Marius* did not refuſe to inliſt even ſlaves. *Plut.* in *Mar.*

men;

men; by others, to his ambition; the moſt needy, thoſe who have nothing to loſe, and who think no action diſhonourable that is gainful, being the propereſt aids, to a man, whoſe enterprize is the acquiſition of power.

During theſe tranſactions at *Rome*, METELLUS in *Africa* had been engaged, partly in military expeditions, partly in fruitleſs negotiations.

After the departure of MARIUS, the Proconſul led his forces againſt JUGURTHA, and obtained an eaſy victory over him: for the King, having put to death a great number of his old friends, and the reſt having, through fear, deſerted him, (ſome flying for refuge to Bocchus King of *Mauritania*, others going over to the *Romans*) was fallen into the extremeſt perplexity. It was impoſſible for him to carry on the war without miniſters and without generals; and yet, whom could he truſt after ſo much perfidiouſneſs as he had lately experienced? no advice, no perſon, nothing could pleaſe him: he marched, and countermarched; and changed his general officers every day: one while he advanced towards the enemy, and preſently after turned away to the deſerts; nor could he determine which he had more reaſon to diſtruſt, the courage of his people, or their fidelity. Whilſt he was in this wavering and diſtreſsful condition of mind, METELLUS, on a ſudden, came upon him. That part of the *Numidian* army, which the King commanded in perſon, maintained its ground for ſome time; but the reſt was routed and put to flight at the very firſt ſhock. JUGURTHA made his eſcape, through the deſerts, to *Thala*, a large and wealthy town, the chief repoſitory of his treaſures, and the place where his ſons received their education. Upon advice of theſe particulars, METELLUS, believing he ſhould put an end to the war, could he but take *Thala*, reſolved to march thither, and inveſt it; though the river that was neareſt to the town was fifty miles diſtant from it, and the whole ſpace, between them, waſte and without water. Leaving his baggage behind, he took with him only ten days proviſion, loading with water, from the river, the beaſts of burden, and commanding thoſe of the *Numidians* who, after

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after the late battle, had ſubmitted to the *Romans*, to bring him water and proviſions on a certain day at a certain place. It is related that, when he arrived at this place (where the *Numidians* punctually met him according to the orders they had received) there fell ſuch a vaſt quantity of rain, as was alone more than ſufficient for the army; and that the ſoldiers, from a ſuperſtitious turn of mind, preferred the rain-water to that of the river: perſuading themſelves, that the plenteous ſhower was an evidence of their being under the ſpecial protection of the immortal Gods: and this perſuaſion greatly heightened their courage. The next day, contrary to JUGURTHA's expectation, the *Roman* army appeared before THALA. The towns-people, though aſtoniſhed at ſo ſtrange an event, (for they had thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecured by the deſert) were not the leſs active and diligent in taking the neceſſary meaſures for defence. But the King, imagining now that no enterprize of war was too difficult for the *Roman* general, quitted the town in the night, taking with him his children, and a great quantity of his money: nor did he ever, after this, ſtay above one day or one night in the ſame place. He pretended to be upon buſineſs that required haſte; but, in truth, was apprehenſive of treachery, which he hoped to prevent by ſuch continued motion, as muſt hinder the diſaffected from having convenient leiſure and opportunity to form combinations and conſpiracies.

It was forty days before the *Romans* could, by indefatigable labour and many ſharp conflicts, make themſelves maſters of *Thala*; and even then they were diſappointed of the hoped-for ſpoil: for the *Roman* deſerters, ſo ſoon as they perceived the wall ſhaken by the battering-rams, carried the gold and ſilver, and whatever elſe was deemed valuable, into the royal palace; and when they had there filled themſelves with wine and good cheer, ſet fire to the edifice, chuſing rather to periſh in the flames with the palace and its treaſures, than to fall into the hands of METELLUS [a general noted for being *cruel* *, rather than *juſtly ſevere* to deſerters.]

*Vid. ſupr. p. 55.

JUGUR-

JUGURTHA, on his leaving *Thala*, had retired among the *Getulians*, a ſavage [a] people to the ſouth of *Numidia*, who had never heard of the *Roman* name. He gathered a great multitude of theſe together, and taught them ſomething of military diſcipline. Then, by preſents and promiſes, he gained to his intereſt the favourites of his father-in-law [b] BOCCHUS, King of *Mauritania*; and, by their means, engaged him to arm againſt the *Romans*. To this BOCCHUS was the more eaſily perſuaded, becauſe, in the beginning of the war, he had, without ſucceſs, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, with the offer of his friendſhip and alliance. (For though, at that time, nothing could be more ſeaſonable or more advantageous to the Republic than a treaty of alliance with the *Mauritanian*, yet, through the avarice and influence of a few men in power, who would do nothing right or wrong but for money, his offer had been rejected.)

When the two armies were joined, and the Kings had mutually pledged their faith to each other. JUGURTHA, to raiſe the anger of the *Mauritanian* againſt the *Romans*, repreſented them as a people injurious, oppreſſive, inſatiably covetous, and the common enemies of mankind. "*They have juſt the ſame cauſe for waging war againſt you, againſt every independant Prince and State, as againſt me*—THEIR LUST OR DOMINATION. *I* am *now* regarded as their enemy; *not long ago*, the *Carthaginians* and *King Perſes* were conſidered in the ſame light; and ſo will every King, hereafter, who ſhall be thought *rich* enough to merit that diſtinction"

The combined Armies, upon advice that *Metellus* had lodged his booty and priſoners, together with his heavy baggage, in *Cirta*, bent their march thither. It would amply reward the labour of the Enterprize, could they

[a] A great part of *Getulia* was ſubject to *Jugurtha*.

[b] *Salluſt* tells us, that ſuch ties of affinity were of little ſtrength among the *Numidians* and *Moors*; becauſe every man being free to take as many wives as he could maintain, the huſband's heart was divided among this variety, and never ſo captivated and engroſſed by any one of his wives, as to make her his companion and friend: He treated them all with equal contempt.

poſſeſs

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poſſeſs themſelves of the place; and in caſe they ſhould be hindered from ſeizing it, by the *Romans* coming to its relief, yet, at leaſt, a battle would enſue, which at this time, was what the politic *Numidian* moſt eagerly deſired; leſt BOCCHUS, having leiſure to reflect, ſhould lay aſide his hoſtile purpoſes, and entertain thoughts very different from thoſe of war.

As the *Moors* were a new enemy, with whoſe manner of fighting the *Roman* General was unacquainted, he had not now the ſame forwardneſs, as heretofore, to come to an engagement at all adventures: but, fortifying a camp at a ſmall diſtance from *Cirta*, he there waited an opportunity of giving battle with advantage.

It was during this inaction, he received notice, by letters from *Rome*, that the People had aſſigned the province of *Numidia* to MARIUS (their advancing him to the Conſulſhip he had learnt before.) *Salluſt* reports, that the grief and vexation of METELLUS were far beyond what either decency or virtue could allow; "he "reſtrained neither his tears nor his tongue; and, "though in other reſpects an excellent man, wanted "fortitude to maintain a character of dignity in ſuch "adverſe and trying events. Some imputed his impa- "tience to pride; others to that quick ſenſe, which "every man, conſcious of worthineſs, muſt unavoidably "have of contumelious treatment; many thought, "that to ſee a victory, which he had gained, ſnatched "out of his hands, was the principal cauſe of his immo- "derate concern: but I have been ſufficiently aſſured, "that the advancement of MARIUS, not the wrong "done to himſelf, was the inſupportable torment; and "that he would have borne his removal from the pro- "vince with more temper, had any other than MARIUS "been appointed to ſucceed him."

Reſtrained, therefore, by the diſcontent of his mind, and *thinking it a folly to purchaſe advantages to another with danger to himſelf, he attempted nothing farther in the way of arms*; but diſpatched deputies to *King Bocchus*, to admoniſh him, "Not to become an enemy "of the *Roman* people, without provocation: that he

had

" had now a fine opportunity of entering into friendſhip " and alliance with them, which would be more for his " benefit than a war. That, whatever confidence he " might place in his riches or in his military force, it " would be highly imprudent to change certainties for " uncertainties, and blend the affairs of his kingdom, " that were now in a flouriſhing condition, with the " deſperate fortune of JUGURTHA."

To this the King, with a courteous calmneſs, anſwered, " That *Peace* was what he earneſtly deſired, " but that he pitied the misfortunes of JUGURTHA, " that if he might be included in the treaty, all other " matters would, with eaſe, be amicably adjuſted." The *Roman* General ſent a reply to the King's anſwer; meſſengers from both ſides went backwards and forwards; the time paſſed away; and, *agreeably to the deſire of* METELLUS, *no progreſs was made in the war.*

But now the Conſul, MARIUS, who, by his diligence and popularity, had raiſed ſoldiers ſufficient (and ſomewhat more than had been granted him) to compleat the legions, arrived with his recruits at *Utica*. Here the army was delivered up to him by *P. Rutilius*, the Lieutenant of METELLUS: for this angry General, that he might not have the pain of *ſeeing* thoſe things, which he could not even *hear of* with patience, carefully avoided an encounter with his hated ſucceſſor; and made the beſt of his way to *Rome*. Contrary to his expectation, he was there received with the utmoſt demonſtrations of publick joy, and as a man equally dear to the *Senate* and to the *Commons*; the envy of the *latter* [who had triumphantly carried their point] being now entirely ſubſided. It

[a] That METELLUS, for his victories over the *Numidian King*, was honoured with a magnificent triumph, and the ſurname of *Numidicus*, we learn from *Velleius Paterculus*, L. 2. c. 11. and from other writers. Nevertheleſs, from what *A. Gellius* reports to have been ſaid by METELLUS, in a ſpeech to the People, it is concluded, that his triumph had been oppoſed by one of the Tribunes. Qua in re quanto univerſi me unum antiſtatis; tanto vobis quàm mihi majorem injuriam atque contumeliam facit, Quirites: et quanto probi injuriam facilius accipiunt quàm alteri tradunt, tanto ille vobis quam mihi pejorem honorem habuit:

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It would ſeem, that, after the *Roman* army had been ſtrengthened by the troops which *Marius* brought with him into *Africa*, JUGURTHA had not the ſame eagerneſs as before to come to a general battle. For no ſooner did the two Kings hear of the Conſul's arrival, than, ſeparating their forces, they retired into places difficult of acceſs, there to watch opportunities, when they might ſuddenly iſſue out and fall with advantage upon ſtraggling parties of the *Romans*, who, they hoped, would grow ſecure and remiſs in diſcipline; this being commonly the caſe of ſoldiers, who have laid aſide all fear of an enemy. But MARIUS was too active and cautious to be eaſily ſurprized. By *exerciſing* his new-raiſed men in frequent ſkirmiſhes, and in reducing many caſtles and ſmall towns, (neither ſtrong by nature, nor well garriſoned) he brought them gradually to be upon an equality with his veterans, both in courage and in the exact obſervance of diſcipline. And, in order to raiſe yet higher the ſpirits of *all* his ſoldiers by experienced proſperity, and by hope ſtill more pleaſing, having led them into a rich and fertile country, and there amaſſed abundance of ſpoil, he moſt graciouſly divided among them the whole.

On the other hand, the two Kings had no ſucceſs in the method, they had choſen of carrying on the war, for the Conſul ſo watched their motions, as to prevent the execution of any important deſign they could form; and in frequent inſtances, when either the *Getulians* or the *Numidians*, having pillaged the territories of the *Roman* allies, were going off with their booty, he intercepted, and routed them; and once, near *Cirta*, he

buit: nam me injuriam ferre, vos facere vult, Quirites: ut hîc conqueſtio, iſtic vituperatio relinquatur. *A. Gell.* 12. 9. It is likewiſe reported, that an accuſation of having embezzled the public money was brought againſt METELLUS; but that, when the Accuſer had obliged him (according to cuſtom) to produce his books of account, none of the Judges would look into them, leſt they ſhould ſeem to doubt of his integrity. *Val. Max.* L. 2. c. 10. *Cic. pro. C. Balb.* c. 5. and *Ep. ad Attic.* L. 1. Ep. 16.

puſhed

puſhed JUGURTHA to ſuch extremity, that to make his eſcape he was forced to throw off his armour.

But MARIUS, conſidering that enterprizes of this kind, how fortunate ſoever, had more of ſhow than of ſubſtance, and contributed little towards bringing the war to a concluſion, reſolved now to inveſt, one after another, all thoſe fortreſſes and towns of *Numidia*, which by their ſituation, or garriſons, or numerous inhabitants, gave the enemy any advantage in the war. By this means JUGURTHA would be deprived of his ſtrong holds, if he did not come to their relief; or, if he did, would be forced to a battle: in which (for any thing that appeared to the contrary) he muſt depend wholly upon his own forces. For BOCCHUS, either from the levity and inconſtancy of his character, or with a view to deceive and ſurprize the *Roman* army, had frequently ſent meſſengers to the Conſul, with aſſurances, *That he earneſtly deſired to be in friendſhip with the* Romans; who *might, therefore,* (he ſaid) *lay aſide all apprehenſion of hoſtilities from* him.

MARIUS, in purſuit of his reſolution, began with caſtles, and certain inconſiderable, but well fortified, towns. Some of theſe he took by aſſault; others he terrified into a ſurrendry; and he reduced others by fair words and promiſes. But when he found that JUGURTHA, inſtead of coming to their defence, and offering him battle, continued to keep at a great diſtance, wholly buſied in other affairs, he thought the proper time was come for enterprizes of greater importance, and more difficult execution, than any of thoſe in which he had hitherto employed h s troops.

Capſa, a large and ſtrong town, ſaid to have been built by the *Libyan Hercules*, ſtood in the midſt of a vaſt deſert: and, as the inhabitants were exempted from paying taxes, and enjoyed other advantages of a gentle government, it was with reaſon believed, that JUGURTHA might depend upon their fidelity. Againſt an enemy they were well fortified by bulwarks, arms, and men; and ſtill better by the difficulty of approaching them: for, excepting the lands near the town, the

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whole country around was waſte and barren, without water, and infeſted by ſerpents, animals always pernicious, but more ſo when inflamed by thirſt. The *Roman* General conceived a ſtrong deſire to attempt this place, not only becauſe the reduction of it would be uſeful with regard to the operations of the war, but becauſe it was difficult to effect, and he remembered, that METELLUS had acquired great honour by the conqueſt of *Thala*, a town for ſituation and ſtrength much like *Capſa*: the difference was, that not far from *Thala* were ſome ſprings of water, whereas the *Capſenſes* had but one ſpring, and *that* was within the town: nor had they any other ſupply of water but from the heavens [a].

MARIUS, to conceal his purpoſe, ſent away his Lieutenant, *A. Manlius*, with a detachment of light-armed ſoldiers to the city *Laris* (where he had placed his military cheſt and his ſtores) telling him, that he was going to pillage the country, and would join him in a few days. He then marched directly towards the river *Tana*. As corn was ſcarce [b], and water too, the General made the beſt proviſion he could to ſupply both wants. He had, a few days before, collected a good quantity of cattle: and, during his march, he diſtributed in equal proportions, among the companies of foot and troops of horſe, a certain number of thoſe beaſts, directing that, as faſt as they were killed, bottles ſhould be made of their hides: ſo that when, after ſix days, he arrived at the river, the ſoldiers had made a conſiderable number of leather bottles. Here he halted, and pitched a camp; but gave orders to his men, that, after taking due refreſhment, they ſhould be ready to march at ſun-ſet; at which time, leaving their baggage

[a] *Salluſt* obſerves, that the ſcarcity of water in *Numidia*, and the other inland parts of *Africa*, was by the inhabitants the more eaſily borne, as they lived moſtly upon milk and veniſon; without the uſe of ſalt or any other ſeaſoning that provokes appetite or increaſes thirſt: the purpoſe of eating and drinking, among them, being to ſatisfy a natural hunger and thirſt, not to gratify a fantaſtic luxury.

[b] The *Numidians* were much more ſolicitous about graſs for their cattle, than the production of grain; and what corn the land had produced this year, had, by the King's order, been carried into places of defence.

behind

behind, they were to load themſelves and their beaſts of burden with water, and with nothing elſe.

At the hour appointed MARIUS led out his troops, and, having marched all night, encamped again in the morning. Next night he renewed his march; and the third, long before day-break, arrived at a place full of ſmall hills, not above two miles from *Capſa*: there he paſſed the remaining part of the night, taking all poſſible care to avoid being diſcovered. So ſoon as day appeared, the *Capſenſes*, who had no apprehenſion of an enemy in their neighbourhood, came out of the city in great numbers; MARIUS perceived it, and ſtrait commanded his whole cavalry, and likewiſe the ſwifteſt of his infantry, to fly inſtantly to the city, and ſeize the gates: he himſelf followed with all poſſible expedition, nor ſuffered a man of his army to ſtray, for the ſake of plunder. The inhabitants, terrified to exceſs, quite ſtunned with the ſuddeneſs of their calamity, and ſeeing many of their fellow-citizens already in the hands of the enemy, ſurrendred without reſiſtance. MARIUS, nevertheleſs, put to the ſword all the *Numidians* that were able to bear arms, ſold the reſt for ſlaves, and burnt the city, when he had firſt given the plunder of it to his ſoldiers [a].

The execution of ſo important an enterprize without any loſs of men, added greatly to the renown of MARIUS. His ſoldiers (whom he governed with a gentle hand

[a] *Salluſt*, though he confeſſes, that the General's proceeding, in this inſtance, was contrary to the laws of war, ſeems diſpoſed to extenuate the iniquity, by telling us, that MARIUS did not act thus from a ſpirit of covetouſneſs or cruelty, but becauſe the place was very commodious to *Jugurtha*, and not acceſſible to the *Romans* without much difficulty; and *becauſe the people were an inconſtant, perfidious race, not to be kept to duty either by kindneſs or by ſeverity*. But it may here be obſerved, that, if the Hiſtorian ſpeaks of the diſpoſition of the *Capſenſes* towards their own Prince, he contradicts what he told us before, *viz.* that *they were eſteemed a people whoſe fidelity might be depended upon*, [fideliſſumi habebantur.] If he means, that *they were perfidious to the* Romans, of *this* the *Romans* could have no experience. The truth ſeems to be, that MARIUS committed this unjuſtifiable, cruel act, in order to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion, by terrifying the *Numidians* into a deſertion of all their towns, without waiting till they were attacked: for we find, by the ſequel of the ſtory, that his cruelty had this effect with regard to moſt of them.

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and enriched with ſpoil) extolled him to the ſkies; while the *Numidians*, on the other hand, dreaded him as a being more than human. Allies and enemies all believed him to be, at leaſt, inſpired, and to act in every thing by the direction of the Gods. After what had happened to the *Capſenſes*, few of the towns, againſt which he advanced made any oppoſition; thoſe which did, he forced; the greater number were deſerted upon his approach; and he gave them all to the flames: over the whole country were ſpread fire, ſlaughter, and deſolation.

The Conſul cloſed this campaign with an exploit not leſs difficult in proſpect (if we except what regarded *the march of the army)* than *Capſa* had been.

Not far from the river *Muluccha*, which divided the kingdom of JUGURTHA from that of BOCCHUS, there was in the midſt of a plain, a high and rocky hill, of conſiderable breadth at top; on which ſtood a ſmall fortreſs, or caſtle, well ſtored with men, arms, and proviſions, and furniſhed with a ſpring of water. The way up to this caſtle was very narrow, and, on each ſide, bordered with a precipice: the reſt of the hill Nature had formed, in every part, with ſuch a declivity, as, for its ſteepneſs, might be well taken for the effect of human contrivance and induſtry: mounds and turrets, and the other machinery commonly uſed in ſieges, could not be employed here. Nevertheleſs, as JUGURTHA had here depoſited his treaſures, MARIUS ſet his heart upon making the conqueſt. The ſucceſs of his firſt efforts did not correſpond to his hope. To get up to the caſtle, by the narrow way above mentioned, was repeatedly attempted in vain. The enemy, with eaſe, broke to pieces his covered galleries [*vineæ*] or deſtroyed them with fire: inſomuch that, after loſing a conſiderable number of his braveſt ſoldiers, he began to think of entirely dropping the enterprize. While his mind was in reſtleſs anxiety, fluctuating and undetermined, a *Ligurian*, of the auxiliary troops, going out of the camp in ſearch of water, obſerved, on the ſide of the hill (oppoſite to that ſide where the *Romans* made their attack) ſome ſnails crawling about the rocks: he picked

up

up one, and then another, and continued climbing, in purſuit of more, till inſenſibly he got almoſt to the ſummit. Not meeting with any thing to check his progreſs, natural curioſity prompted him to proceed. In the place, where he chanced then to be, was a tall oak, which, growing out of the ſide of the hill, had been forced, by the rocky ſoil, to tend downward at firſt; but, when freed from that conſtraint, had taken a turn, and ſprung upward, as all trees naturally do. The *Ligurian*, availing himſelf, one while of the branches of this tree, and then of the prominences of the rocks, mounted, at length, ſo high, as to be able to take a view of the level on which the fortreſs ſtood; nor was he in any degree diſturbed in his ſurvey, the attention of the *Numidians* being wholly engroſſed by the conflict on the oppoſite ſide. When he had made ſuch obſervations above, as he thought might afterwards be of uſe, he came down by the ſame way he had gone up, but with more thought and circumſpection, conſidering carefully every ſtep of the deſcent.

And now, highly pleaſed with his important diſcoveries, away he ſpeeds to the General, informs him of all, preſſes him to attempt the fortreſs on that ſide, and offers to be himſelf foremoſt in the danger, conductor of the troops that ſhould be appointed to the ſervice. The General immediately orders ſome of his attendants to go with the *Ligurian*, and examine into the truth of his report. Of theſe though ſome bring word that the thing is difficult, yet others affirming it to be eaſy, MARIUS's hope of conqueſt is revived, and he reſolves to make the experiment.

Out of the trumpeters belonging to the army, the Conſul choſe five, that were deemed the moſt active and nimble of the whole corps; and he gave to theſe, for a guard, four centurions [with their companies] commanding all to obſerve the directions of the *Ligurian*, and appointing the very next day for the execution of the deſign.

The ſoldiers of the detachment were bareheaded (that they might the better ſee their way) and barefooted (that they might climb the more eaſily) and being wonderfully

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derfully aſſiſted by the dextrous activity of their guide (as the Hiſtorian relates the Adventure) made a ſhift, though with great difficulty, to mount to the top of the hill. MARIUS, in the mean time, had only kept the enemy in a continued alarm, in order to fix their attention wholly to his ſide; but, now, having learnt how far his detachment had ſucceeded, he ſallied out of his covered galleries, and, cauſing his men to form a *Tortoiſe*, that is, to cover themſelves with their ſhields cloſe compacted, led them on towards the fort: His archers, ſlingers, and engines for caſting ſtones and darts, he employed at the ſame time to diſtreſs the enemy. The beſieged, emboldened by former ſucceſſes, fought now, not behind, but before the walls of their caſtle; and the defence they made was vigorous and reſolute, till, on a ſudden, they heard the ſound of Trumpets behind them. Conſternation, flight, diſperſion and deſpair, enſued. The *Romans* puſhing on, over heaps of ſlain, quite to the caſtle, entered with the fugitives (or ſcaled the walls) and became maſters of the place [a]. And thus had MARIUS the good fortune to draw Glory to himſelf, even from his own inexcuſable temerity.

It was during the ſiege of this Fortreſs, that the Conſul's Quæſtor, LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA, made his firſt appearance in the Camp; bringing with him a conſiderable body of horſe, which, in purſuance of orders from his General, he had raiſed in *Latium*, and among the Allies.

[a] The particulars of this action, as related by *Salluſt*, if the Reader underſtands them, it is well; the Tranſcriber confeſſes he does not. The fort ſeems to have been taken by ſurprize, much in the ſame manner as the *Engliſh* ſailors took *Gibraltar* in 1704: but, as to MARIUS's advancing his *vineæ* almoſt to the walls of the caſtle, and his being engaged in conflict with the *Numidians* under the walls of it, this ſeems inconſiſtent with the Hiſtorian's account of the difficulty of aſcending thither. MONS SAXEUS *mediocri Caſtello, ſatis patens,* IN IMMENSUM EDITUS, UNO PERANGUSTO ADITU RELICTO *omnis natura, velut opere, atque conſulto præceps* ——— ITER *Caſtellanorum* ANGUSTUM *admodum,* UTRINQUE PRÆCISUM; VINEÆ *cum ingenti periculo* FRUSTRA *agebantur. Nam* CUM EA PAULO PROCESSERANT, IGNI, AUT LAPIDIBUS CORRUMPEBANTUR; MILITES NEQUE PRO OPERE CONSISTERE PROPTER INIQUITATEM LOCI; *neque inter vineas ſine periculo adminiſtrare; optumus quiſque cadere, aut ſauciari; cæteris metus augeri.*

SYLLA

SYLLA was deſcended from *Cornelius Ruffinus*, whom, in the year 478, after he had been twice Conſul and once Dictator, the Cenſors *Fabricius* and *Æmilius* expelled the Senate for having ten pounds of ſilver plate in his houſe[a]; and this branch of the noble *Cornelian* family had made no figure in the Republic ſince that time, and was almoſt ſunk into obſcurity, as well as poverty when "SYLLA produced it again into light, by aſpi- *Middle-*
"ring to the honours of the State. He had been care- *ton's* Life
"fully inſtituted in all the learning of *Greece* and *Rome*; *of Cicero.*
"but, from a peculiar gaiety of temper, and fondneſs
"for the company of mimics and players, was drawn,
"when young, into a life of luxury and pleaſure; ſo
"that MARIUS [if we may believe *Valerius Maximus*]
"complained, that, in ſo rough and deſperate a ſer-
"vice, Chance had given him *ſo ſoft and delicate a*
"*Quæſtor*. When he arrived in *Africa* he knew no-
"thing of the art of war: but whether rouſed by the
"example, or ſtung by the reproach, of his General,
"he behaved himſelf in the *Quæſtorſhip* with the greateſt
"vigour and courage, ſuffering no man to out-do him
"in any part of military duty or labour." Backward to receive favours, eager to *requite*, when he had received; ready to aſſiſt all who aſked his aſſiſtance, and even doing kind offices to many without waiting to be aſked; making himſelf equal and familiar to the loweſt of the ſoldiers, and yet, in his converſe with them, never ſeeking to wound the reputation of his General, or of any other worthy perſon (the common practice, ſays *Salluſt*, of wicked ambition;) by all this he ſoon acquired, not only the character of a brave and ſkilful officer, but, the affection both of MARIUS and of the whole army.

JUGURTHA, after the loſs of *Capſa*, and other his beſt fortified and moſt important places, together with an immenſe treaſure, became ſenſible that nothing could retrieve his affairs, but a victory in the field: he ſent meſſengers therefore to King *Bocchus* to urge him to march his forces with all poſſible expedition into *Numidia*;

[a] *Plut.* in *Sylla*. *Vell. Pat.* L. 2. *Val. Max.* 6. 9. *Salluſt.*

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midia; for that now was the time to give battle to the enemy. The *Mauritanian* demurred; it was found neceſſary to bribe his miniſters; nor could theſe prevail till he himſelf was bribed with the promiſe, from JUGURTHA, of a *third part of Numidia*, in caſe the *Romans* ſhould be driven out of *Africa*; or the *Numidian* King, by a treaty of peace, be left in poſſeſſion of his dominions entire. Allured by this offer, BOCCHUS came, with a numerous army, to the aſſiſtance of his ally. MARIUS was moving off towards his winter quarters, when, about an hour before night, he found himſelf, on a ſudden, encompaſſed on all ſides by the united forces of the two Kings. They had choſen not to appear till towards the cloſe of the day, becauſe *darkneſs*, in caſe they were defeated, would be advantageous to them; and, in caſe they proved victorious, would be no diſadvantage, they being well acquainted with the country; whereas, in both caſes, to the *Romans*, who were ſtrangers, the night would unavoidably create difficulties and perplexity. The Conſul's army being attacked and broken in upon in diverſe parts, before he could put it in any order for battle, or give out any word of command, the ſoldiers, both old and new, (for theſe latter had learnt ſo much of the art of war) threw themſelves into circular bodies, and thus, fronting every way, ſuſtained the charge of the enemy. In this ſurprize, hurry, and confuſion, MARIUS, though unable to perform *all* the functions of a General, yet, with a troop which conſtantly attended him, (and which he had filled with men choſen rather for their bravery than on account of any perſonal regard) flew about to every quarter; one while ſuccouring his own people in diſtreſs, then falling in among the thickeſt of the enemy, and ſtill fighting valiantly in perſon; ſo that he both aſſiſted his ſoldiers and gave them an example of courage unappalled by danger. The day was now ſpent, and the ardour of the barbarians did not ſlacken, but rather increaſed from the perſuaſion they had, that the night would be favourable to them.

MARIUS, counſelled by the diſtreſs of his ſituation, in

in order to ſecure a retreat for his men, ſeized upon two hills that ſtood very near each other; on the one, not ſpacious enough for an encampment, yet happily furniſhing a plenteous ſpring of water, he directed SYLLA to paſs the night with the cavalry: he himſelf, having gradually drawn together his diſordered infantry, led them up the other hill, which, for the moſt part, being high and ſteep, and, therefore, requiring little fortification, was very commodious for a camp. The two Kings, though compelled to ceaſe the fight by the difficulty of following him, did not ſuffer their forces to retire, but made them ſpread themſelves round both hills, and theſe barbarians having kindled many fires, ſpent the greater part of the night in mirth and riot, dancing and ſhouting; which was their cuſtomary manner on the like occaſions: even the leaders, becauſe they had not run away, were highly elated, and behaved themſelves as if they had been victorious. MARIUS, from his hill, perceiving their folly, forbad the uſual ſounding of the trumpets at the watches of the night, and ordered a perfect ſilence to be kept throughout his camp: but, when morning approached, and the barbarians, fatigued with their ſports, were fallen aſleep, he commanded the trumpeters of his army to ſound all at once, and all the ſoldiers to give a ſhout, pouring down, at the ſame time, upon the enemy; who, awaking ſuddenly at the noiſe, were ſo ſtruck and ſtupified with fear, as to be incapable of attempting a defence. More of the *Africans* are ſaid to have periſhed in this ſurprize, than in all the former battles.

And now the Conſul renewed his purpoſe of retiring into winter quarters; and becauſe of the plenty of proviſions always to be had in the maratime towns, thither he bent his courſe. In this march, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs, and the total diſappearing of the enemy; he uſed the ſame circumſpection and precaution, as if their forces had been in ſight. The Army advanced in the form of a ſquare: On the *right* of which were the cavalry, commanded by SYLLA; on the *left*, MANLIUS with the archers and ſlingers and the *Ligurian* cohorts:

Before

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Before the front and behind the rear of the main body marched the light-armed infantry, under the conduct of the Tribunes: The deſerters, of ſmall account as ſoldiers, yet uſeful, becauſe acquainted with the country, were ſent out to *diſcover*. At the ſame time, the Conſul, as if he had appointed no officers under him, was himſelf every where, attentive to every thing, commending, and reprimanding, with juſt diſtinction. Nor was he leſs careful in a Camp, than on a March. Going the rounds in perſon, he viſited the watch and every quarter; not ſo much from any diſtruſt of thoſe employed to execute his orders, as from a perſuaſion, that the ſoldiers would more willingly ſubmit to labour and fatigue, if they ſaw their General partake with them therein. And, indeed, during the whole time that he had the conduct of this war, he kept his men in good diſcipline more by the fear of ſhame, than of puniſhment. Many imputed this to ambition, and to a deſire of ingratiating himſelf with the ſoldiers; while ſome imagined, that being inured, from his early youth, to hardſhips and labours, he took a real delight in what the reſt of the world call diſtreſs and miſery. Be that as it will, this is certain, the intereſt and honour of the Republic could not have been more advanced by the exerciſe of the utmoſt rigour in command, than they were by his mild and gentle methods.

After four days march, when the *Roman* army drew near to *Cirta*, the ſcouts, which MARIUS had ſent out, appeared on a ſudden, haſtening back, all at the ſame time; a ſure ſign that the forces of the enemy were not far off. But as theſe ſcouts came from different quarters, and yet made one and the ſame report of the enemy's approach, the Conſul could not poſſibly know on which ſide he ſhould be attacked. To be prepared therefore, on every ſide, to ſuſtain the charge, he kept his men in the very order of their march, and halted where he then was. This meaſure diſappointed *Jugurtha*: for he had divided his ſtrength into four parts, flattering himſelf that ſome one of them would certainly have an opportunity of coming upon the backs of the

Romans.

Romans. The *Mooriſh* horſe began the action, boldly charging the *Roman* cavalry, commanded by SYLLA, who diſcovered great ability as well as reſolution in ſuſtaining the ſhock and repulſing the enemy. During this conflict King BOCCHUS, at the head of a body of foot, juſt brought him by his ſon *Volux* (who loitering in his march had not been in the former battle) attacked the rear guard of the *Roman* army. JUGURTHA, with the moſt numerous diviſion of his troops, faced the *Roman* van, conducted by MARIUS in perſon: But he no ſooner received advice of *Bocchus*'s being come up, than he privately, with a few attendants, wheeled off to that King's body of infantry, crying aloud as he joined them, *It is in vain for the* Romans *to continue the fight; for I have juſt now killed* MARIUS *with my own hand*. And this he ſpoke in Latin [a], that the *Roman* ſoldiers might underſtand him: At the ſame time he ſhewed them his ſword, red with the blood of a footſoldier, whom, with his own hand, he had killed, a little before. How much reaſon ſoever the *Romans* had to ſuſpect the veracity of the reporter, it did not hinder the report from having in great meaſure, the deſired effect. They were terrified and diſheartened; while, on the other hand, the Barbarians, inſpired with freſh courage, puſhed their enemies with more vigour and fury than before: inſomuch that theſe were on the very point of running away, when SYLLA, who had routed the cavalry of the *Moors*, and was happily returned from the purſuit, recovered the day by falling ſuddenly on the flank of their infantry. King *Bocchus* inſtantly fled. JUGURTHA, tenacious of the advantage gained by means of his ſtratagem, obſtinately continued the fight, till the few horſemen that attended him were all ſlain, and he found himſelf incloſed on the right and left by the *Roman* cavalry: Single he then broke through all oppoſition, eſcaping unhurt by a ſhower of darts that were thrown at him as he went off. About the ſame time, the Conſul, who after put-

[a] *Jugurtha* had learnt the *Latin* Tongue in *Spain*, while he ſerved under *Scipio*, at the ſiege of *Numantia*.

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ting the *Numidian* horſe to flight, received notice, that his rear guard had given ground, was coming with all diligence to their ſuccour. In concluſion, the *Africans* were totally routed on every ſide [b].

MARIUS, now unqueſtionably conqueror, and purſuing his march without further moleſtation, arrived at *Cirta*. Hither, about five days after the battle, came Ambaſſadors from King *Bocchus*, with this requeſt, "That the Conſul would be pleaſed to ſend to him two "perſons, of principal truſt, with whom he might ami-"cably confer upon matters which concerned both his "intereſt and that of the *Roman* people." The Conſul, without delay, diſpatched MANLIUS and SYLLA, to negotiate with the *Moor*. Theſe deputies, though ſent to the King at *his* deſire, judged it adviſeable to ſpeak to him, before they heard what he had to ſay to them: to the end that, if he were inclined to war, they might, by their rhetoric, diſpoſe him to peace, and, if deſirous of peace, add more warmth to that deſire.

SYLLA, to whom, not as ſenior, but as the more eloquent, MANLIUS, on this occaſion, yielded the precedence, addreſſed the King in words to the following effect.

"KING BOCCHUS, It is a ſingular pleaſure to us, "that the Gods have at length diſpoſed ſo great and "worthy a man as you to be our friend rather than our "foe; and have admoniſhed you to break that unnatu-"ral union, which, to the injury of your own moſt ex-"cellent character, you had formed with JUGURTHA, "the very worſt of men. We, to our inexpreſſible "joy, are hereby freed from the odious neceſſity of "purſuing with one and the ſame undiſtinguiſhing "ſword of vengeance, *him*, the moſt criminal of offen-"ders, and *you*, who have only been led into a miſtake."

[b] According to *Oroſius* (lib. v. cap. xv.) the action near *Cirta* laſted three days. At length, the victory fell to MARIUS by means of a mighty fall of rain, which, while it refreſhed the *Romans*, faint with thirſt, rendered uſeleſs the ſhields of the Barbarians. For being covered with elephants ſkins, the nature of which (he ſays) is to ſuck in water like a ſponge, they became too heavy for the arm.

Having

Having thus paid the due compliment to the King's tranſcendent merit, the Orator proceeded to *inform* him, "That the *Romans* had always, even from their "low beginning, made it their choice to have friends "rather than ſlaves, and had thought it ſafer to rule "over willing ſubjects than ſuch as are compelled to "obedience. [Do you want an Ally?] It is impoſſible "for you to have a more commodious alliance than "ours: Becauſe, in the firſt place, we are at a great "diſtance from you, ſo that there cannot eaſily hap-"pen any occaſion of quarrel between us; and yet "we can be as friendly and ſerviceable to you, as if "we were your near neighbours: And in the next "place, we have vaſſals in abundance, more than "enough; but neither we nor any other people ever "ſo abounded with friends, as not to wiſh for more."

After theſe and ſome other ſuch like empty words, they intimated to him, "that he had now a fine op-"portunity of correcting his miſtake, and that the "*Romans* were a people who never ſuffered themſelves "to be outdone in acts of kindneſs."

BOCCHUS is ſaid to have anſwered in very ſoft and gentle terms, apologizing for his error, and aſſuring the deputies, "That he had taken arms with no pur-"poſe of hoſtility againſt the *Romans*, but purely to "defend his own territories, being unable patiently to "ſee a part of *Numidia*, which by right of war be-"longed to him, as having conquered it from *Jugur-"tha*, laid waſte by MARIUS. That he had formerly "ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* with an offer of his friend-"ſhip, and that his offer had been rejected: that, "however, he choſe to be ſilent on that head, and "ſhould willingly now, if MARIUS would give per-"miſſion, diſpatch a ſecond Embaſſy to the *Roman* "Senate."

Vide ſu-pra, p. 54.

It would ſeem that MANLIUS and SYLLA expreſſed their approbation of this propoſal: yet we find that it was not put in execution till ſome time after their departure. For JUGURTHA, being informed of their arrival, and fearing the conſequences, had, by rich bribes,

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bribes, gained to his intereſt ſome of the king's favourites; and, through the influence of theſe, the *Moor* fluctuated awhile in uncertainty and irreſolution. At length his fear of the *Romans* got the aſcendant in his mind; and he then appointed five of his chief confidents, men of approved fidelity and ability, to be his Ambaſſadors to MARIUS: and they were ſecretly empowered to conclude a peace upon *any terms*, in caſe the Conſul permitted their proceeding to *Rome*, to negotiate that affair.

MARIUS, after diſpoſing his troops in winter-quarters, had, with a detachment of his cavalry and light-armed cohorts, made an excurſion into a ſolitary part of the country, there to beſiege a Tower, wholly garriſoned by *Roman* deſerters; and he was at this time engaged in that enterpriſe.

The *Mooriſh* Ambaſſadors, in their journey to the winter-quarters of the *Roman* army, fell into the hands of ſome *Getulian* robbers, and were by them ſtript ſo bare, that when they appeared before SYLLA, who, in the abſence of MARIUS, commanded in chief, they made a moſt deſpicable figure. SYLLA, nevertheleſs, received them with all the reſpectful civility due to their character, and not only ſupplied them with every thing neceſſary, but over and above made them noble preſents; a liberality, which wrought on their minds with ſuch power, as to convince them fully, that all the reports they had heard of *Roman Avarice*, were falſe; and that SYLLA was ſincerely their friend. *For, even at that time*, (ſays the * Hiſtorian) *there were many perſons ignorant of the practice of* giving, *in order to* corrupt, *and who imagined that no man was munificent but from Goodwill: that all preſents were unqueſtionable proofs of kindneſs.* Under the force of this perſuaſion, the Ambaſſadors of King BOCCHUS diſcloſed to their *Roman* friend the whole of their inſtructions, requeſting his advice and aſſiſtance in the buſineſs committed to their care. SYLLA promiſed every thing they aſked, and counſelled them in what manner to addreſs the *Conſul*, and, afterwards, the *Senate*.

* Cap. cxi.

Forty

Forty days they had been waiting to perform their commiſſion to MARIUS, when he, having failed in his enterpriſe, returned to *Cirta*; and from thence, (being there informed of their arrival) ſignified his pleaſure, that they and SYLLA ſhould come to him from *Utica*: he ſummoned likewiſe the Prætor of that place; and from every quarter of the Province, ſuch of the *Romans* as were of Senatorian rank. Before this council he laid the buſineſs with which the King had charged his miniſters; and the reſult of the deliberation was, *Permiſſion to them to proceed to Rome; and a ceſſation of all hoſtilities till their return.* Of the five *Moors*, three ſet out for *Italy*; the other two returned to the King; who, though he heard with pleaſure all the particulars of their report, was with nothing ſo much delighted as with their account of that extraordinary warmth of friendſhip which SYLLA had for him.

About this time the conſular faſces were transferred to *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *Q. Servilius Cæpio*[a]; but *Marius*, in quality of Proconſul, remained, by order, at the head of affairs in *Africa*. A. of R. 647. Bef. Chr. 105. 346th Conſ-p.

THE *Mooriſh* Ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome*, and had an audience of the Senate; where having firſt confeſſed that their maſter, miſled by the wicked artifices of *Jugurtha*, had been faulty, they prayed, that he might be forgiven his fault, and be admitted into *friendſhip* and an *alliance* with the *Roman* Republic.

To which humble addreſs they received this anſwer:

"THE Senate and People of *Rome* are not accuſ-
"tomed to forget either ſervices or injuries. Since
"BOCCHUS repents of his fault, they grant him par-
"don. Friendſhip and an alliance he ſhall obtain,
"when he has deſerved them."

BOCCHUS, on receiving advice of what had paſſed, requeſted of *Marius*, by letter, to ſend *Sylla* to him once more. The Proconſul complied: SYLLA, eſcorted by a detachment of cavalry and light-armed infan-

[a] This Conſulſhip was memorable for the birth of POMPEY THE GREAT, and of CICERO, *Vell. Pat.* lib. ii. *A. Gell.* xv. cap. 28.

try,

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try, ſet out for *Mauritania*. On the fifth day of his journey, a body of horſe appeared on a ſudden, in a wide plain. They did not exceed 1000, yet, by the looſe order of their march, were ſo ſpread as to ſeem much more numerous to the *Romans*; who likewiſe imagined them to be enemies, and therefore inſtantly prepared to receive them as ſuch. This apprehenſion of danger was, however, quickly removed by the return and report of ſome horſemen ſent out to *diſcover*. And, preſently after, VOLUX, the ſon of BOCCHUS riding up, and addreſſing himſelf to the Quæſtor, informed him, that *The troops he ſaw had been ſent by the king to meet him and to be his guard*. After this, the two corps joined; and they marched that day and the next without any alarm. But in the evening, when they had pitched their camp, VOLUX, with a look of conſternation and diſtreſs, comes haſtily to SYLLA, tells him, JUGURTHA *is not far off*; *the ſcouts have brought this intelligence*; intreats and preſſes him to ſteal away privately in the night, and begs to be the ſole companion of his flight.

SYLLA diſdainfully anſwered, That *he neither feared the* Numidian, *who had been ſo often routed*; *nor diſtruſted the courage of his own men*; *but, were he ſure to periſh, he would ſtand his ground, rather than by treacherouſly deſerting ſoldiers committed to his conduct preſerve an uncertain life, which he might poſſibly loſe in a very ſhort time by ſome natural and common diſtemper*.

Nevertheleſs, when VOLUX adviſed that the whole army ſhould move off in the dark, the Quæſtor approved of this meaſure; and, accordingly, gave orders, that the ſoldiers, when they had ſupped and lighted many fires in the camp, ſhould ſet forward at the firſt watch of the night.

At ſun-riſe, when, all being thoroughly fatigued with their nocturnal march, SYLLA was marking out ground for a camp, the *Mooriſh* ſcouts brought tidings, that about two miles before them directly in their way, JUGURTHA had poſted himſelf with all his forces. The *Roman* ſoldiers, in mighty conſternation, preſent-

ly

ly imagined themſelves betrayed by VOLUX; and ſome were for executing vengeance upon the traitor without delay. SYLLA had the ſame ſuſpicion of the young Prince, yet would not ſuffer him to be hurt. He exhorted his *Romans* to call up all their courage, putting them in mind, that in frequent inſtances a few brave men had prevailed againſt multitudes: He invoked *Jupiter* to witneſs the perfidious wickedneſs of BOCCHUS; and then, turning to the Prince, "VOLUX, *you* "*have the heart and intentions of an enemy; be gone out* "*of my camp this inſtant!*" The Prince, with tears in his eyes, begged of the Quæſtor *not to harbour that ſuſpicion*, aſſuring him, that *what had happened was wholly owing to the vigilant ſubtilty of* JUGURTHA. "By his ſpies, he got notice of my being to come to "meet you, and learnt the route I was to take. "However, ſince he has no great numbers with him, "and has placed in my father all his hopes, it is not "probable he will venture upon any open attempt, "while I am here. So that I think the beſt courſe "will be, confidently to purſue our way, and march "through the very midſt of his camp. I will either "ſend my *Moors* forward, or, leave them here, be-"hind, as you ſhall chuſe, and I will, alone, accom-"pany you."

Nothing more adviſeable occurring to SYLLA's thoughts, and his critical ſituation not allowing time to deliberate, he followed the Prince's counſel; which, by the event, appeared to have been both ſincere and judicious: for they paſſed on ſafe and unmoleſted; and, in a few days, they arrived at the place whither they had been directed to go.

[The hiſtorian accounts for the *inaction* of JUGURTHA, on this occaſion, by ſuppoſing him to be held in ſuſpence and irreſolution by *ſurprize*, as not having imagined that the *Romans* would come on: but, perhaps it would be better accounted for, by ſaying, that the *Numidian* was too able a politician, to act ſo very fooliſh a part, as what they had apprehended.]

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THERE was, at this time, in the court of King BOCCHUS, and upon a foot of freedom and familiarity with him, a certain *Numidian*, named *Aſpar*, whom JUGURTHA (having received intelligence of SYLLA's being ſent for) had diſpatched thither, to be a ſpy upon the actions of the MOOR, and to diſcover his intentions. *Dabar*, another *Numidian*, was likewiſe about the King, at the ſame time, and highly favoured by him, on account of his many excellent talents. This man, whoſe father was the ſon of MASINISSA, by a concubine, had, in many inſtances, ſhewed himſelf a zealous friend to the *Roman* intereſt: for which reaſon the MOOR fixed his choice on him as the fitteſt perſon he could employ, to be his meſſenger to the *Roman* Quæſtor: and he gave him in charge, thus to ſay:

"BOCCHUS is ready to perform whatever the *Ro-*
"*man People* require of him. He refers it to you,
"SYLLA, to appoint the place and time for your con-
"ference. *Aſpar* muſt be ſummoned to it; otherwiſe
"it will be impoſſible to avoid the inſidious wiles of
"his maſter: But you need not apprehend any in-
"convenience from the preſence of that miniſter;
"for the ſettling of all matters ſhall be private, be-
"tween BOCCHUS and you alone[a]."

SYLLA anſwered, that "He would not ſpeak fully
"of the buſineſs of his commiſſion, but to the King,
"when no other perſon was preſent, or, at moſt, very
"few; and that what he purpoſed to ſay before *Aſpar*
"would be very ſhort." At the ſame time, he furniſhed *Dabar* with the anſwer which the King was to give to it

Place and time were appointed, and the parties, accordingly, met. SYLLA, addreſſing himſelf to the King, "*I was ſent by the* Roman *Conſul to aſk you, whe-*

[a] SALLUST pretends (ſeemingly without any good reaſon) that BOCCHUS was not ſincere in this meſſage; and that he was, a long time, in debate with himſelf, Whether he ſhould betray JUGURTHA to SYLLA, or SYLLA to JUGURTHA. *Sed ego comperio,* BOCCHUM *magis punica fide quam,* &c.

"*ther*

" *ther you are for peace or war.*" To which, BOCCHUS, purſuant to his Inſtructions, " *If you will come hither* " *again ten days hence, you ſhall have an anſwer. I am* " *not, at preſent, reſolved.*" This ſaid, each retired to his camp. But, when the night was far ſpent, the King ſent privately for SYLLA, who being come, and no body elſe preſent, except truſty interpreters, and *Dabar*, who was ſworn to ſecrecy, BOCCHUS opened the conference with a ſpeech. If the ſpeech given us by *Salluſt* be genuine, it may, perhaps, for unmeaning words, vye with that, which SYLLA formerly made to the King. Vide ſupra, p. 92, 93.

What BOCCHUS ſaid to the purpoſe was this: " That " he would, henceforward, take no part in the war " between the *Romans* and JUGURTHA; would never " ſtir beyond the river *Mulucha*, which had been the " boundary between himſelf and *Micipſa*; nor ever " ſuffer JUGURTHA to come within that limit." He added, " If you have any thing farther to aſk, worthy " of me and of the *Romans*, it ſhall not be refuſed."

To this, SYLLA anſwered, " That the *Roman* arms " having been ſucceſsful in the war, the Senate and " People of *Rome* could not poſſibly think themſelves " under any obligation to him for the offers he had " made: that, if he deſired to oblige them, he muſt " do ſomething that would appear to be done for their " intereſt more than for his own; and that this would " not be difficult: For, as he had now JUGURTHA in " his power, he might deliver him up to the *Romans*; " who would, *then* indeed, be greatly indebted to him, " and *then* every thing he deſired, would follow of " courſe, *friendſhip*, *alliance*, and that *part of Numidia* " which he claimed."

BOCCHUS objected " His Ties of Affinity and Conſanguinity with the *Numidian*, the Treaty of Confe- " deracy between them, as likewiſe the Danger to " himſelf, ſhould he act ſo faithleſs a part, of thereby " loſing the affections of his People, who loved JU- " GURTHA and hated the *Romans*:" Nevertheleſs, wearied out by importunate ſolicitation, the MOOR

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conſented, at length, to do all that SYLLA defired, and it was then agreed to deceive JUGURTHA, by making him hope, he ſhould be included in the Treaty of Peace between *Rome* and *Mauritania*.

Accordingly, BOCCHUS, the day following, intimated to *Aſpar*, that the *Romans* were willing to terminate the war upon *conditions*; that he had learnt this from SYLLA by *Dabar*, and therefore, wiſhed to know the diſpoſition of the *Numidian* King. Away went *Aſpar*, full of joy, to the camp of his maſter: and after eight days, returned with this anſwer: "JUGURTHA would "gladly come into any meaſures for putting an end "to the war; but having more than once experienced, "that Treaties, made with *Roman* Generals, are vain, "and ineffectual, has little reaſon to truſt MARIUS. "If BOCCHUS be deſirous of procuring a peace, that "ſhall be durable and advantageous, both to himſelf "and to his Ally, let him contrive a meeting of all "the parties, as if to confer about Peace, and there "deliver up SYLLA into the hands of JUGURTHA. A "valid Treaty, a Treaty made by order of the Se-"nate and People of *Rome*, will then infallibly enſue: "for they will never ſuffer to remain in the power of "his enemies ſuch a man * as SYLLA, a man of his "importance,

* *Talem Virum*. SALLUST, when he puts theſe words into the mouth of JUGURTHA, ſeems to have forgot that SYLLA was, at this time, a man of very little conſequence. His family, though noble, had ſunk into obſcurity, his fortune was low, nor does either his reputation or his intereſt ſeem to have riſen to any conſiderable height, before the *Social* War. He could not obtain the *Prætorſhip* till he was paſt the legal Age; and, when he did obtain it, it was thought to be by the force of Bribes.

But perhaps, the hiſtorian by *talem virum* means no more than that SYLLA was QUÆSTOR of the *Roman* army, and *Homo nobilis*, as he ſtyles him in the ſame paſſage.

As to JUGURTHA's attempt to perſuade king BOCCHUS, that the moſt effectual means to obtain from the *Romans*, an advantageous and durable peace, would be, to betray a *Roman* Quæſtor (then bearing the Character too of an Ambaſſador) into the hands of their moſt hated Enemy, it only indicates, that the *Numidian* looked upon the *Moor* as a very weak Prince, and wholly unacquainted with the temper of his enemies. For, that JUGURTHA himſelf did not imagine, he ſhould be enabled,

" importance, a *Roman Noble*, fallen into captivity, " not through cowardice, or any neglect of duty, but " through a warm zeal to ſerve his Country."

BOCCHUS, when he had a good while pondered this advice, promiſed to follow it. But whether he, at that time, meant to perform his promiſe (the hiſtorian tells us) is uncertain: Becauſe, though he frequently renewed it, he as often gave the like promiſe to SYLLA.

In the night, preceding the day appointed for the conference, the MOOR gathered about him his chief confidents, changed his mind on a ſudden, diſmiſſed them, and fell into great perturbation of mind; betraying, by the frequent alterations of his countenance, the inward ſtruggles by which he was agitated. At length,

enabled, by the poſſeſſion of SYLLA's perſon, to procure a peace with *Rome*, we may well conclude from his neglecting to ſeize him *, when he, with *Volux* (not long before) in their way to the court of *Mauritania*, paſſed through the *Numidian* camp. Doubtleſs, JUGURTHA's ſole view in his endeavours to engage king BOCCHUS in ſo unpardonable an act of treachery, was to make the condition of the *Moor* as deſperate as his own; in which caſe he might have counted upon the ſteadineſs of his ally, and been able to hold out ſome years longer againſt the *Romans*.

This, I ſay, from the idea given us by the hiſtorians of JUGURTHA's abilities, we ſhould naturally conjecture to have been the aim of his proceeding; Not *a peace with Rome*, but *means to continue the war*.

At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed that ſome parts of JUGURTHA's conduct ſeem quite irreconcileable with common ſenſe, and would incline one to believe, that he was really frighted out of his wits.

A late excellent writer obſerves, that " nothing is more common " than to ſee men give themſelves up to a PASSION—to their known " prejudice and ruin, and in direct contradiction to the loudeſt calls of " SELF-LOVE.—Every caprice of the imagination, every curioſity of " the underſtanding, every affection of the heart, is perpetually ſhew- " ing its weakneſs [the weakneſs of SELF-LOVE] by prevailing over it. " Men daily, hourly, ſacrifice *the greateſt known intereſt* to Fancy, In- " quiſitiveneſs, Love, or Hatred, any vagrant inclination."

Therefore, that JUGURTHA, whoſe greateſt intereſt, *(that which his habitual* SELF-LOVE *called loudeſt for)* was *the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Numidia*, ſhould, nevertheleſs, from his *Fear* or *Jealouſy*, or *Hatred* of a rival, expoſe himſelf, when at *Rome*, to the reſentment of the *Roman* People, by murdering *Maſſiva*: And that in *revenge* of the inſult put upon him by the *Romans*, in conſtraining him to appear at

Vide ſu-pra. p. 39.

* Vide ſupra, p. 97.

Y. of R. 647. length, however, he ſent for SYLLA, and, in concert with him, laid an ambuſh for the *Numidian* King.

Next morning, upon notice brought that JUGURTHA was not far off, BOCCHUS, as if to do him honour, went out, accompanied by a few courtiers, and by the *Roman* Quæſtor, to meet him at a certain eminence, that was in view of the men lying in wait. To this eminence the *Numidian*, attended by a conſiderable number of his friends, came unarmed, according to agreement. The ſignal inſtantly given, the ambuſh roſe, ſurrounded JUGURTHA and his followers, ſeized him, and maſſacred them: He was delivered up bound into the hands of SYLLA, and, by him, conducted to MARIUS.

Thus ended [f] the JUGURTHINE WAR, to the real diſhonour of both MARIUS and SYLLA, who are ſaid nevertheleſs to have warmly [g] contended for the GLORY of

the bar of the People's judicature, to undergo an examination, he ſhould compel the whole *Roman* army, officers and ſoldiers, (when fallen into
p. 42. his power) to paſs under the yoke, may perhaps, be conſidered as not wonderful, and only as inſtances exemplifying the obſervation above mentioned: viz. that *the moſt cunning, wicked men, will, to gratify a particular paſſion, do actions the moſt fooliſhly impolitic with regard to the very intereſts they are habitually in purſuit of.* But that JUGURTHA, after the perpetration of that murder, and after putting that groſs affront upon the *Roman* army, ſhould *(being in his ſenſes)* hope to obtain from the *Roman* Senate and People a tolerable peace, and, from the ſole motive of that hope, diveſt himſelf in a great meaſure of the means of defence, by giving up ſo large a part of his ſtrength and treaſure,
p. 55. as we are told he did, to his enemies, preſents a difficulty, the ſolution of which I ſhall leave to the reader.

[f] The hiſtorians have not been careful to tell us how the newly conquered country was diſpoſed of. *Sextus Rufus* ſays, that *Numidia*, from the time of JUGURTHA's captivity, belonged to *Rome*: Yet *Plutarch* [*in Mario*] ſpeaks of a king of *Numidia*, whom he calls *Hiempſal*, to whom young *Marius*, when driven out of *Italy* by SYLLA, fled for protection. The ſame king, under the name of *Mandreſtal*, is mentioned by *Appian* [App. de Bell. Civ. lib. i. p. 388.] From SYLLA's
p. 88. promiſe to BOCCHUS, it may with ſome reaſon be conjectured, that the third part of *Numidia* was yielded to that prince.

[g] In this diſpute, father *Catrou* has eſpouſed SYLLA's cauſe with remarkable zeal.—"Thus was SYLLA fortunate to a degree not to be "paralleled; no embaſſy was ever more compleatly ſucceſsful.——

"His

of that gallant exploit which brought the war to its conclusion.—*The* GLORY *of having engaged* JUGURTHA'S *Father-in-law and confederate in arms to invite him to a friendly conference, and, under that cover, betray him into the hands of his most implacable enemies.* Y. of R. 647.

MARIUS continued in *Africa* the remainder of this year, and all the next, till ROME wanted the service of so able a general against the *Cimbri* and their allies.

CHAP. III.

The War with the CIMBRI. The *Second*, *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth* Consulships of MARIUS.

WE left the CIMBRI in the year 640 plundering and laying waste *Transalpine Gaul*. Little more is said of them till the year 644, when they defeated the Consul SILANUS[h]. Liv. Epit. l. lxv. Flor. l. iii. c. iii. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. xxxvii.

The following year the Consul AURELIUS had no better success than his Predecessor.

And in 646, L. CASSIUS LONGINUS (the collegue of MARIUS in the Consulship) suffered a notable overthrow from the *Tigurini* *, who were probably assisted by the *Cimbri*. They surprised him in an ambush; where both he and his lieutenant, *Calpurnius Piso*, lost their lives. His other lieutenant *Popillius* made a shameful capitulation with the Barbarians: For he consented to give hostages, deliver up the half of his baggage, and * A people of Switzerland. Strab. l. vii. p. 293. Liv. Epit. l. lxv.

" His stars, if I may so speak, delivered him out of all dangers, and " accomplished his most sanguine hopes.—He had the HONOUR of fi- " nishing, almost without the effusion of blood, a war, which MARIUS " had not been able to bring to a conclusion, by many sieges and many " victories.—Though a Proquæstor only, he, from the time of his first " [second] campaign became equal in reputation to the general himself. " —At least he was looked upon at *Rome* as the chief conqueror of " *Numidia*.—It seems as if Justice required that HEAVEN should give " MARIUS the mortification of seeing the GLORY of the campaign " divided between a subaltern and himself." &c. &c. tome 14. p. 167.

[h] According to *Florus* (l. iii. c. iii.) the *Cimbri* before the battle sent Ambassadors to the Consul and Senate requesting, that lands might be assigned to them; on which condition they offered to assist the *Romans* in their wars.

J. Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. l. i. c. x. P. Oroſ. l. v. c. xv. Auct. ad Herenn. l. i. c. xv. Oroſ. loc. cit. Cic. in Brut. c. xliv. Jul. Obſeq. c. xxxix. Val. Max. l. vi. c. ix. § xiii. Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 630.

paſs with his army under the yoke. Being arraigned, at his return to *Rome*, for miſconduct, he went into baniſhment to avoid a trial.

IN the preſent year (647) it fell by lot to the Conſul SERVILIUS COEPIO to conduct the war againſt the *Cimbri* in *Gallia Narbonenſis*.

Before his departure from *Rome* he obtained a law in favour of the *Senators*. CAIUS GRACCHUS had transferred from them to the *Knights*, the adminiſtration of Juſtice. Some of the *Senators* (the number uncertain) were now admitted to be of the Bench of Judges: And COEPIO, for this [i] ſervice, got the title of *Patron of the Senate*.

COEPIO, after his arrival in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, recovered from the *Cimbri Toloſa*, the capital of the *Tectoſages*. The inhabitants of the place had been in alliance with *Rome*, and had received a *Roman* garriſon; which they afterwards betrayed to the Barbarians: But now, they by night admitted the Conſul into the town; who, nevertheleſs, gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. He is ſaid to have found in the temples an immenſe quantity of gold [k], the greateſt part of which he appropriated to his own uſe: nay, *Oroſius*

[i] For the ſame reaſon doubtleſs it is that CICERO (in Brut. c. xxxv.) commends him; whilſt other writers give him an odious character. CRASSUS, the famous Orator, ſpoke in favour of *Cæpio*'s law (Cic. in Brut c. xlii and xliv) and his ſpeech on that occaſion ſerved CICERO for a model by which to form his own eloquence. It would ſeem that a part of the ſpeech was to the following effect: "Deliver us (ſaid the "Orator, addreſſing himſelf, in the name of the Senate, to the People) "from our miſeries. Reſcue us from the jaws of thoſe, whoſe cruelty "cannot be ſatisfied without blood: Reſcue us from ſlavery, do not "ſuffer us to be held in bondage to any but yourſelves, to whom we "can and ought to be ſlaves." *Cic. de Orat.* l. i. c. lii. & Parad. v. c. iii.

[k] Authors differ about the value of this treaſure, but all their accounts ſeem extravagant. *Poſidonius*, as quoted by *Strabo* (l. iv. p. 188.) reckons it at 15000 talents. *Oroſius* makes it 100,000 pounds weight of gold, and 110,000 pounds of ſilver; and *Juſtin* (l. xxxii. c. iii.) raiſes it to a much higher ſum. It happened, that every one who had a hand in ſeizing this gold came to ſome miſerable end; whence it became a common proverb, to ſay of a man reduced to extreme miſery, *he has got ſome of the gold of* Toulouſe. *A. Gell.* l. iii. c. ix.

tells

tells us, that the Conſul, having ſent away this treaſure under a guard to *Marſeilles*, treacherouſly cauſed that guard to be maſſacred in the way, and then made the whole his own. L. v. c. xv.

It would ſeem that COEPIO's forces were not ſufficient to oppoſe the *Cimbri*, for after the election of P. RUTILIUS RUFUS and CN. MALLIUS[1] MAXIMUS to the Conſulſhip, the latter, by order, led an army to COEPIO's aſſiſtance, who, at the ſame time, was continued in his command in quality of Proconſul. Y. of R. 648. Bef. Chr. 104. Conſ-p. 347.

On MALLIUS's arrival in *Gaul*, he and *Cæpio* divided the province between them, and made the *Rhone* their boundary. Soon after, the *Cimbri* fell upon a part of the Conſul's army, commanded by his lieutenant *Aurelius Scaurus* (who himſelf had been Conſul three years before:) they defeated it, and took the commander priſoner. Oroſ. l. v. c. xvi. Liv. Epit. l. lxvii.

MALLIUS, terrified by this diſaſter, thought it proper to call *Cæpio* to his ſuccour. The Proconſul, at firſt, haughtily anſwered, that each ought to take care of his own province; yet, preſently after, fearing leſt MALLIUS ſhould obtain a victory over the enemy without him, he paſſed the *Rhone*; but would neither encamp his forces with thoſe of the Conſul, nor conſult with him. Confident of ſucceſs, and bent upon having the whole glory of it, he encamped his troops between thoſe of MALLIUS and the *Cimbri*. Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 630. Y. of R. 648. Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 633.

The Barbarians had been informed of the miſunderſtanding between the two *Roman* generals; but, from *Cæpio*'s motions, imagining now that they were reconciled, ſent deputies to the Conſul to treat of an accommodation *Cæpio*, into whoſe camp, as nearer to them than the other, they naturally came, finding that it was not to him, but to the Conſul they had orders to addreſs themſelves, far from treating them in the manner due to their character, was once, in his

[1] CICERO (pro Planc. c. 5.) calls *Mallius an obſcure man, without virtue, without ſenſe, of manners vulgar and contemptible*; and complains of the *Roman* People for preferring him at this election, before his competitor *Q. Catulus*.

rage,

rage, upon the point of putting them to death. His proceeding did by no means pleaſe either the ſoldiers, or the officers of his own army; who, apprehending fatal conſequences from ſuch intemperate paſſion, forced him, in a manner, to repair to the Conſul's camp, there to deliberate upon the meaſures proper to be taken. Nothing was concluded; the whole time paſſed in diſpute, mutual reproaches, and affronts: and the two generals parted more exaſperated than ever againſt each other.

In this ill humour they had the folly to come to a battle with the enemy, in which they were totally defeated; they loſt 80,000 men, beſide ſervants, ſutlers, and other followers of the camp, to the number of forty thouſand. It is ſaid, that ſcarce ten of the whole army eſcaped with the two commanders to carry the news of the defeat to *Rome*. Of this number was the famous SERTORIUS, who, though wounded, yet, according to *Plutarch*, ſwam croſs the *Rhone* in his armour.

Liv. Epit. l. lxvii. Val. Ant. ap. Oroſ. l. v. c. xvi. Plut. in Sertor.

The conquerors [m], purſuant to a vow they had made, reſerved to themſelves nothing of the ſpoil: they threw the gold and ſilver into the river, cut to pieces the arms and clothes of the dead, drowned the horſes, and hanged up their priſoners upon trees. And it being now unanimouſly determined in council to invade *Italy*, they ſent for their priſoner *Aurelius*, probably with a view to learn ſomething from him that might be of uſe to them in their intended expedition: *Aurelius* endeavouring to perſuade them not to paſs the *Alps*, becauſe the *Romans* were (he ſaid) invincible, *Bojorix*, one of the *Cimbrian* chiefs, killed him upon the ſpot.

Oroſ. loc. cit.

Liv. Epit. l. lxvii.

The alarm and conſternation, which the loſs of the army occaſioned at *Rome*, exceeded all imagination. The People, who imputed it wholly to *Cæpio*, were ſo

[m] *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* mention four nations who ſhared in this victory, the *Cimbri*, *Teutoni*, *Tigurini*, and *Ambrones*. *Plutarch* aſcribes the principal glory of it to the laſt, who appear to have been a people of *Switzerland*: he ſpeaks of them as the braveſt and moſt terrible of the whole allied army; they were thirty thouſand in number.

enraged

enraged againſt him, that they depoſed him [n] from his command, and confiſcated his eſtate: a proceeding of which there had been no example; no general, how culpable ſoever, having received the like affront.

RUTILIUS, the collegue of MALLIUS, had direction to raiſe new forces to oppoſe the Barbarians. He performed his commiſſion with an extraordinary care, being the firſt who introduced the cuſtom of teaching the ſoldiers the uſe of their weapons by maſters taken from the ſchools of the gladiators: A practice adopted by the ſucceeding generals; and in later times mention is made of theſe maſters for the ſoldiery, under the name of *Campidoctores* [o]. Liv. Epit. l. lxvii. Val. Max. l. ii. c. iii. §. 2.

At the next election of Conſuls, MARIUS, then *abſent*, and who *had been Conſul but three years before*, was by the voice of the whole *Roman* People named for one, though the laws forbad any man, who had held that ſtation, to be placed in it again without an interval of ten years, and likewiſe forbad the chuſing any man to it who did not ſtand candidate in perſon. Neither METELUS, vainly boaſted of by his party as *the Conqueror* of *Numidia*; nor any other of the Nobles, had the confidence to ſtand in competition with him in this time of real danger. *Gallia Narbonenſis* was the Y. of R. 649. Bef. J. C. 103. Conſ-p. 348.

[n] The next year, *L. Caſſius*, Tribune of the People, paſſed a law, ordaining, that no perſon, who had been condemned and deprived of his command by the People, ſhould ſit in the Senate. *Cæpio*'s name was not inſerted, but he was the only perſon affected by this law. Ten years after his firſt condemnation, he was accuſed a ſecond time before the People, by the Tribune *Norbanus*, on account of his ſacrilege in ſeizing the gold of *Toulouſe*. The orator *Craſſus* undertook his defence. *Scaurus*, Preſident of the Senate, eſpouſed his cauſe, and two of the Tribunes oppoſed their collegue's proceeding; but violence, which was then grown common at *Rome*, decided the affair. In a tumult that enſued, *Scaurus* received a blow with a ſtone, and, together with the oppoſing Tribunes, was put to flight; and *Cæpio* was condemned. It is not certain what became of him afterwards. According to *Strabo*, l. iv. p. 188. he was baniſhed, and retired to *Smyrna*; but *Valerius Maximus* (inconſiſtently with what he relates, l. iv. c. vii.) tells us (l. vi. c. ix) that *Cæpio* was ſtrangled in priſon, and his carcaſs ignominiouſly dragged with a hook to the *Gemoniæ*.

[o] This year the *Luſitanians* defeated a *Roman* army in *Spain*. Jul. Obſeq. c. xl.

province

province aſſigned to him; *Italy* to his collegue C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.

Sall. Bel. Jugurth. in fin. Liv. Epit. l. lxvii. Plut. in Mar.

MARIUS, on his return to *Rome*, had a triumph for his conqueſt of *Numidia*. The principal ornaments of the proceſſion were JUGURTHA and his ſons in chains. It is ſaid, that the king appeared like a man out of his ſenſes. The ceremony over, he was thrown into a dungeon, being condemned to be there ſtarved to death. The gaolers in their haſte to ſtrip him tore off the tips of his ears to get the pendants he wore in them. Six whole days he paſſed in the dungeon ſtruggling with famine, and retaining to the laſt moment an ardent deſire of life [p].

Y. of R. 649.

MARIUS, through abſence of thought, went into the Senate, after the ceremony, in his triumphal robe, which was unprecedented. Perceiving the whole aſſembly ſurpriſed and ſhocked at the novelty, he inſtantly left the houſe, and in a very ſhort time returned in the uſual habit.

Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. ii. §. 2.

So well had RUTILIUS diſciplined the new raiſed troops, that MARIUS, having his choice, preferred them, for the expedition againſt the *Cimbri*, to the army which he himſelf had commanded in *Africa*. He choſe SYLLA for his lieutenant, as thinking him (ſays *Plutarch*) *a man of too little conſequence to give him jealouſy* [q].

And

[p] It is thought that JUGURTHA's two ſons paſſed their days in captivity at *Venuſia*. App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1. p. 376.

[q] We have here an inſtance (and there are many ſuch) of *Plutarch*'s want of memory, or, perhaps, of his little concern to make his ſtories either probable or conſiſtent with one another.

In his LIFE OF MARIUS, after relating how BOCCHUS betrayed JUGURTHA into the hands of SYLLA, he immediately adds the following account.

" This gave *the firſt riſe* to that ſad and deplorable *civil war* which " almoſt ruined the whole *Roman* Empire: For many that envied " MARIUS, aſcribed the ſucceſs *wholly* to SYLLA: And SYLLA *him-* " *ſelf made a ſeal, whereon was engraven* BOCCHUS *delivering up* " JUGURTHA *to him:* and this he *conſtantly uſed*, whereby he *highly* " *provoked* MARIUS, a man extremely ambitious and *jealous of a rival* " *for glory*," &c.

We have again, in the Biographer's life of SYLLA, the ſucceſsful negotiation

And now inſtead of being too gentle and remiſs in point of diſcipline, which *Salluſt* imputes to him, with regard

negotiation of the Quæſtor, his Vanity, his Seal, and the conſequent anger and jealouſy of MARIUS.

" For this ſucceſs MARIUS triumphed; but *being conſcious that* " *the* GLORY of *the Atchievement was due to* SYLLA, envy made him " grieve inwardly: And SYLLA being himſelf naturally vain, and this " being the firſt time that, from a low and private condition, he had " riſen to be in ſome conſideration with his fellow-citizens, his ambition " carried him to ſuch a degree of oſtentation, that he cauſed a SEAL to " be made, whereon was repreſented BOCCHUS *delivering up*, and " SYLLA *receiving* JUGURTHA; *which* SEAL *he made uſe of ever* " *after*. This touched MARIUS to the quick; *nevertheleſs*, in his " ſecond Conſulſhip, thinking SYLLA two far beneath him to be feared " as a rival, he appointed him to be his lieutenant; and, in his third " Conſulſhip, employed him as a Legionary tribune."

In this account (though it be adopted by *M. Vertot*, *the Jeſuits*, *M. Rollin*, and others) it ſeems difficult to diſcern the leaſt air of Truth. Is it, in any degree, probable, that SYLLA, who, (as *Plutarch* obſerves) had but juſt ſtarted out of obſcurity, and was very ambitious of riſing to the higheſt honours, would be ſo impolitic, as immediately to provide himſelf with ſuch a Seal as is deſcribed, and from this time conſtantly wear it; that is, coolly and deliberately contrive to make MARIUS, who was then the People's chief favourite, his enemy, and ſet him at defiance, by appropriating wholly to himſelf a glory, which naturally belonged to the commander in chief?

Or is it probable, that, if SYLLA had ſuch folly and arrogance, and if MARIUS was thereby *touched to the quick*, and *ſo highly provoked*, as the hiſtorian reports him to have been, he would have choſen this enemy and *rival for glory*: to be his lieutenant in his ſecond Conſulſhip?

MARIUS was *jealous* of SYLLA as of a *Rival for Glory*: Nevertheleſs MARIUS appointed SYLLA to be his lieutenant, looking upon him as a man of too little conſequence to be his *Rival for Glory*. This is *Plutarch*'s account.

The truth ſeems to be, that the SEAL in queſtion was never thought of till many years after the end of the *Numidian* war, when king BOCCHUS, to whom an alliance with *Rome* had been granted, made a glittering golden preſent to the *Roman* People. And this might be gathered from another paſſage in *Plutarch*'s Life of MARIUS, where ſpeaking of him after his return from *Aſia*, he ſays, that *he was neglected like a weapon of war in time of peace*; and adds, " that among all thoſe, whoſe " luſtre eclipſed the glory of MARIUS, he was the moſt exaſ- " perated againſt SYLLA, who *owed his* RISE *to the hatred which the* " NOBLES *bore to himſelf*." And then he proceeds in the following manner. " When BOCCHUS, king of *Numidia*, dedicated, in the *Capi-* " *tol*, ſome golden victories bearing trophies, and, with them, a ſculp- " ture in gold, repreſenting himſelf, delivering up JUGURTHA to SYLLA,

" MARIUS

regard to the troops in *Numidia*, he was on the contrary (by the report of *Plutarch*) "ſevere in command, and "exact even to rigour. Nevertheleſs his impetuous "ſpirit, ſtern look, and thundering voice, were conſi-"dered by the ſoldiers, when grown familiar with "them, not as terrible to themſelves, but only to their "enemies."

A notable act of impartial juſtice helped much to conciliate to him the affections of the army. His nephew, who ſerved in the poſt of a Legionary Tribune, having ſeveral times ſolicited a young ſoldier under his command to unworthy compliances, and finding him always inflexible, had at length recourſe to violence. The ſoldier, being determined to expoſe himſelf to any danger rather than yield, drew his ſword, and ran the Tribune through the body. Being cited before MARIUS to receive ſentence for having killed his commander; the general, when he had informed himſelf fully of the facts, not only acquitted the accuſed, but with his own hands crowned him as a conqueror.

Plut. in Mar. Cic. pro Milon. c. iv. Vide ſupra. p. 42.

When MARIUS arrived in *Gaul*, he learned that the *Cimbri* after ravaging all the country, from the *Rhone*

Liv. Epit. 67. Plut. in Mar. Jul. Obſeq. c. xli.

"MARIUS was thereupon almoſt diſtracted with rage; not able to en-"dure that SYLLA ſhould arrogate that honour to himſelf.

"MARIUS attempted by violence to pull down thoſe figures; and "SYLLA ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his attempt; but *the war of the confede-"rates*, THEN, *on a ſudden, threatning the city, put a ſtop to the ſedi-"tion*, that ON THE OCCASION was juſt ready to break out." [The war of the Confederates was kindled in 662.)

By this *date* we ſee, that the diſpute between MARIUS and SYLLA for the glory of putting a fortunate end to the *Jugurthine War* (which ended in 64[7]) was not till fifteen years after its concluſion, when MARIUS's intereſt was on the decline, and SYLLA had made great progreſs in the road to the higheſt honours: for he had been already *Prætor*: and two years after this time (viz. in 664) was choſen to the Conſulſhip. And it would ſeem that the SEAL was a *copy* of King BOCCHUS's preſent, and not the *original*; though it is very poſſible that SYLLA, to pique MARIUS (whom he *then* did not fear) and to raiſe his own credit with the People, might, when BOCCHUS (with whom he had formed a ſort of friendſhip) determined to make a preſent to the *Romans* of a ſculpture in gold, ſuggeſt to him the device.

to

to the *Pyrenees*, had by thoſe mountains entered *Spain* [r]. This gave the Conſul leiſure to perfect his troops in military diſcipline: and (according to *Plutarch*) the *Romans*, notwithſtanding the departure of the *Cimbri*, found enemies in *Gaul:* for he tells us, that SYLLA this year took priſoner *Copillus*, the general of the *Tectoſages* [s]. Plut in Sylla.

WHEN

[r] *Florus* places this irruption of the *Cimbri* into *Spain* before the Conſulſhip of *Silanus*. l. iii. c. iii.

[s] About this Time, *M. Scaurus*, Preſident of the Senate, and who had been Conſul and Cenſor, was accuſed by *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, Tribune of the People, of having profaned ſeveral ſacred Rites of the *Romans*, and particularly thoſe of the *Dii Penates* celebrated at *Lavinium*. The Crime ſeems to have been a heavy one, but it is deſcribed in too vague a manner to be accurately underſtood at this Time. The real ſource of the proſecutor's enmity to *Scaurus* was, that another perſon, aſſiſted by *Scaurus*'s intereſt, had ſucceeded *Domitius*'s father in an Augur's place, to the excluſion of *Domitius* himſelf. But though animated by perſonal hatred, *Domitius* had the generoſity to reject the information that was ſecretly offered him by one of *Scaurus*'s ſlaves, and to deliver up the traitor to his maſter. For want perhaps of this intelligence, *Scaurus* was acquitted, though with ſome difficulty; but *Domitius* grew ſuch a favourite with the People, that he was afterwards choſe Conſul, Cenſor, and Pontifex Maximus. Aſcon in Scaur.

His generoſity in the affair of *Scaurus* undoubtedly contributed ſomething to his popularity; but his chief merit was a law which he made, to ſubſtitute a popular election of prieſts of every denomination to the old method of cooptation by their Collegues: or rather to unite both theſe methods, as had always been practiſed in the election of a Pontifex Maximus. Seventeen Tribes, taken by lot, were to be aſſembled, and the Perſon who had the ſuffrages of the majority was to be coopted, without a power of refuſal, by the College in which the vacancy happened. Val. Max. vi. 5.

Domitius in his Tribuneſhip accuſed alſo *Junius Silanus* for miſconduct in the war againſt the *Cimbri*, by whom he had been defeated when Conſul five years before. He was acquitted by the People: two tribes only condemned him. *Cic. pro Corn.* 2. in *Fragm. Aſcon. in loc.* Cic. de Leg. Agrar. ii. 7.

C. Servilius Glaucia, another of the Tribunes, got a law paſſed, the import of which ſeems to have been a repeal of that which *Cæpio*, enacted in the year 647, and a reſtoring to the *Roman* Knights all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed. *Cic. in Brut.* c. lxii.

It is not certain, what was the import of *Cæpio*'s law, or of *Glaucia*'s: the firſt, according to *Jul Obſequens* (c. xxxix.) divided the right of judicature between the Senators and the Knights; and *Cicero*

(in

Y. of R. 649. WHEN the time came for electing the chief Magiſtrates at *Rome*, the Comitia choſe MARIUS (in his abſence)

(in de Invent. l. i. c. xlix.) ſpeaks of it as favourable to the Senate; whereas he tells us, that *Glaucia* by his law gained over the Knights to his intereſt (in Brut. c. lxii) *Cicero* (in Divinat. in Cæcil. c. iii.) ſpeaks favourably of the judgments paſſed by the *Roman* Knights: and *Aſconius* (in loc.) ſays, that the *Roman* Knights continued to be judges for forty years after the time of C GRACCHUS, and that they judged uprightly: that SYLLA then transferred the right of judging to the Senators, and theſe judged iniquitouſly. And *Cicero* (Act. i. in Verr. c. xiii.) ſays, that for near fifty years together, during which time the right of judging was in the Equeſtrian order, there was not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any Judge's taking money, though the Senators, when they were Judges, became infamous for that crime.

Yet this account cannot be ſtrictly true; for according to the ſame *Aſconius* (in Orat. pro Corn. 1.) *Plotius*, in the year 664, got a law enacted, that fifteen men out of each of the thirty-five Tribes ſhould be appointed Judges, by which means ſome Senators came to be nominated. And *Cicero* (pro Corn.) tells us, that by the *Plotian* law, the Senators were firſt admitted to judge among the Knights. *Livius Druſus* in the year 662 obtained a law, that the Judges ſhould be one half Senators and the other Knights; but this law being abrogated the ſame year in which it was enacted, *Cicero*, in the paſſage above cited, takes no notice of it.

It would ſeem, upon the whole, that C. GRACCHUS's law continued in force till the year 664, when the *Plotian* law took place; and that this latter was ſuperſeded by SYLLA's law, which, in 672, gave the right of judicature entirely to the Senators.

Glaucia obtained likewiſe a law, which granted the freedom of the city to whoever of the *Latine* allies ſhould bring an accuſation againſt a *Roman* Senator, and prove his charge. *Cic. pro Balb.* c. xxiv.

It was about this time, that the ſcandalous debaucheries of two of the *Fabii* gave great offence at *Rome*, and were puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner.

One of them, who was the ſon of *Fabius Servilianus*, felt the indignation of his own father, who firſt baniſhed him into the country, and, upon his continuing unreclaimed, ordered two ſlaves to put him to death. To ſcreen the ſlaves from being examined by torture, old *Fabius* immediately manumiſed them; and he himſelf, upon an accuſation's being lodged againſt him for this ſtretch of the paternal authority, choſe to decline a trial, and went into exile to *Nuceria* in *Campania*. Val. Max. vi. 1. 5. Oroſ. v. 16.

Allobrogicus, the father of the other *Fabius* was dead; but *Q. Pompeius*, the Prætor, ſupplied his place; decreed young *Fabius* unfit to manage his own fortune, and appointed him a guardian. *Val. Max.* iii. 5. 2.

The

ſence) a *third time* to the Conſulſhip, and continued him in his command. It was expected that the Barbarians would return from *Spain* the next ſpring; and the *Roman* ſoldiers declared they would not march againſt ſo dreadful an enemy, under any other general. The other Conſul was L. AURELIUS ORESTES. Y. of R. 650. Bef. Chr. 102. 349th Conſ-p.

The *Cimbri* remained this year alſo in *Spain*, nor do we hear of any thing conſiderable performed, during the courſe of it, by the *Romans* in *Gaul*; excepting, that a numerous and warlike people, called the *Marſi*, are ſaid to have been brought, by SYLLA's means, into an alliance with *Rome*. Id. ibid.

Towards the end of the year [t] AURELIUS dying, MARIUS Plut. in Mar.

The famous *Scævola*, the Augur, upon his return from the government of *Aſia*, in the year 649, was tried for mal-adminiſtration and extortion in his province. His accuſer was *T. Albucius*, a man of a ſingular character, who was poſſeſſed with ſuch a fondneſs for every thing that was *Greek*, that he reſided generally at *Athens*, and ſeemed willing to forget both his native country and his mother-tongue. *Scævola*, in his way to his government, paſſed through *Athens*, where *Albucius* coming to pay him a viſit, the governor, by way of ridicule on his ſilly affectation, addreſſed him after the *Grecian* manner, with the word χαῖρε, [hail], and his whole train of attendants, officers of the army, domeſtics, and even Lictors, did the ſame. *Albucius* was ſo nettled at this affront, that upon *Scævola*'s return to *Rome*, he brought againſt him the accuſation above-mentioned; but the conduct of the accuſed was found to be irreproachable, and the trial ſerved only to make *Albucius* ſtill more ridiculous. Lucil. apud Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. iii. &

Not long after, he was accuſed of the ſame crime with which he had charged *Scævola*, and was not equally fortunate in clearing his character: *Albucius* had been Prætor in the year 647 or 648, and at the expiration of his office, was appointed governor of *Sardinia*, where having extirpated a few gangs of robbers, he ſent to *Rome* to demand a ſolemn thankſgiving for this important exploit; and in the mean time paraded about the iſland with all the Triumphal pomp. The Senate, to mortify his vanity, refuſed his requeſt, though it was grown to be a thing of courſe, and had never before been denied to any governor. To complete his diſgrace, the people of the iſland accuſed him of extortion, and he was found guilty. Stung with theſe repeated inſults from his ungrateful Country, *Albucius* retired to his favourite *Athens*, where he is ſaid to have died more like a philoſopher than he had lived. Cic. de Orat. l. ii. lxx. Cic. de Provinc. Conſ. c. 7. Cic. Tuſcul. v. 37.

[t] This year *M. Fulvius Nobilior* is ſaid to have gained ſome advantage againſt the *Cimbri* in *Spain* (Front. Strat. l. xi. c. v. § viii.) *Calpurnius*

Y. of R. 650. RIUS left the command of the army with his lieutenant *Aquillius*, and returned to *Rome*, to preſide at the election of new Conſuls. On his arrival, he gained over to his intereſts L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS, one of the Tribunes, who was in greateſt favour with the People.

Cic. de Haruſp. Reſp. c. xx. & pro Sext. c. xvii. Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ. p. 390. TO SATURNINUS, when Quæſtor, had been committed the care of ſupplying the City with corn; and becauſe he did not diſcharge the office well, the Senate appointed *Scaurus* to execute it in his ſtead. Provoked at this affront, he became a violent enemy to the Nobles, and was therefore eaſily engaged to employ his influence on the People to chuſe MARIUS a fourth time to the Conſulſhip. MARIUS himſelf affected to decline the office: whereupon SATURNINUS called him traitor to his Country, as refuſing to aſſiſt her in ſo dangerous a war. The ſtratagem was too groſs not to be diſcerned, yet the People, ſenſible of the need they ſtill had of ſo able and fortunate a general as MARIUS, continued him in the Conſulſhip; appointing for his collegue, Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS, a man honoured by the Nobles, and eſteemed by the Multitude.

Plut. in Mar.

Y. of R. 651. Bef. Chr. 101. Conſ. p. 350. MARIUS ſoon after ſet out for *Tranſalpine Gaul*; and CATULUS, accompanied by SYLLA as his lieutenant, led an army to the foot of the *Alps*.

The Barbarians being defeated by the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, had left that country, and returned into *Gaul*. And they now reſolved to divide their forces, and to enter *Italy* on different ſides: the *Cimbri* were to march through *Noricum*; the *Teutoni* and *Ambrones* through *Gallia Narbonenſis*. MARIUS poſted his army between two branches of the *Rhone*. In order to have proviſions the more eaſily conveyed from the ſea to his camp, by means of the river, the mouths of which were choked up with mud and ſand, he cauſed his ſoldiers to dig a

Plut. in Mar. Strab. l. iv. p. 183.

Piſo defeated the *Thracians*, and penetrated as far as *Rhodope* and *Caucaſus* (Jul. Obſeq. c. xli. Flor. l. xxxvi. iv.) and *M. Antonius* the orator, now Proconſul in *Aſia*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Byzantines*, deſtroyed the *Cilician* pirates, for which he had a triumph. *Cic. de Orat.* l. i. c. xviii. *Liv. Epit.* l. lxviii. *Tacit. Annal.* l. xii. c. lxii.

canal

canal from the river to the ſea; a work which ſtill ſubſiſted in *Plutarch*'s time, and had the name of *Foſſa Mariana*.

At length the enormous multitude of the *Teutoni* and *Ambrones* approached the *Roman* army, and with terrible cries, defied them to battle. MARIUS declined the challenge. To accuſtom his troops to the fierce countenances and hideous noiſes of the Barbarians, he poſted his men ſucceſſively, in different *corps*, upon the ramparts of the camp, from whence they might have a full view of the enemy; who not only ravaged the country round about, but frequently inſulted the *Romans* in their intrenchments. Provoked at this inſolence, the ſoldiers murmured in private, and complained that their general had no confidence in them, ſince he would not lead them againſt the Barbarians. MARIUS, being informed of their complaints, was pleaſed with the ardour of his troops, and ſignified to them, that he had no diſtruſt of their courage, but only waited, by the admonition of oracles, for a favourable time and place in which to give battle. Theſe oracles were two vultures and a *Syrian* woman named *Martha*. The Vultures he had tamed, and he uſed to let them looſe about the camp, at proper times, their appearance being deemed a good omen. *Martha*, whom his wife had ſent to him from *Rome*, was eſteemed a propheteſs; becauſe, at a combat of gladiators, ſhe had luckily gueſſed which of them would have the victory. She wore a large purple mantle faſtened with claſps, and bore in her hand a ſpear wrapped round with bunches of flowers, and was carried about the camp in a litter. Great honours and reſpect were paid her, and MARIUS never ſacrificed but by her orders. Plut. in Mar.

IT is reported, that an officer of the *Teutoni*, remarkable for the greatneſs of his ſtature, challenged the *Roman* general to ſingle combat. MARIUS anſwered—*If the fellow is in ſuch haſte to die, let him go hang himſelf.* Then pointing to an old gladiator of a very low ſtature, he added, *Let him firſt vanquiſh this little man, and then I will fight the conqueror.* Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. vii. § v.

Y. of R. 651. Plut. in Mar.

The Barbarians, having in vain attempted to force MARIUS's camp, at the expence of a great number of their men, reſolved, without regarding any more the Conſul, to march directly forward to *Italy*. They paſſed very near the *Roman* intrenchments, and with inſolent raillery aſked the ſoldiers, whether they had any meſſages to ſend to their wives? MARIUS followed the enemy, kept always near them, and at night intrenched himſelf on the moſt advantageous ſpot he could find. When they were got to *Aquæ* * *Sextiæ*, they encamped in a vaſt extent of ground along the banks of a ſmall river (probably the *Arc*) and the Conſul on an eminence: an advantageous poſt, only it wanted water. This (ſays *Plutarch*) he did on purpoſe, and when his ſoldiers complained of his having encamped them in a place where they muſt die with thirſt, he ſhewed them the river; ſaying, *Yonder is water; but you muſt purchaſe it at the price of your blood:* they anſwered, *Why do not you lead us thither, while we have any blood* in our veins? MARIUS replied, *You muſt firſt fortify your camp.* The ſoldiers obeyed, though with reluctance: but the ſutlers and ſervants, impatient to have drink for themſelves and their beaſts, ſnatching up what weapons they could find, went in a body to fetch water from the river. It would ſeem that the *Teutoni* were a good way up the river on the ſame ſide with the *Roman* camp; the *Ambrones*, on the other ſide, lower down; and over-againſt the enemy. When the *Roman* ſutlers had reached the river, they were at firſt attacked by only a ſmall number of the Barbarians, the reſt being at dinner, or bathing; but on hearing the noiſe made in the ſkirmiſh, the whole body of the *Ambrones*, amounting to above thirty thouſand men, iſſued out, moſt of them fluſhed with wine: yet they did not approach in diſorder, or with confuſed cries, but regulated their march by a kind of muſick which they made by beating upon their armour; and

* Aix in Provence.

* *Plutarch* ſays, it is reported, that the Barbarians were ſix days in paſſing by the *Roman* intrenchments in a continued march.

they

they frequently repeated their own name, *Ambrones*, *Ambrones*. It happened, that the *Ligurians* marched at the head of the *Roman* army: and the ſame name having been that of their nation, they too immediately began to cry out, *Ambrones*, ſo that the field reſounded with this word from every quarter. The *Ambrones* had the river to paſs: and in paſſing it broke their order; and before they could form again, the *Ligurians* charged them, and the *Romans* advancing at the ſame time to ſuſtain their allies, the enemy quickly turned their backs. Many of them periſhed in the river, which the *Romans* croſſing, purſued the runaways even to their camp.

Here a new kind of enemies preſented themſelves againſt both the purſued and the purſuers. The wives of the *Ambrones*, armed with ſwords and hatchets, and gnaſhing their teeth with rage, diſcharged their fury equally upon their huſbands (whom they called traitors) and upon the enemy. The night coming on, the *Romans* retired, but ſpent that night in great anxiety and terror; for their camp was not yet fortified, and, tho' the greater part of the *Ambrones* had been cut to pieces, an immenſe multitude remained of the Barbarians, by whom they expected every moment to be attacked. That night however, and all the following day, paſſed without any action; early the next morning the Conſul drew up his foot in order of battle, upon an eminence before his camp, making his cavalry deſcend into the plain. He had before detached three thouſand of his infantry under the conduct of *Claudius Marcellus* to lie in ambuſh, and at a proper time to fall upon the enemy in the rear. The *Teutoni*, ſeeing the *Romans* drawn up for battle, had not patience to wait till they ſhould come down into the plain, but advanced furiouſly up the hill to attack them. MARIUS ordered his men not to ſtir, till the Barbarians were near; then, having firſt thrown their darts, to fall upon them ſword in hand, and puſh them down the hill with their bucklers. The *Teutoni* were ſoon driven into the plain; and the foremoſt had ſcarce begun to rally, when *Marcellus*, on a ſudden, charged them behind. Being thus attacked at once both

Y. of R. 651. in front and rear, they made but a ſhort reſiſtance. More than a hundred thouſand of them (according to *Plutarch*) were killed or taken priſoners [x].

Diod. Eclog. l, xxxvi. Plut. in Mar. According to ſome authors, the *Roman* army unanimouſly made a preſent to their general of the whole ſpoil. MARIUS cauſed it to be ſold at a very low price to the ſoldiers, chuſing rather to act in that manner, than to make a pure donation of it, and this, probably, to avoid the appearance of ſetting too ſmall a value on their preſent. This proceeding acquired him univerſal eſteem: the great united with the multitude in applauding him.

As to the arms taken from the Barbarians, MARIUS ſet apart, for the ornaments of his triumph, all the richeſt and moſt glittering: The reſt he ordered to be heaped together, in order to make a ſacrifice of them to the Gods. Crowned with Laurel, and cloathed in a robe of ſtate, he was going with his own hands [according to the *Roman* cuſtom) to ſet fire to the pile, when certain horſemen, riding full ſpeed, appeared on a ſudden. Coming up to him, they diſmounted, accoſted him with the news of his being Conſul for the *fifth time*, and delivered him letters that notified his election; a new ſubject of joy to the whole army: MARIUS finiſhed his ſacrifice amidſt their univerſal acclamations.

Y. of R. 651. Bef. J. C. 100. Conſ. p. 351.

The collegue appointed to MARIUS was MANIUS AQUILLIUS, commiſſioned afterwards to conduct a war againſt the revolted ſlaves in *Sicily*; of which more hereafter.

[x] In the Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxviii.) it is ſaid, that 200000 of the Barbarians periſhed in this and the former battle; and that 90000 were taken priſoners.

The report of *Velleius Paterculus* (l. ii. c. xii.) is, that above 150000 were killed in both actions, and that the whole nation of the *Teutoni* was extinguiſhed.

Valerius Maximus (l. vi. c. i. §. 3. *extern.*) tells us, that after the battle, the young women of the *Teutoni* requeſted of MARIUS that they might be given to the Veſtal virgins, promiſing perpetual chaſtity: But this being denied them, they hanged themſelves the night following. *Florus* (3. 3.) relates nearly the ſame ſtory of the *Cimbrian* women.

Catulus

Catulus continued at the head of the army, which he had led to the foot of the *Alps*. That he might not be obliged to weaken his forces by ſuch a diviſion of them as would be neceſſary to defend the paſſes of the mountains, he had retired over the *Atheſis* *. After he had pitched his camp, he cauſed forts to be raiſed on each bank of the river to defend the paſs, and a wooden bridge to be built, by which he might have a communication with the guard on the farther ſide. In the mean time the *Cimbri* came down the *Alps* that were yet covered with ſnow [y], and advancing to the *Atheſis*, encamped within ſight of the enemy. This done, they threw into the channel earth, trees, and vaſt pieces of rocks, and, when the ſtream by being ſtraitened became rapid, they caſt into it things of greater weight, which being carried down by the current with violence againſt the piles of the bridge, ſo ſhook it, that it ſeemed in danger of being carried away. The *Roman* ſoldiers did not wait for the event, but, being ſeized with terror, abandoned their camp. *Catulus*, finding it impoſſible to ſtop his men, put himſelf at their head, that the army might ſeem to have only obeyed the command of their general, and not run away through fear of the enemy: an inſtance of the moſt noble and diſintereſted conduct, according to *Plutarch*; the General ſacrificing his private glory to the good of his country: yet certainly this noble action, ſo highly praiſed by the hiſtorian [z], is capable of a conſtruction not much to the

* The Adige.

[y] *Plutarch* reports, that the Barbarians, out of a ſort of bravado, climbed up naked over heaps of ice and ſnow to the tops of the hills, and then, upon their large ſhields, let themſelves ſlide down to the bottom.

[z] "I do not believe (ſays Monſieur *Crevier* very judiciouſly) that "MARIUS on the like occaſion would have been willing to deſerve the "like *praiſe*: And, indeed, *Plutarch* (in *Sylla*) tells us, that *Catulus* "was no great warrior." *Hiſt. Rom.* tom. ix. l. xxx.

Scaurus (Preſident of the Senate) had a ſon, who ſerved in the cavalry: He fled full ſpeed to *Rome*. His father, on notice of his arrival, forbad him ever to appear before him; whereupon the young man killed himſelf. *Front. Strat.* l. iv. c. i. § xiii. *Aur. Vict. in Scaur.*

A. of R. 652. advantage of CATULUS, [or of SYLLA, whom the ſame hiſtorian repreſents as the chief counſellor of this General, and his right hand for execution.]

The guard of the fort on the other ſide of the river defended themſelves with reſolution againſt the attacks of the *Cimbri*; who, admiring their bravery, granted them at length an honourable capitulation, and ſwore to it upon a brazen bull.

After taking the fort, the *Cimbri* ſpread themſelves over the country, and pillaged it. In this ſituation of things, MARIUS was ſent for to *Rome:* on his arrival, the Senate offered him a triumph, but he deferred his acceptance of that honour, till the war ſhould be terminated by another victory; which he ſpoke of as a thing certain: and preſently ſetting out for the camp of his late collegue, he at the ſame time ordered thither his own army from *Gaul.*

The two generals, having joined their forces, paſſed the *Po.* The *Cimbri* were at no great diſtance, but deferred offering battle, till their friends the *Teutoni* ſhould come to their aſſiſtance, according to agreement [z]. In the mean time they ſent Ambaſſadors to the Conſul, demanding that lands and towns might be aſſigned them, ſufficient both for themſelves and for their brethren. *What brethren do you ſpeak of?* (ſaid MARIUS to the Ambaſſadors.) They anſwered, THE TEUTONI. To which the Conſul replied, *Do not trouble yourſelves about providing for your brethren; we have already given them land, and they will always keep poſſeſſion of it.* The Ambaſſadors, finding themſelves inſulted, broke out into paſſion, threatening to make him repent his behaviour ſo ſoon as the TEUTONI ſhould arrive. *They are here already* (ſaid MARIUS) *and it would not be kind in you to go away without ſaluting your brethren.* After theſe words, he cauſed the KINGS (or leaders) of the *Teutoni*, whom he had taken priſoners, to be brought forth in chains.

[z] *Florus* tells us, that the *Cimbri*, after the action, upon the *Atheſis*, were enervated, by living luxuriouſly.

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The *Cimbri*, on the return and report of their Ambaſſadors, advanced without loſing a moment; and having encamped not far from the Conſul, their king BOJORIX, at the head of a ſmall body of cavalry, came forward, and defied MARIUS to battle, bidding him name the day and place. The Conſul anſwered, that *it was not the cuſtom of the* Romans *to take counſel of their enemies about giving battle; nevertheleſs, he would have that complaiſance for him, to do what he had deſired.* It was thereupon agreed, that the time ſhould be the third day from thence, and that the field of battle ſhould be the plain of *Vercellæ*; a plain commodious for the *Roman* cavalry, and large enough for the Barbarians to draw up their numerous forces. Thither the *Romans* and *Cimbri* repaired punctually at the day appointed. *Catulus*'s army conſiſted of 20300 foot; MARIUS had 32000. The number of the *Roman* cavalry is not mentioned. *Plutarch* is the only writer who gives us any particulars of this battle, and his account is very unſatisfactory; the memoirs of SYLLA, who became MARIUS's greateſt enemy, and was now Lieutenant to *Catulus*, being his chief and almoſt only authority[a]. [Once he quotes the memoirs of *Catulus*.] *Plutarch* relates, that the Conſul poſted *Catulus*, and his troops, in the center, and having divided his own forces into two bodies, placed them on the wings, a little advanced towards the enemy, that he might have the glory of defeating them before the Proconſul's troops could engage. The *Romans* had the advantages of the ſun and wind.

The *Cimbri* drew up their infantry in a ſquare body, each ſide thirty furlongs in length. Their cavalry, amounting to 15000, ſeem to have been at firſt poſted on the right of their infantry, from whence they wheel-

[a] The ſame memoirs relate, that SYLLA, by his induſtry, in a time of ſcarcity, ſupplied the troops of MARIUS with proviſions in abundance; a ſervice which greatly diſpleaſed MARIUS, becauſe of his extreme jealouſy of SYLLA, who regarding him as an enemy to his advancement, had left him, and attached himſelf to *Catulus*.

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Y. of R. 652. ed off by degrees, in order to come upon the rear of the enemy. This ſtratagem the *Roman* generals perceived; but their ſoldiers thought it a flight, and therefore advanced as to the purſuit, without waiting for orders. The whole body of the *Cimbrian* infantry moved forward (ſays *Plutarch*) like the waters of a vaſt ſea. MARIUS and *Catulus*, lifting up their hands towards heaven, vowed, the one to ſacrifice a Hecatomb to the Gods, the other to dedicate a temple to *the Fortune of this Day*. A mighty cloud of duſt aroſe, and covered both armies. MARIUS, according to SYLLA's memoirs, was ſo unfortunate as to loſe himſelf in this cloud. Though the *Cimbrian* phalanx was three miles deep, he paſſed it by, and wandered up and down the plains a good while without being able to find the enemy. But *Catulus* and SYLLA had the good fortune to find them; and, with only about 20000 men, ſtood the whole brunt of this battle. The exceſſive heat (for it was in the end of *July*) greatly incommoded the *Cimbri*, accuſtomed to a cold climate; and they had the farther diſadvantage of the ſun's ſhining full in their faces. It is ſaid, that their foremoſt ranks had ſome how linked themſelves together, to hinder their order from being broken. Theſe therefore were cut to pieces, the reſt put to flight, and driven to their camp. There the *women* mounted upon the waggons, furiouſly aſſaulted thoſe that fled, whether huſbands, brothers, or fathers. They ſent deputies to MARIUS, to demand of him, either liberty, or a ſlavery, which ſuited their ſex and virtue, offering to become ſlaves to the Veſtals, and to bind themſelves to the obſervance of perpetual chaſtity like them. This grace being refuſed, they murdered their children and themſelves. To this romantic account it is added, that the *men*, for want of trees, upon which to hang themſelves, made running knots upon their necks with cords, the ends of which they faſtened to the horns, or feet of their cattle, and, driving the beaſts forwards with goads, made a ſhift to get themſelves ſtrangled, or trodden to death.

death. Nevertheleſs, 60000 of them were taken priſoners [b].

We are told (ſays *Plutarch*) that MARIUS's ſoldiers, though they carried off all the baggage, had taken only two ſtandards, while *Catulus*'s men brought thirty into their camp; and that as a farther proof that this part of the army had the greater ſhare in the victory, upon almoſt all the darts by which the *Cimbri* had fallen was found inſcribed the name of CATULUS. Notwithſtanding all this, the whole honour of the victory was in after times, and is ſtill given to MARIUS. And, even when the event was recent, CATULUS was thought ſufficiently honoured, by being *adorned* (as *Juvenal* expreſſes it) *with the* ſecond Laurel-branch [c]. Plut. in Mar. Eutrop. l. v. c. i. Plut. loc. cit.

At *Rome*, the People, on the night they received the news of victory, began their ſuppers with Libations to MARIUS as to a Divinity. They ſtiled him the *Third Founder* of *Rome*, and would have had him triumph, without the Proconſul's ſharing with him in that honour. This, however, he refuſed; and the two generals, after their return home, triumphed together. Val. Max. l. viii. c. xv. § 7. Plut. in Mar.

[b] Thus *Plutarch*: but *Vell. Pat.* (l. ii. c. ii.) ſays, the number of the priſoners and the dead amounted to about 100000; and he adds, that by this victory, MARIUS, notwithſtanding the miſchiefs he afterwards did, hindered his country from wiſhing that he had never been born. *Eutropius* (l. v. c. i.) tells us, that in this important action, the *Romans* loſt no more than 300 men. According to him, and the Epitome of *Livy* (l. 68.) 140000 of the enemy were killed in this battle, and 60000 taken priſoners.

It is reported, that MARIUS gave the freedom of *Rome* to 1000 men of the *Camertes*, a people of *Umbria*, in reward of their bravery in this War; and when it was afterwards remonſtrated to him, that what he had done was illegal, he anſwered, that the din of arms had hindered him from hearing the voice of the laws. *Plut. in Apothegm.* and *in Mar.*

[c] Hic * tamen & Cimbros, & ſumma pericula rerum
Excipit, & ſolus trepidantem protegit urbem.
Atque ideo, poſtquam ad Cimbros, ſtragemque volabant,
Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera, Corvi.
Nobilis ornatur lauro Collega ſecundâ.

JUVEN. Sat. viii.

* MARIUS.

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Y. of R. 652. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. ii. Val. Max. l. iii. c. vi. § vi. Plut. in Mar. Cic. de Leg. l. ii. c. xi.

It is ſaid, that from this time, MARIUS never drank but out of a goblet, ſuch as *Bacchus* was imagined to have uſed after his conqueſt of *India*. He likewiſe built a temple to Honour and Virtue; *Catulus* another, not to Fortune in general, but (in diſcharge of his vow) to the Fortune of this day *(Fortunæ hujuſce diei)* meaning the day on which the *Cimbri* were vanquiſhed: but the inſcription was applicable to every day in the year [e].

CHAP. IV.

The *ſecond* SERVILE WAR in *Sicily*.

DURING the war againſt the *Cimbri* and their allies, the Republick had another war to maintain againſt the Slaves in *Sicily* [f]. In the year 649 MARIUS, having

Diod Sic. l. xxxvi. ap Phot.

[e] This year one *Publicius Malleolus*, for having murdered his mother, was ſewed up in a ſack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown into the river. *Vid. Auct. ad Herenn.* l. i. c. xiii. *Cic. Orat.* c. xxx. *Oroſ.* l. v. c. xvi. This is the ſecond inſtance, mentioned in hiſtory, of Parricide among the *Romans*. *Romulus* (ſays *Plutarch*) decreed no puniſhment for this crime, as being a wickedneſs he had never heard of; nor was there any example of it, till after the ſecond *Punic* war: and according to the Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxxiii.) if the reading be right, *Malleolus* was the firſt who was puniſhed in the above manner. Hence ſome have thought, that the law againſt Parricide was enacted upon this occaſion. But *Cicero* (*pro Roſc. Amer.* c. xxv.) commends the old *Romans*, as being wiſer than SOLON; who had provided no puniſhment for Parricide. He calls thoſe old *Romans our anceſtors* (*majores noſtri*) which he would hardly have done, had they lived in his own time; and he was five years old, when *Malleolus* was condemned. Nor was that kind of puniſhment unknown to the *Romans* of the early times. *Plautus* mentions it in Aulular.; and *Val. Max.* (l. i. c. i. §. xiii.) tells us, that *Tarquin* ordered *M. Tullius*, one of the Duumvirs who had the care of the Sibylline books, to be ſewed in a ſack, and thrown into the ſea, for giving a copy of a book, containing the *Secreta Civilium Sacrorum*, to one *Petronius Sabinus*.

[f] Some commotions (ſoon ſuppreſſed) of the Slaves in *Italy*, had been the prelude to this *Sicilian* war. The moſt conſiderable of them had a *Roman* knight, named *Vettius*, for its author. He had fallen deſperately in love with a young ſlave, and bought her for ſeven talents, which he promiſed to pay at a certain time. The term elapſed, and he had

having obtained leave of the Senate to aſk, from foreign ſtates, aſſiſtance againſt the *Cimbri*, had ſent to *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* for recruits. The king excuſed himſelf, alledging, that a great number of his ſubjects had been forcibly carried away into ſlavery, by thoſe who farmed the revenues of the Republic in the Eaſt. The complaint appearing to the Senate to be well grounded, they paſſed a decree, that no freemen of the *Roman* allies ſhould in any province be treated as ſlaves, and that the Proconſuls and Prætors ſhould take care that all ſuch as had been injuriouſly forced into ſlavery, ſhould be ſet free: In obedience to this decree, *Licinius Nerva*, Prætor in *Sicily*, gave liberty, in a few days, to above eight hundred ſlaves. The chief men of the iſland, foreſeeing how much they ſhould be loſers, by the execution of this decree, addreſſed themſelves to the Prætor, and begged of him to manumiſe no more of the ſlaves. *Licinius*, either prevailed upon by bribes, or deſiring to ingratiate himſelf with the rich, would no longer liſten to the complaints of ſuch of the ſlaves as, having been forced into ſlavery, had recourſe to him for redreſs. On the contrary, he gave them rough language, and ſent them home to their maſters. The ſlaves hereupon had recourſe to arms. About 200 of them, having poſted themſelves upon a rock, fortified it, and de-

had not the money; for though his father had been extremely rich, he himſelf had ſquandered away the inheritance by his extravagance; yet the bad ſtate of his affairs was not publickly known. He requeſted, and obtained of his creditor farther time; but, at the expiration of it, being ſtill inſolvent, and his creditor urgent, he took a mad and deſperate reſolution. He bought upon credit a great many ſuits of armour, armed his own ſlaves to the number of four hundred, aſſumed the diadem, the purple robe, all the marks of ſovereignty, and proclaimed himſelf king. His firſt exploit was to ſeize and murder his importunate creditor. His forces increaſing to ſeven hundred men, he fortified a camp to ſerve as an aſylum for all that would join him. His army amounted to three thouſand five hundred men, when *L. Lucullus*, then Prætor, with four thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, came to an engagement with him, in which *Vettius* gained ſome advantage. But the Prætor, having afterwards found means to gain over *Apollonius*, whom *Vettius* had made his principal officer, the new king was betrayed, and reduced to kill himſelf. *Diod. Eclog.* book xxxvi.

fended

Y. of R. 652. fended themſelves for ſome time againſt all the efforts of *Licinius*. At length he ſent for one *C. Titinius*, who had been ſome years before condemned to death; but having eſcaped from puniſhment, now practiſed robbery. To this man *Licinius* promiſed pardon and protection, if, by his means, the ſlaves ſhould be reduced. *Titinius*, with a body of his aſſociates, went over to the rebels, as if to ſpirit them againſt their enemies. Being well received by them, and for his bravery declared their general, he ſoon after betrayed them into the hands of the *Romans*. This inſurrection thus ſuppreſſed was immediately followed by another. In a few days, the rebels amounted to 2000 men, and, after a victory which they obtained over a *Roman* detachment, their number increaſed to above 6000. They then choſe themſelves a king, one *Salvius*, a pretender to the art of divination by inſpecting the entrails of animals. After ſome time ſpent in plundering the country, *Salvius* laid ſiege to *Morgantia*; and *Licinius* advanced with a view to relieve the place. But the rebels turned upon him, and, having the advantage of the ground, defeated him. Only 600 men of the *Roman* army fell in this action, but 4000 were taken priſoners: for *Salvius* had prudently proclaimed *Quarter* to all who ſhould throw down their arms.

On the report of this victory, ſuch multitudes flocked in to the rebels from all parts, that their army was doubled, and they renewed their attacks upon *Morgantia*, at the ſame time promiſing liberty to the ſlaves within the town. But their maſters making them the ſame promiſe, in caſe of victory, the ſlaves fought ſo bravely, that they forced the rebels to raiſe the ſiege. Nevertheleſs, *Licinius* annulled the promiſe made to thoſe ſlaves, who thereupon went over to the enemy.

The contagion of rebellion ſpread itſelf to the territories of *Ægeſta* and *Lilybæum*. ATHENIO, a *Cilician*, a pretender to divination by the ſtars, got together about 1000 of his fellow ſlaves; and he too aſſumed the title of king. His army increaſing to 10000 able bodied

died men (for he would not, like king *Salvius*, receive promiſcuouſly all that came to him) he laid ſiege to *Lilybæum*, a place that was deemed impregnable. ATHENIO, after ſome time, became ſenſible of his error, and then, that he might quit his enterprize without diſhonour, pretended, that the Gods had foretold him, by the ſtars, that if the army continued the ſiege, ſome ſudden misfortune would certainly befall it. A fleet from *Mauritania*, with ſuccours ſent by king BOCCHUS to the *Romans*, happened to arrive at *Lilybæum*, juſt at the time when ATHENIO began to decamp; and thoſe *Africans* landed ſoon enough to fall upon the rear of the rebel army, which ſuffered a conſiderable loſs: but this loſs was more than compenſated to ATHENIO by the increaſe of credit which his aſtrological prediction gained him.

In the mean time SALVIUS, who had aſſumed the name of TRYPHON, a name formerly borne by one of the kings of *Syria*, choſe *Triocala* [g] for his place of reſidence. There he built a palace, fortified the caſtle, (which was before very ſtrong) and enlarged the town. From hence he ſent, as king, a command to ATHENIO to come and join him with the forces he had collected. Contrary to all men's expectations, ATHENIO obeyed, and marched to *Triocala* with 3000 men; the remainder of his army he had diſperſed over the country to pillage it, and to engage as many of the ſlaves as they could to take part with him. The two generals, for ſome time, lived amicably together, but at length TRYPHON, ſuſpecting ATHENIO of a deſign to ſupplant him, cauſed him to be ſeized, and put under confinement.

The next year, (650) LICINIUS LUCULLUS [h], who ſucceeded LICINIUS NERVA in the Prætorſhip of *Sicily*, landed in the iſland with 17000 men. On the news of

[g] *Triocala* (*quaſi* τρια καλα) was ſo called, on account of three ſorts of beauty which were there united: the ſtrength of its ſituation (for it was built upon a high rock) ſprings of excellent water, and fruitful fields below.

[h] Father of him who afterwards conducted the war againſt *Mithridates*.

their

Y. of R. 652. their arrival, TRYPHON releaſed ATHENIO, and marched with him at the head of 40000 men to meet LUCULLUS. The battle was long doubtful. ATHENIO fought with great bravery, but having received three wounds, by two of which his legs were lamed, he at length fell among the dead. Hereupon the ſlaves loſt courage, and took to their heels. Twenty thouſand of them were ſlain; the reſt, by favour of the night, eſcaped with their king to *Triocala*. ATHENIO, though grievouſly wounded, was not killed; in the dark, he made a ſhift to creep away, and join his companions. The rebels, much diſheartened by their loſs, held a counſel to deliberate upon the ſtate of their affairs. Some propoſed *ſubmiſſion to their maſters at diſcretion*; but the prevailing opinion was *to fight it out to the laſt*. LUCULLUS gave them time to recover themſelves; for it was nine days after the battle, before he inveſted *Triocala*: and then the rebels made ſo reſolute a defence, that they obliged him to quit the enterprize. Nor did the *Roman* general take any further meaſures to cruſh the rebellion [i]: his only care was to enrich himſelf at the expence of his province. Of this, at his return to *Rome*, he was accuſed before the People, and found guilty.

The Prætor *Servilius*, who (in 651) ſucceeded *Lucullus*, had no ſucceſs againſt the rebels. TRYPHON was now dead: His ſucceſſor, ATHENIO, always brave and enterpriſing, forced the *Roman* camp, took towns, and ravaged the country at pleaſure.

Florus, l. iii. c. xix. Diod. Sic. l. xxxvi. ap Phot.

In the preſent year (652) the fifth Conſulſhip of MARIUS, the Senate thought proper to commiſſion his collegue AQUILIUS to conduct that war, in which three Prætors had been foiled. This new general applied himſelf chiefly to cut off the enemies proviſions, nor does

Florus, loc. cit. Liv. Epit. l. lxix.

[i] According to *Florus* (l. iii. c. xix.) ATHENIO took LUCULLUS's camp; nor does the Hiſtorian mention any victory obtained, this year, over the ſlaves.

[k] It would ſeem from *Florus*, that LUCULLUS was ſucceſſor of *Servilius*.

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he ſeem to have offered them battle till the next year, when their number was conſiderably diminiſhed. He then entirely defeated them in a general engagement, wherein, it is ſaid, he fought hand to hand with ATHENIO, and killed him, after being wounded by him in the head. About 10000 of the rebels eſcaped to their ſtrong holds, where AQUILIUS afterwards deſtroyed them, chiefly by famine [1]. A thouſand ſtill remained under a leader, named *Satyrus*, and theſe ſurrendered themſelves. The Proconſul promiſed them pardon; but when he had tranſported them to *Rome*, he condemned them to fight with wild beaſts. This they refuſed to do; and choſe rather to fall by the hands of one another: *Satyrus* alone remaining, he ran upon his own ſword, and was the laſt that periſhed on account of this rebellion, which had laſted four years. We are told, that in this, and the former *Servile War* in *Sicily*, a million of ſlaves were deſtroyed.

Diod. Sic. loc. cit. Cic. v. in Ver. c. i. Diod. Sic. loc. cit.

Athen. l. vi. c. xii.

[1] *Florus* reports, that all thoſe of the ſlaves who eſcaped from the battle, killed one another: Only ATHENIO was by the *Romans* torn to pieces, through their eagerneſs to ſeize him.

CHAP. V.

The ſixth *Conſulſhip of* MARIUS, *Year of* Rome 653. *The violences of* SATURNINUS, *Tribune of the Commons.* METELLUS NUMIDICUS *baniſhed.* SATURNINUS *and his aſſociates in ſedition are cruſhed.* METELLUS *is recalled by a decree made in* 654, *and returns in* 655. MARIUS *makes a voyage into* Aſia; *has a conference there with* MITHRIDATES; *and returns to* Rome *in* 656

The condemnation of SERVILIUS COEPIO *to baniſhment, in* 658.

The trial and acquittal of his proſecutor, NORBANUS, *in* 659.

RUTILIUS RUFUS *is maliciouſly proſecuted, and unjuſtly condemned to baniſhment, in* 660.

Plut. in Mar. Rutil. ap Plut. Y. of R. 653. Bef. J. C. 99. Conſ-p. 352. Liv. Epit. l. lxix. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 367. In Brut. c. lxii. Plut. in Mar. App. loc. cit.

AT *Rome* MARIUS had put up for a *ſixth* Conſulſhip, with more eagerneſs, than was common in ſuing for a *firſt*. It is ſaid, that on this occaſion he bribed the People, and by the ſame means prevailed to have L. VALERIUS FLACCUS choſen for his collegue, in oppoſition to *Metellus Numidicus*.

SATURNINUS was now Tribune of the Commons a ſecond time. *A Nonius* had been his competitor for that office, and had carried the election; but in returning home was murdered by him. Early the next morning, one of the Prætors, named *Glaucia*, whom CICERO calls *the moſt wicked man that ever lived*, aſſembled the Tribes in a furtive manner, and SATURNINUS was there declared Tribune. Supported by MARIUS and *Glaucia*, he propoſed a law, enacting, that the lands in *Gaul*, which the *Cimbri* had ſeized, ſhould belong to the juriſdiction of *Rome*, and be divided among the People: that the Senate, within five days after the Law's being paſt, ſhould give it the ſanction of their authority, and ſwear ſolemnly to the obſervance of it; and that whatever Senator ſhould refuſe to take this oath, ſhould be expelled the Senate, and pay a fine of twenty talents. We are told that the view of MARIUS, SATURNINUS, and GLAUCIA, who all joined their intereſt to promote the paſſing of this Law, was to ruin METELLUS NUMIDICUS, who, they knew, would not take the oath propoſed [a].

SATUR-

[a] The Conſul had long hated METELLUS; and the *Prætor* and *Tribune* bore him no leſs enmity, becauſe, in his Cenſorſhip (Year of *Rome* 650) he would have turned them both out of the Senate, for irregularity of conduct, if his collegue and couſin german, *Metellus Caprarius*, ſon of *Metellus Calvus*, had not hindered it.

It was about the ſame time (according to *Diod. Sic. apud Fulv. Urſin.*) that SATURNINUS inſulted certain Ambaſſadors, whom *Mithridates* had ſent to *Rome*, to engage to him the friendſhip of the principal Senators, that he might meet with no oppoſition from the *Romans* in the ambitious deſigns which he had formed againſt his neighbours. The crime was heinous, and the criminal, being proſecuted, was in danger of being delivered up to the king of *Pontus*. Nevertheleſs, by his abject

SATURNINUS, to carry his point, ſent into the country to ſollicit the votes of the ruſtic tribes, upon whom he chiefly depended; becauſe many belonging to thoſe tribes had ſerved in the war under MARIUS. On the day when the Comitia met to determine concerning the Law, the Nobles and the Citizens oppoſed it with great vehemence, while the People from the country as zealouſly contended for it. The Citizens, finding their party the weaker, cried out, *It thunders*, (an evil omen, which made it illegal to determine any thing in that Aſſembly) SATURNINUS anſwered with anger, *It will hail by and by, if you are not quiet.* A ſkirmiſh preſently followed, in which, the country people having the advantage, the Law, of courſe, was carried.

App. p. 368.

Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. in Saturn. App. loc. cit.

Then MARIUS, who had acted underhand in all this affair, aſſembled the Senate, and declared to them, that, for his part, he would never take ſo unjuſt an oath; and that he did not think any wiſe man would: that even ſuppoſing the law to be a good Law, it was yet an affront to the Senate to compel them to give their approbation of it. This he ſaid to entrap *Metellus*, who, he knew, would keep ſteady to whatever he ſhould once deliver as his opinion. *Metellus* declared, he would never ſwear to obſerve the Law in queſtion, and the Senators, in general, made the ſame declaration.

Y. of R. 653.

Plut. in Mar.

On the laſt day allowed for taking the oath, the Conſul in the morning, having haſtily convened the Senate, told them, that he was afraid of the People, who were zealous for the Law; that therefore he had thought of an expedient; which was to ſwear to maintain, and obſerve the Law, *ſo far as it was a Law*; and that afterwards it might eaſily be made appear, that a Law, which had been carried by force, and when it thundered, could be no Law. This ſaid, without waiting to hear

Ap. loc. cit.

ject ſupplications to the Populace, with tears, and proteſtations, that what he had done was from Zeal for the People's intereſts, which required that no attention ſhould be given to the Ambaſſadors, but rather a war declared againſt *Mithridates*, he procured ſuch a numerous rabble to appear for him, that the Judges durſt not condemn him.

Y. of R. 653. the opinion of the Fathers, he went to the temple of *Saturn*, and, together with his friends, took the oath [b]. All the reſt of the Senators, through fear, ſwore in their turns, except *Metellus*, who reſolutely perſiſted in his opinion.

App. p. 369.

Plut. in Mar. "To *do* ill (he ſaid) in any circumſtances, is the effect of a corrupt heart. To do well, when there is nothing to fear, is the merit of a common man: But to do well, when a man expoſes himſelf thereby to the greateſt dangers, is peculiar to the truly virtuous."

App. loc. cit. Next day, an officer having, by SATURNINUS's order, arreſted *Metellus*, and brought him from the Senate-houſe before the *People*; and the Tribune having repreſented to the Aſſembly, that they muſt never hope for the execution of the Law in queſtion, ſo long as that

[b] *Plutarch* ſays nothing of the Conſul's aſſembling the Senate a ſecond time. The hiſtorian tells us, that when SATURNINUS ſummoned the Senators before the People to take the appointed oath, MARIUS ſaid that he had not the preſumption to depend upon one deliberation in an affair of ſuch conſequence; that therefore he would ſwear, and would obey the Law, if it was a Law.

[c] SATURNINUS obtained likewiſe another Law, for allotting 100 acres of Land in *Africa* to each of MARIUS's veteran ſoldiers. *Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. in Saturn.* [This writer, however, ſeems to refer the Law in queſtion to the firſt Tribuneſhips of SATURNINUS.] One of the Tribunes, named *Bæbius*, oppoſed the paſſing this Law, but the People drove him with ſtones from the Roſtra. Another Law of SATURNINUS enacted, that *Roman* colonies ſhould be planted where the people pleaſed in *Sicily*, *Achaia* and *Macedon*: that the gold, which *Cæpio* had brought from *Toulouſe*, ſhould be laid out in the purchaſe of lands, and that MARIUS ſhould have the privilege to make three *Roman* citizens, in each colony; but theſe colonies were never planted. *Cic. pro Balb.* c. xxi.

The Tribune likewiſe propoſed to make a diſtribution of corn amongſt the People at a low price. COEPIO, who had been formerly Conſul, and condemned for his miſconduct in the *Cimbrian* war, was now Quæſtor Urbanus [he probably ſued for public offices, that he might be raiſed again to his former rank and privileges.] Upon his repreſenting to the Senate, that the treaſury could not bear the expence of purchaſing the corn required, the Conſcript Fathers decreed, that SATURNINUS would act contrary to the good of the ſtate, if he brought the Law in queſtion before the People. The Tribune, nevertheleſs, propoſed the Law, and though

that Senator remained in the City, they, by a decree, condemned him to baniſhment.

By the ſame decree the Conſuls were ordered to make an edict, forbidding all the ſubjects of the Republic to receive him; and one day's time only was allowed to the Senate, for coming to a determination. Many perſons flocked to him, and offered to defend him by force; but he would not conſent that his country ſhould be involved in a civil war on his account. He choſe to leave the City: *Affairs*, ſaid he, *will change, and I ſhall be recalled: or, if they continue in their preſent ſtate, it is more deſirable to be abſent. The ſafety of his Country* (ſays CICERO) *was dearer to him than the ſight of it; and he choſe rather to depart from the City, than from his opinion.* Wherever he went, he received great marks of reſpect and eſteem, and, at length, fixed his reſidence at *Rhodes*, where he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. Plut. in Mar. Pro. Balb. c. v. Liv. Epit. l. lxix.

SATURNINUS now aimed at a third Tribuneſhip, and *Glaucia* to be Conſul for the next year, though the laws required two years interval between bearing the office of Prætor and that of Conſul. MARIUS, to make his court to both parties, pretended to each to be in their intereſt, privately incenſing one againſt the other, that he might bring them both into a dependence upon himſelf. It is ſaid, that, the principal men of the Senate having applied themſelves to him to perſuade him to defend the State againſt the enterpriſes of SATURNINUS, he, at the ſame time, received SATURNINUS into his houſe, by another door: And pretending an indiſpoſition, that obliged him to go frequently out, he went to and fro from one apartment to the other. Plut. in Mar.

Not content with purſuing his own ambition, SATURNINUS had the inſolence to preſent, as a candidate Auct. de Vir. Illuſtr. in Saturnin.

though ſome of his collegues *interceded*, he ordered the urns for balloting to be brought out. Hereupon COEPIO, with a croud of people attending him, broke down the bridges, overſet the urns, and by force hindered the Law from paſſing. *Auct. ad Herenn.* l. i. c. xii.

App. p. 369. for the Tribuneſhip, *Equitius* [d], who called himſelf GRACCHUS, and pretended to be a ſon of the famous TIBERIUS GRACCHUS; but was indeed of the dregs of the People.

Y. of R. 653. Val. Max. l. ix. c. vii. §. i. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 369. On this occaſion MARIUS thought proper to interpoſe his authority, and to ſend the candidate to priſon: notwithſtanding which, the faction of SATURNINUS prevailed. They broke open the priſon-doors, carried *Equitius* upon their ſhoulders to the voting-place, and declared him Tribune, together with SATURNINUS.

Oroſ. l. v. c. xvii. On the day of election of Conſuls for the new year, M. ANTONIUS, the famous orator, was choſen without difficulty or oppoſition. GLAUCIA had for his competitor C. MEMMIUS, a man of diſtinction, and probably the ſame, who, in his Tribuneſhip, had cauſed JUGURTHA to be brought from *Africa* to *Rome*. The Prætor and SATURNINUS apprehending a defeat, employed their aſſaſſins to diſpatch MEMMIUS: and they knocked him on the head in the Forum, in the preſence of all the People. Upon this outrage, the Aſſembly broke up tumultuouſly; and SATURNINUS went to his own houſe, attended by GLAUCIA, the Quæſtor *Saufeius*, the falſe *Gracchus*, and a multitude of the rabble. It is reported (by *Florus*) that theſe ſaluted him King. The Senate met and paſſed a decree, *that the Conſuls ſhould take care that the Republic received no detriment*. This inveſted thoſe magiſtrates with an abſolute power; and MARIUS, who could no longer protect his old friend, beſieged him in the Capitol, whither he and his followers had retired in arms. The Con-

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 369. Cic. pro C. Rabir. c. vii. Liv. Epit. l. lxix.

[d] He had before attempted to get this *Equitius* acknowledged for the ſon of *Tiberius*, and, as ſuch, put upon the regiſter of the *Roman* citizens. METELLUS NUMIDICUS, who was then one of the Cenſors, refuſed to receive him, affirming, that all the ſons of TIBERIUS GRACCHUS (who had but three) were dead. *Sempronia*, the ſiſter of TIBERIUS, when brought into an aſſembly of the People by one of the Tribunes, that ſhe might own the impoſtor for her nephew, had abſolutely diſowned all relation to him, and expreſſed a contempt of him. *Val. Max.* l. ix. c. vii. §. ii. *Id.* l. iii. c. viii. §. vi. *Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. in Saturn.*

ſuls

ſuls were ſupported by all the Prætors except GLAUCIA, all the Tribunes except SATURNINUS, the whole Senate, the whole order of Knights, and the beſt men of the People. The more eaſily to quell the ſedition, they cut the pipes which conveyed water into the Capitol. In this extremity, the Quæſtor *Saufeius* propoſed ſetting fire to the place; but SATURNINUS and GLAUCIA, depending upon MARIUS's friendſhip, ſurrendered themſelves on the public faith, which MARIUS pledged to them for their ſafety. This, according to CICERO, the Conſul had no right to do, without a decree of the Senate. Be that as it will, all the leaders of the Sedition were maſſacred [a] by the inraged multitude that ſame day, the 5th of December, which was the very day the Tribunes entered upon their office.

Cic. loc. cit. & in Cat. orat. i. c. ii. Plut. in Mar. App. loc. cit. Cic. pro C. Rabir. c. x.

It would ſeem that, immediately after ſuppreſſing this ſedition, *Cato* and *Pompeius*, two of the Tribunes, preſented a petition to the People for the repeal of METELLUS's baniſhment. One of their collegues, *P. Furius*, the ſon of a freedman, and whom METELLUS, in his Cenſorſhip, had degraded from the rank of a *Roman* Knight, oppoſed the requeſt: Nor would he be prevailed upon to deſiſt from his oppoſition, though the ſon of METELLUS, in preſence of all the People, fell down upon his knees, and begged of him with tears; a behaviour which occaſioned his bearing afterwards the ſurname of PIUS.

Oroſ. l. v. c. xvii.

Dio. Caſſ. ap. Val. p. 638. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 370.

[a] According to *Vel. Pat.* (l. ii. c. xii.) MARIUS ſhut up the chiefs of the party in the Senate-houſe, and there had them put to death. *Appian* (l. i. p. 370.) tells us, that the People, thinking, that MARIUS intended to ſcreen them from puniſhment, got upon the top of the building, pulled off the tiles, and with theſe knocked the priſoners on the head. *Oroſius* (l. v. c. xvii.) ſays, the *Roman* Knights broke open the Senate-houſe, and killed them. Others affirm, that SATURNINUS was killed by *Rabirius*, a *Roman* Knight; but *Cicero* (*pro Rabir.* c. ii.) defending him, when arraigned for this very crime, ſays, that *Scæva*, a ſlave of one *Q. Croto*, killed SATURNINUS. The ſame author tells us, that MARIUS put to death the Prætor GLAUCIA, though he was not named in the decree of the Senate. *Cic.* 3. in *Cat.* c. vi.

Y. of R. 654. Bef. Chr. 98. Conſ. p. 353. Jul. Obſeq. xliv.

In the magiſtracy [b] of M. ANTONIUS and A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS, Conſuls for the year 654, *Sex. Titius*, one of the Tribunes, propoſed a Law for dividing ſome lands amongſt the People, and on this occaſion had no regard to the *interceſſion* of his collegues; nevertheleſs he was obliged to deſiſt from his enterpriſe, becauſe two Crows flying over the Comitia, had fought with their beaks and claws; and the *Augurs* had thereupon declared that the Law muſt be dropt, and ſacrifices be offered to *Apollo*.

This *Titius*, when out of his office, was proſecuted before the *Roman* Knights, and condemned to baniſhment, for having in his houſe a picture of SATURNINUS; an act of rigour juſtified by CICERO.

Cic. pro Rabir. c. ix.

Furius likewiſe, who had oppoſed METELLUS's return, was, after the expiration of his office, accuſed of treaſon by *Canuleius* and *Decianus*, two of the Tribunes. The enraged People, without ſo much as hearing his defence, tore him in pieces. And becauſe *Decianus*, in a ſpeech on that occaſion, lamented the death of SATURNINUS, he was next year brought to a trial and baniſhed, though a very worthy man, according to *Valerius Maximus*.

App. loc. cit.

Dio. Caſſ. ap.

Val. p. 637. Cic. pro Rabir. c. ix.

The times now favoured METELLUS NUMIDICUS. At the motion of the Tribune *Calidius*, he was, with the univerſal conſent of the People, recalled from baniſhment [c]. At his return to *Rome*, the whole city went out

Val. Max. l. viii. c. i. Cic. pro Planc. 28.

[b] In this Conſulſhip was born, at *Rome*, JULIUS CÆSAR, on the fourth of the Ides, *i. e.* the twelfth of the month *Quintilis*, afterwards from him called *July*.

[c] METELLUS, at this time, reſided at *Trales* in *Lydia*: letters to inform him of his recall, were brought to him, while preſent at the celebration of ſome games: he deferred reading them till the ſhew was over. No emotions were diſcovered by his looks. "Baniſhed, or recalled (ſays *Val. Max.*) he had the ſame ſerenity of countenance: the "ſame firmneſs and ſteadineſs of ſoul in both fortunes:" *Eundem conſtat pari vultu & exſulem fuiſſe & reſtitutum: adeo moderationis beneficio, medius ſemper inter ſecundas & adverſas res animi firmitate verſatus eſt.* Val. Max. l. iv. c. i. § xiii.

N. B.

out to meet him, and the day was not ſufficient for receiving the congratulations of the Senate and the reſt of the Citizens. App. de Bel. Civ. l. i. p. 370.

Plutarch reports, that MARIUS, to avoid ſeeing the return of METELLUS, ſet out before that time on a voyage to *Aſia*, under pretence of diſcharging a vow he had made to *Cybele*, the mother of the Gods. If ſo, METELLUS did not arrive in *Italy* till the year 655, for we find MARIUS at *Rome* in that year, being the Conſulſhip of Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS, and T. DIDIUS. Theſe Conſuls, in the beginning of their adminiſtration, obtained the enacting of two Laws; the firſt to revive an old cuſtom now fallen into neglect, *viz.* That of notifying to the People three market-days (that is, twenty-ſeven days) before hand, the purport of any Law that was to be propoſed to the Comitia. The ſecond, that if the Law conſiſted of ſeveral articles, the People might be free to ſeparate them, and reject thoſe which they did not approve, while the ſanction of their authority was given to the reſt. Plut in Mar. Y. of R. 655. Bef. J. C. 97. Conſ. p. 354. Cic. pro Dom. c. xvi. Id. pro Dom. c. xx.

Aquilius, who had been collegue to MARIUS in his fifth Conſulſhip, and had compleated the reduction of the rebel Slaves in *Sicily*, was now brought to trial on the charge of grievous extortion in that Province. ANTONIUS, Conſul of the laſt year, undertook the defence of the accuſed, and becauſe the facts were too clear againſt him to be diſputed, confined himſelf wholly to move compaſſion in the Judges. That the orator was a perfect maſter of the pathetic, may be thought ſufficiently proved by this, that he drew tears even from MARIUS, who was one of the bench. Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. xlv. xlvii. & in Verr. v. c. i. & pro Flac. c. xxxix. Quintil. Inſtitut. l. ii. c. xvi.

A certain Tribune of the People, named *Duronius*, repealed this year one of the ſumptuary Laws; [*legem de coercendis conviviorum ſumptibus latam.*] On this occaſion, *Duronius* made a ſpeech, of a very extraordinary tenour, to the People from the Roſtra. "Reſtraints Val. Max. l. ii c. ix. § v.

N. B. This does not very well accord what *Salluſt* reports of his temper and behaviour, on occaſion of MARIUS's being appointed to ſucceed him, in the conduct of the *Numidian* war. See above, p. 79.

"have

" have been impoſed upon us, *Romans*, which are not " to be endured: We are faſt bound in the galling " chains of ſervitude: A law was enacted, nay, is ſtill " in force, to confine the expences of our tables. What " a twang of antique ruſticity! we abrogate, we annul " that Law: For what is a man's liberty, who is not " free to ruin his fortune by coſtly entertainments, if " it be his pleaſure ſo to do?"

App. in Iber. p. 311.

DURING the wars with the *Cimbri* and with the Slaves of *Sicily*, the *Romans* ſent no forces into *Spain*: they only ſent Ambaſſadors thither, from time to time, to prevent, if poſſible, all matter of quarrel. But now they ordered the Conſul DIDIUS into that country with an army. SERTORIUS accompanied him thither, in quality of Legionary Tribune. The Conſul fought a battle ſucceſsfully with the *Vaccæi* [t]; and, afterwards, forced the People of *Termiſum* to abandon their town, which was ſtrongly ſituated, and live in a plain, where they had neither walls nor fortifications. He then reduced *Colenda*, after a ſiege of nine months, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Not far from this town, was a colony of *Celtiberians*, to whom, for their ſervices againſt the *Luſitanians*, MARIUS, by authority from the *Roman* Senate, had granted ſome lands for a poſſeſſion. It is pretended, that theſe *Celtiberians*, being poor, lived by robbery; and, for this, DIDIUS, under pretence of dividing the territory of *Colenda* among them, decoyed them to his camp, and there cauſed them all to be maſſacred, men, women, and children. For theſe exploits he had a triumph!

Plut. in Sertor.

[t] *Frontinus* (Stratag. l. ii. c. x. §. i) tells us, that DIDIUS fought a great battle in *Spain*, that night having put an end to it, the *Roman* general then cauſed the greateſt part of his dead ſoldiers to be buried, and that the *Spaniards*, the next day, ſeeing more of their own people ſlain, than of the enemy, they concluded themſelves vanquiſhed; and ſubmitted to the conditions of peace impoſed by DIDIUS. According to the Epitome of *Livy* (l lxx.) DIDIUS, when Proconſul, fought ſucceſsfully againſt the *Celtiberians*. Whether theſe battles are the ſame, or different from what are related in the text, on the authority of *Appian*, is uncertain.

In

In the winter, SERTORIUS being quartered at *Caſtulo*, a city upon the *Bætis*, the debauchery and licentiouſneſs of his ſoldiers, provoked the inhabitants to conſpire with their neighbours, the *Gyriſæni*, to ſurprize the *Romans*, and put them to the ſword. The *Gyriſæni* were accordingly admitted in the night. SERTORIUS made his eſcape, and rallying thoſe of his men, who had likewiſe eſcaped, fetched a compaſs, re-entered the city, by the ſame gate, whereat the *Gyriſæni* had been admitted, and where the inhabitants had neglected to poſt a guard. Townſmen and ſtrangers he put all to the ſword, and then, making his ſoldiers cloath themſelves in the habits of the *Caſtulonians*, and *Gyriſæni*, led them ſtraight to the city of the latter, where being miſtaken for *Spaniards*, and admitted as ſuch, they ſlew a great number of the inhabitants, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. Plut. in Sertor.

It appears by the *Capitoline* tables, that the *Roman* arms proſpered this year in further *Spain*, under the conduct of *Cornelius Dolabella*, and that he had a triumph for his exploits [h].

In the following Conſulſhip of C. CORNELIUS LENTULUS and P. LICINUS CRASSUS (father of the Triumvir) the Senate, by a decree, prohibited human ſacrifices, which, according to *Pliny*, had till that time been openly practiſed: nor was the practice yet totally aboliſhed at *Rome*, if we may believe *Dio Caſſius*, who mentions two men being ſacrificed in the *Campus Martius*, in the time of JULIUS CÆSAR. Y. of R. 656. Bef. J. C. 96. Conſ-p. 355. Plin. l. xxx. c. xxxi. Dio. Caſſ. l. iv. p. 226.

MARIUS was now returned from *Aſia*. Though he had made *the performance of a vow to* Cybele the pretence for his voyage thither, his r al deſign (according to *Plutarch)* had been to kindle a war in *Aſia*, and particularly with *Mithridates*, king of *Pontus*, who, of all the potentates there, ſeemed the moſt diſpoſed thereto. Plut. in Mar.

[h] All the barbarous nations bordering upon *Macedon*, (except a people called the *Denſeleti*) ſeem to have been up in arms, about this time, againſt *Rome*: but the particulars of this war are not tranſmitted to us. *Cic. in Piſ.* c. xxxiv.

As

Y. of R. 656. As MARIUS had not the talents neceſſary to make a conſiderable figure in time of peace, his reputation among the People declined daily, and he therefore wanted to be again at the head of an army, that he might fill *Rome* with the fame of his atchievements, and his houſe with the ſpoils of *Pontus*. He arrived at the court of *Mithridates*, and was treated by him with great civility and marks of eſteem; yet was not thereby induced to ſoften in any degree the harſhneſs of his wonted manner: bluntly and drily he ſaid to the monarch, *There is no medium, you muſt either find a way to become more powerful than the* Romans, *or you muſt quietly obey their commands.* This diſcourſe aſtoniſhed *Mithridates*, who, though he had often heard of the *Roman* haughtineſs, had never made trial of it before.

MARIUS, on his return to *Rome*, finding himſelf neglected, like a weapon of war in time of peace, would not venture to ſtand for the Cenſorſhip, though his ambition carried him to aſpire to that office. He gave out, that he did not chuſe to offend people, by a ſtrict ſearch into their lives and conduct. *Rome* beſtowed that magiſtracy on L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, and M. ANTONIUS, the orator: and theſe Cenſors ſtruck *Duronius*'s name out of the liſt of the Senators, for having pealed the Sumptuary Law before mentioned.

Val. Max. l. ii. c. ix. § v.

Jul. Obſeq. c. xlvi. We learn from *Julius Obſequens*, that the *Romans* fought ſucceſsfully this year againſt the *Dardani* and the *Mædi*, a people inhabiting the countries now called *Servia* and *Boſnia*.

Y. of R. 657. Bef. Chr. 95. Conſ-p. 356. PTOLEMY APION, king of *Cyrene* [1], dying in the year of *Rome* 657, when CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS and C. CASSIUS LONGINUS were Conſuls, bequeathed his

[1] In this country grew the beſt *Laſerpitium*, or *Sulphium*, the juice of which, when brought to a conſiſtence, was worth its weight in gold. *Pliny* (l. xix. c. iii) tells us, that the Publicans deſtroyed all the *Laſerpitium* in *Cyrenaica*, by feeding their cattle with it, having experienced that it not only fattened them exceedingly, but gave their fleſh a fine taſte: But *Strabo* ſays, that the *Numidians*, invading that country, pulled up all the *Laſerpitium* by the roots. Lib. xvii. p. 837.

dominions

dominions, by will, to the *Romans*[k], which he had no right to do. *Cyrene* had formerly belonged to *Egypt*, but *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, ſucceſſor to his brother *Philometor*, in the throne of that kingdom, had, at his death, left the province of *Cyrene* to *Apion*, his ſon by a concubine: but this partition of the kingdom was to ceaſe upon the death of *Apion*. Liv. Epit. l. lxx.

THE Conſular Faſces being transferred to L. LICINIUS CRASSUS the orator, and Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA the moſt able lawyer of his time, theſe Magiſtrates got a law enacted, which, CICERO ſays, was, in the opinion of all men, very prejudicial to the Republic. Many of the *Italians*, though not really *Roman* citizens, acted as if they were entitled to the privileges of citizenſhip. The new law imported, that no man, who could not produce a juſt title to the *Roman* citizenſhip, ſhould be admitted to act as ſuch, and that even thoſe, who were born at *Rome*, if they had no other claim to citizenſhip, ſhould be ſent into the countries of their reſpective families. This law ſo much offended all the *Italians*, that it proved one of the chief cauſes of the Social war, which broke out about three years after. Y. of R. 658. Bef. J. C. 94. Conſ-p. 357. Cic. pro C. Corn. Orat i. & Aſcon. in loc. Cic. de Offic. l. iii. c. 11.

It is uncertain what province fell to SCÆVOLA, but, it is probable, there was nothing to do in it, ſeeing he gave it up, that he might not put the public to expence. Aſcon. in Orat. in Piſ.

His collegue CRASSUS, leſs frugal and more ambitious, ſearched the *Alps* (ſays *Cicero*) to find a triumph where no enemies were to be found. At length he met with a gang of robbers, who had no certain leader; and who, neither by their reputation, nor their numbers, were worthy to be called enemies of the *Roman* People. Thoſe robbers he reduced, and for this exploit he demanded a triumph at his return to *Rome*. The Senate, out of regard to his dignity and authority, were going to grant his requeſt, when his collegue interpoſed, and forbad the decree to paſs. Cic. in Piſon. c. Id. de Invent. l. ii. c. xxxvii. Aſcon loc. cit.

[k] The *Romans* declared the cities of *Cyrenaica* free, and did not reduce this country to the form of a province, till the time of SYLLA.

Under

Y. of R. 659. Bef. J. C. 93. Conſ-p. 358.

Under the following adminiſtration of L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, and C. CÆLIUS CALDUS, *P. Sulpicius*, a young man famous for his eloquence, accuſed *Norbanus* before the *Roman* Knights, for a tumult he had raiſed the laſt year when Tribune, on occaſion of the trial of COEPIO; the ſame COEPIO who, in 648, had been depoſed from the Proconſulſhip, for his miſconduct in the *Cimbrian* war. One of the crimes, now laid to COEPIO's charge, was his riotous oppoſition to a law of SATURNINUS, for diſtributing corn to the People at a low price. The chief men of the Senate intereſted themſelves for the accuſed; the Conſul CRASSUS pleaded his cauſe, and two Tribunes of the Commons interpoſed their authority: But *Norbanus*, having inflamed the multitude, they drove away his opponents with ſtones, wounded ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, Preſident of the Senate, and condemed COEPIO to baniſhment. *Norbanus*'s crime was heinous, the proofs clear, the parties againſt him ſtrong, but nothing could reſiſt the eloquence of M. ANTONIUS, who undertook his defence. He gave ſuch colours to actions, truly unjuſtifiable, that the Judges, men of great probity, according to *Cicero*, abſolved the criminal, without thinking they diſhonoured themſelves.

Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. xlvii. xlviii.

Y. of R. 660. Bef. J. C. 92. Conſ-p. 359.

In the following Conſulſhip of C. VALERIUS FLACCUS and M. HERENNIUS, SYLLA, who, the laſt year, had, without ſucceſs, ſtood for the Prætorſhip, now, partly by a popular behaviour, partly by the help of money, got himſelf choſen to that office, though he had not paſſed through the *Ædileſhip*. We are told, that *Cæſar Strabo*, a man of a facetious wit, to whom the new Prætor, on occaſion of ſome quarrel, had ſaid, in a threatening manner, *I ſhall uſe the power of my office*; anſwered him laughing, *Right*; *it is* YOUR *office indeed*; for you bought it, and paid for it.

Plut. in Sylla.

P. Rutilius Rufus[1], who had aſſiſted SCÆVOLA in

[1] *Rutilius* had formerly ſtood competitor for the Conſulſhip with *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, the Preſident of the Senate; and *Scaurus* having carried the election, *Rutilius* accuſed him of having bribed the votes. *Scaurus*, being acquitted, accuſed *Rutilius* of the ſame crime, with as little ſucceſs. *Cic. in Brut.* c. xxx. and *de Orat.* l. ii c. lxix.

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correcting the abuſes committed by the Publicans in *Aſia*, and whom the ancient hiſtorians repreſent as one of the beſt men in *Rome*, was accuſed before the *Roman* Knights of extortion in that very province. *Rutilius* would neither ſupplicate his Judges, nor change his habit, nor employ the eloquence of ANTONIUS or CRASSUS to plead his cauſe; but ſpoke for himſelf, plainly and ſimply, without having recourſe to any of the arts of oratory; yet he ſuffered his nephew *Cotta*, and *Q. Scævola*, to whom he had formerly been lieutenant, to ſay ſomething in his favour. The Judges, in revenge of his having abridged the profits of the Publicans, who were generally *Roman* Knights, condemned him to baniſhment, and confiſcated his effects; which did not prove ſufficient to pay the fine impoſed upon him; a ſtriking proof of his innocence. And *Dio* ſays, that his papers ſufficiently atteſted his juſt title to all he poſſeſſed. In his exile, he loſt nothing of his affection for his native country. When ſomebody, to comfort him, intimated to him, that a civil war was going to break out, and he would then be recalled, he anſwered, *What harm have I done you, that you ſhould wiſh me to return to my country, with more ſorrow than I left it?* He might have returned, after the victories of SYLLA, who invited him *home*, but he choſe rather to continue in exile: perhaps, he was unwilling to be an eye-witneſs of SYLLA's tyranny: for that he was a truly honeſt man, may be well preſumed from another particular related of him. One of his friends having aſked of him an unjuſt thing, and being ſo much offended at his refuſal, as to ſay to him, with indignation, *Of what advantage is your friendſhip to me, if you will not do what I deſire of you?* Rutilius anſwered, *And of what value is yours to me, if I can preſerve it only by baſe actions*[m]*?*

Cic. de Orat. l. i. Pro Planc. c. xxi. In Brut. c. xxx. Pro Font. c. xiii. In Piſ. c. xxxix. Vell. Pat. l. ii. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. D. Caſſ. ap. Val. p. 637. Val. Max. l. ii. c. x. §. v.

Senec. de Benef. l. vi. c. xiii.

Val. Max. l. vi. c. iv. § iv.

[m] According to *Euſebius*, the poet LUCRETIUS was born in the ſecond year of the 171ſt Olympiad, which anſwers to this year of *Rome* 660. The ſame author writes, that LUCRETIUS was mad; a diſtemper brought upon him by a Filtre: that he wrote ſome books of his poem in his lucid intervals (which books *Cicero* afterwards corrected) and that he killed himſelf in the forty-fourth year of his age. *Euſeb. Chron. L. Poſter. Ap. Scaliger.* p. 150.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

SYLLA *(in* 661*) is ſent into* Aſia, *to check the ambition of* Mithridates, *king of* Pontus. *The genealogy, early adventures, and enterpriſes of this monarch.*

Y. of R. 661. Bef. J. C. 91. Conſ-p. 360.

THE next year, when C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER and M. PERPERNA were Conſuls, SYLLA had commiſſion from the Senate to go into *Aſia*, and there replace, on the throne of *Cappadocia*, *Ariobarzanes*, who had been driven thence by MITHRIDATES, ſurnamed *Eupator*, king of *Pontus* [n].

Strab. l. x. p. 478. Juſt. l. xxxvii. c. ii.

This MITHRIDATES (who ſtruggled long with the *Romans* for the empire of *Aſia)* had aſcended the throne at eleven or twelve years of age. It is ſaid, that, during his minority, his tutors attempted to deſtroy him, by mounting him on a fiery horſe unbroken; a danger he eſcaped by his addreſs: that they afterwards plotted to poiſon him, but that he, aware of their deſign, guard-

[n] He was deſcended from a long ſeries of kings, who had reigned in *Pontus* before him. The firſt of them was one of thoſe ſeven princes, that ſlew the *Magians*, and ſettled the kingdom of *Perſia* on *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and, having obtained the ſovereignty of this country, tranſmitted it to his poſterity, through ſixteen generations; *Mithridates Eupator* being reckoned the ſixteenth from him. *Polyb.* l. v. p. 388. *Florus. Diod. Sic. Aurel. Vict. Appian.*

1. The firſt of theſe, of whom we find a name in hiſtory, is that *Mithridates*, who dying in the year before *Chriſt* 363, was ſucceeded by his ſon, [*Diod. Sic.* l. xv]

2. *Ariobarzanes* (then governor of *Phrygia* for *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, king of *Perſia)* who, having reigned twenty-ſix years, was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Diod. Sic. l. xx.

3. *Mithridates*, the ſecond, in the year (before Chriſt) 337.—On his death he was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Strabo, l. xii. 562. Appian. Diod. Sic. l. xx. Plut. in Demetr. Appian. Vid. Prideaux.

4. *Mithridates*, the third, who, having very much enlarged the kingdom of *Pontus*, by new acquiſitions, was reckoned as the founder of it, and therefore is by hiſtorians called *Ktiſtes* (i. e. the founder). He reigned in *Pontus* thirty-ſix years, and on his death, which happened in the year 266, left his kingdom to his ſon, *Ariobarzanes*.

From this *Mithridates the Founder*, *Mithridates Eupator* was the eighth: but of theſe hiſtory furniſheth us with the names only of ſix, and theſe are, 1. *Mithridates Ktiſtes*. 2. *Ariobarzanes*. 3. *Mithridates*. 4. *Pharnaces*. 5. *Mithridates Evergetes*. 6. *Mithridates Eupator*.

ed

ed himſelf againſt it by excellent antidotes: and it is added, that the frequent uſe of theſe gave him a conſtitution proof againſt the moſt deadly poiſon. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſic, and grew fond of being thought ſkilful in that art; inſomuch, that his courtiers, to humour his vanity by a ſervile complaiſance, uſed to ſlaſh, or burn themſelves, in ſome part of their bodies, on purpoſe to give him an opportunity of ſhewing his ſkill in the cure. To ſecure himſelf from aſſaſſination, he pretended to be extremely fond of hunting, and (if we may believe *Juſtin*) was ſeven years without ſleeping a night in any houſe; he lay in the mountains, and ſeldom in the ſame place. This manner of life rendered him robuſt, hardened his body againſt the changes and inclemency of the ſeaſons, and prepared him to ſuſtain all the fatigues of war. During his non-age, the *Romans* took from him the *Greater Phrygia*, which they had aſſigned to his father, as the reward of his ſervices in the war with *Ariſtonicus*, and to which he had pretenſions of an earlier date, it having been given to his great grandfather by *Seleucus Calinicus*.

Plut. de Adulat. & Amic. Diſcrim.

Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. iii.

Vid. Vol. IV. p. 376.

Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. v.

Among the firſt acts of his reign, he put to death not only his guardians, but his mother and his brother. After this, he formed vaſt projects for enlarging his dominions °. He ſubdued a great part of *Scythia*, all *Colchis*,

App. in Mithridat. p. 180.

° The ſtate of *Aſia*, at this time, is thus repreſented by M. *Crevier*.

The *Romans* poſſeſſed ASIA, properly ſo called, that is, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which had been left them by the will of *Attalus Philometor*, and conquered by them from *Ariſtonicus*.

Nicomedes Philopator, ſon of *Pruſias*, reigned in BITHYNIA.

PAPHLAGONIA had long had its kings, whoſe common name was *Pylæmenes*. As it was ſituated between the dominions of the kings of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, it had ſuffered much from thoſe two powerful neighbours; and its ancient kings ſeemed to have been reduced very low, from the time of *Mithridates Evergetes*.

Next to *Paphlagonia*, along the coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, was the kingdom of PONTUS.

CAPPADOCIA was under *Ariarathes*, the ſon of another of that name, who died in the ſervice of the *Romans* in the war with *Ariſtonicus*.

Y. of R. 661. *Colchis*, and the adjoining countries, and obliged the *Thracians*, the *Baſtarnæ*, the *Sarmatæ*, and all the nations on the *Tanais*, the *Palus Mæotis*, and at the mouth of the *Danube*, to enter into alliance with him, and aſſiſt him with their forces.

Juſt. l. xxxvii. c. iii. It is ſaid, that, elated with his victories, he propoſed to himſelf nothing leſs than the conqueſt of all *Aſia*; and that with this view he privately left his court, and, attended by a few of his friends, went over all that continent, in order to know the ſtrength of the towns and fortreſſes. But perhaps this ſtory was invented to make the king appear, in ſome ſort, the aggreſſor in the war, which he afterwards ſuſtained againſt the *Romans*.

At his return home, his wife *Laodice*, who, in his abſence, had been unfaithful to him, conſpired with her lovers to take him off by poiſon: both crimes being diſcovered by a ſlave, the king put her, and her accomplices, to death.

Id. ib. c. iv. After this, he leagued himſelf with *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, and ſon of *Pruſias*; in conſequence of which they made themſelves maſters of *Paphlagonia*. *Pylæmenes*, king of that country, having complained at *Rome*, the Senate, by their Ambaſſador, ordered the two kings to reſtore what they had uſurped. *Mithridates* (ſays *Juſtin*) thinking himſelf a match for the *Romans*, returned for anſwer, that *Paphlagonia* had fallen to his father by inheritance, who having never been blamed for claiming it, 'twas wonderful, that the ſame claim ſhould be conſidered as a crime in the ſon. But the hiſtorian, afterwards, tell us, that the king obeyed the decree of the Senate.

GALATIA was divided between ſeveral tetrarchs.

But all theſe ſtates, and the other parts of *Aſia minor*, without being immediately under the *Roman* ſway, reſpected their greatneſs, and in a manner received the law from them. Eſpecially when any troubles, or quarrels aroſe, between the princes, or ſtates of thoſe countries, the *Romans* did not fail to make themſelves the arbitrators of them, and their opinion amounted, in effect, to a command. *Crev.* vol. x. book xxxii.

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The *Bithynian* promiſed to reſtore his ſhare of *Paphlagonia* to *Pylæmenes* the lawful king; and, by way of fulfilling his promiſe, proclaimed his own ſon king of that country, by the name of *Pylæmenes*.

This affair had no important conſequences: but the enterprizes of *Mithridates* upon *Cappadocia* produced an open rupture between him and the *Romans*.

ARIARATHES, king of *Cappadocia*, had married *Laodice*, the ſiſter of the king of *Pontus*, and by her had two ſons. *Mithridates*, nevertheleſs, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of *Cappadocia*, not only contrived, by the means of one *Gordius*, to get *Ariarathes* aſſaſſinated, but formed the deſign of deſtroying thoſe ſons of his own ſiſter. Before he could execute this project, *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, ſeized the vacant throne of *Cappadocia*. Hereupon *Mithridates* pretending to eſpouſe the intereſt of his nephews, ſent ſuccours to his ſiſter *Laodice*, in order to expel the uſurper: But the queen had already married him. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. i.

The king of *Pontus*, much diſpleaſed with theſe tidings, marched an army into *Cappadocia*, drove out *Nicomedes*, and placed the elder of *Laodice*'s ſons upon the throne. Not many months after, he propoſed to his nephew, that he ſhould recal *Gordius*, the aſſaſſin, from baniſhment. In this propoſal, his view was to have a pretence for war, in caſe his nephew denied his requeſt, and, in caſe he granted it, to get rid of him by the ſame hand which had murdered his father. The young king refuſed, and both ſides prepared for war. *Mithridates* brought into the field 80,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 600 armed chariots; and the *Cappadocian*, aſſiſted by the neighbouring kings, had an army no leſs numerous. The king of *Pontus*, doubtful concerning the event of the war, invited his nephew to an amicable conference, and there ſtabbed him with his own hand, in ſight of both armies. He then placed his own ſon, a child of eight years old, upon the throne of *Cappadocia*, gave him the name of *Ariarathes*, and aſſigned him *Gordius* for his tutor.

Y. of R. 661. Justin. ib. c. ii.

The *Cappadocians*, oppreſſed by their governors, ſent into *Aſia* for the younger brother of their late king, and put him at their head. But this prince, being defeated in battle by *Mithridates*, fled out of the country, and ſoon after died.

Nicomedes, fearing leſt the king of *Pontus*, now in poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*, ſhould from thence invade *Bithynia*, which bordered upon it, ſuborned a young man of great beauty, to call himſelf a ſon of the late *Ariarathes*, and petition the *Roman* Senate for the crown of *Cappadocia*. Queen *Laodice* joined in the fraud, and went to *Rome* with the impoſtor, there to own him for her ſon by her former huſband. *Mithridates*, with equal impudence, ſent *Gordius* to the Senate to aſſure them, that the boy, who actually reigned in *Cappadocia*, was a ſon of the late king *Ariarathes*[a]. The Conſcript Fathers took *Cappadocia* from *Mithridates*, and *Paphlagonia* from *Nicomedes*, and declared both countries free. But the *Cappadocians*, accuſtomed to monarchical government, deſired they might have a king. Their requeſt being granted, their choice fell upon *Ariobarzanes*, a *Cappadocian* noble. *Mithridates* did not openly oppoſe the execution of this decree, but we are told, that he, underhand, ſtirred up the *Armenians* againſt the *Cappadocians*; and we find that SYLLA had a commiſſion to reſtore *Ariobarzanes* to his dominions, and that he effected it, after having driven from thence *Gordius* and the *Armenians*.

Strab. l. xii. p. 540.

Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Sylla.

[a] *Juſtin*, from whom we have this ſtory, ſays, that *Mithridates* pretended the boy was SON of that *Ariarathes*, who loſt his life in fighting for the *Romans* againſt *Ariſtonicus*. But this cannot be true, if what the hiſtorian had ſaid before be true, that the boy was but eight years old: For the Conſul *Perperna* finiſhed the war with *Ariſtonicus* in the year 623. *Mithridates* therefore, it is probable, pretended, that the boy in queſtion, was the grandſon of that *Ariarathes*, who had ſix ſons by his wife *Laodice*, the five eldeſt of which the mother poiſoned, that ſhe might not be deprived of the adminiſtration of the kingdom. The ſixth, who was preſerved by his relations, afterwards married *Laodice*, ſiſter of *Mithridates*, and was aſſaſſinated by his order. Of the two ſons of this marriage, *Mithridates* killed one with his own hand, and dethroned the other, who ſoon afterward died with grief.

Accord-

According to *Plutarch*, SYLLA made a progreſs as far as to the *Euphrates*, and while he was encamped on the banks of that river, *Arſaces*, king of the *Parthians*, ſent Ambaſſadors to him, deſiring an alliance with the *Roman* Republic: Though the *Parthians* were a nation the greateſt for extent of dominion, the moſt warlike, and the richeſt in *Aſia*, they were little known at *Rome*. SYLLA reckoned among the moſt fortunate of his adventures that of being the firſt *Roman* to whom the *Parthians* had ſent a ſolemn embaſſy. At the audience which he gave to the Ambaſſador, he placed himſelf in the middle between him and the king of *Cappadocia*; and the *Parthian* miniſter, for having ſuffered this, paid afterwards the forfeit of his head.

SYLLA, at his return to *Rome*, was accuſed of having plundered the allies of the Republic, during his adminiſtration in *Aſia*: But his accuſer dropt the proſecution [b].

[b] A ſort of profeſſors had been introduced to *Rome*, who called themſelves *Latin* Rhetoricians, and pretended, by certain rules and definitions, to teach the *Roman* youth the art of eloquence. CRASSUS, the orator, now in the Cenſorſhip with CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, thought there was nothing to be learnt of theſe maſters, but impudence; in conjunction, therefore, with his collegue, he, by edict, obliged them to ſhut up their ſchools. *Cic. de Orat.* l. iii. c. xxiv.

The Magiſtracy of theſe two Cenſors paſſed almoſt intirely in diſputes between themſelves; the ſource of which was, perhaps, their difference of character: DOMITIUS being frugal, CRASSUS given to expence. Their quarrels were too ridiculous to deſerve a place in hiſtory.

CHAP. VII.

LIVIUS DRUSUS, Tribune of the People, *undertakes, without ſucceſs, to procure to the* Italian *allies the privileges of* Roman citizenſhip.

Y. of R. 662. Bef. J. C. 90. Conſ-p. 361.

IN the conſulſhip of L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS and SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR, great commotions were raiſed at *Rome*, on account of ſome Laws propoſed by a Tribune of the People, M. LIVIUS DRUSUS [a], the ſon of that DRUSUS, whom the Senate had ſpirited up to defeat the projects of CAIUS GRACCHUS.

* App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 371. Cic. de Orat. l. i. c. vii. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xiii. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. lxxi. Aſcon. in Orat. pro C. Corn. Flor. l. iii. c. xvii. Salluſt. Ep. ii. de Rep. Ordinand. Dio Caſſ. ap. Val. p. 638. Strab. l. xi. p. 515. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. i. Liv. Epit. l. lxxi. App. loc. cit. Flor. l. iii. c. xvii. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt.

The Hiſtorians have left us a very unſatisfactory account of the Tribuneſhip of this DRUSUS; they are not agreed among themſelves in relation to his Character, or to his Views, or to the ſubject of his Laws: nor are the facts they relate altogether conſiſtent with what they ſay of him.

According to *Appian* *, the Tribune chiefly aimed at procuring the right of the *Roman* citizenſhip for the *Italian* allies: But moſt authors affirm, that his main deſign was to aſſert the authority of the Senate. The men, who oppoſed him with the greateſt vehemence, were the Conſul MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, and a Senator named *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, who had formerly been in ſuch intimate friendſhip with the Tribune, that they had exchanged wives; which, *Strabo* ſays, was an ancient cuſtom amongſt the *Romans:* Yet theſe friends quarrelled afterwards about a ring that was ſold at an auction, and were reconciled.

To bring the People to favour his projects, DRUSUS propoſed ſeveral Laws for giving lands, and diſtributing corn to the poorer Citizens; and theſe Laws he is ſaid to have carried by force, and by the aſſiſtance of the allies,

[a] This DRUSUS was uncle to the younger CATO, and great uncle to the famous M. BRUTUS. *Cic. pro Mil.* c. vii. and *in Brut.* c. lxii.

[d] In ſome conteſt upon occaſion of theſe laws, DRUSUS ordered one of his clients to ſeize the Conſul PHILIPPUS. The man graſped him by

allies, to whom he promiſed the freedom of *Rome*. He alſo planted in *Italy* and *Sicily* many colonies of *Roman* Citizens, not indeed, by virtue of new Laws, but in conſequence of ſuch as had been already enacted. If we may believe ſome authors, he was ſo profuſe in his grants, that he himſelf ſaid, he had left nothing for any body to give away, unleſs it were dirt and air. It was probably at this time, and to the end that the public might be the more able to bear the expence of his largeſſes, that he ordered one eighth part of alloy to be mixed with the ſilver Coin [e].

Plin. l. xxxiii. c. iii. Liv, Epit. l. lxx. Aſcon. in Orat. pro Scaur. Liv. Epit. l. lxxi. Cic. pro Rab. Poſt. c. vii. App. p. 372.

The Senate, and eſpecially ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, puſhed on DRUSUS to take away the right of judging from the Knights. He either could not, or would not execute this ſcheme. But he propoſed a Law [f], ordaining, that the right of judging ſhould be equally divided between the Senators and the Knights; and that all Judges, who ſhould be charged with taking money for giving judgment, ſhould be brought to tryal [g]; for hitherto,

by the throat with ſuch violence, that the blood ſtarted out of his noſe: The Tribune made a jeſt of this: *It is not blood*, ſays he, *it is the gravy of Thruſhes:* For it ſeems, PHILLIPPUS loved good eating. After this, the Conſul, by order of DRUSUS, was dragged to priſon. *Val. Max.* l. ix. c. v. § ii. *Auct. de Vir. Illuſt.* The laſt cited author alſo relates, that DRUSUS threatened to have COEPIO thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock.

[e] According to the text of *Pliny* (l. xxxiii. c. iii.) as explained by *Hardouin*, there was at this time in the treaſury of *Rome* 1,920,829 pounds of gold, which, by *Arbuthnot*'s calculation, amounts to 52,102,486l. 12s. 6d. ſterling, but he thinks the ſum too extravagant, and that, perhaps, *Pliny*'s numbers are not correct. *Arbuthnot*'s Tables, p. 191.

[f] *Vell. Paterculus* ſays, this law transferred the right of judging to the Senate. *Florus* ſeems to be of the ſame opinion. According to *Appian* it ordained, that the number of Senators, which did not then amount to quite 300, ſhould be doubled, that the new members ſhould be of the Equeſtrian order, and that from the whole body of the Senate, thus conſtituted, the Judges ſhould for the future be elected. The author of the lives of illuſtrious men ſeems to agree with *Appian*. But the accounts given by theſe authors are not conſiſtent with the arguments which CICERO puts into the mouths of the *Roman* Knights upon this occaſion.

[g] *Appian* reports (p. 372.) that the *Roman* Knights, conniving at one nother, it was grown very common for the Judges to take bribes. But

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therto, the Knights were not liable to be called to account for any ſentence they had paſſed, nor were they affected by ſeveral Laws to which the Senators were ſubject. The Equeſtrian order ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this laſt clauſe of the Law, as well as the former part of it. "Not that they imagined (ſays CICERO, that it was "no crime to take money for giving judgment; but "they thought it unjuſt that their body ſhould be ſub- "ject to the ſame Laws as the Senate. They ſaid, the "Senators have no reaſon to complain. They have "Rank, Authority, Intereſt, Magiſtracies, Prieſthoods, "Triumphs, the Command of Armies, and Provinces; "and when they began their purſuits of theſe honours, "they knew the Conditions annexed to them. We too, "by the favour of the *Roman* People, had we coveted "high offices, might have been raiſed to the dignity of "Senators: But, contented with our own order, and "the rank of our forefathers, we preferred a quiet life "without glory, to the ſtorms of envy, and the per- "plexity of ſuch tryals, as this Law would involve us "in. If it be objected, that we are as much Judges as

Cic. loc. cit. & pro Cluent. c. lvi.

Aſconius ſays, the Knights were Judges for forty years, and judged without reproach. Then SYLLA transferred the right of judicature to the Senators, and they judged ignominiouſly for ten years. After this, *Aurelius Cotta* procured a law, that the Judges ſhould be choſen from among the Senators, the Knights, and the Tribuni Ærarii. And *Cicero* (1. Act. in Verr. c. xiii.) tells us, that for near fifty years (he means from the time of C GRACCHUS to SYLLA) during which, the *Roman* Knights were the Judges, there never was the leaſt ſuſpicion that any of them took money for giving judgment: whereas he brings many inſtances to prove, that the Senators were notoriouſly guilty of that crime, when the right of judging came to be in them. Speaking of his own time, he ſays, foreign nations, I imagine will ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to requeſt of the People to abrogate the Law concerning extortion and embezzling the publick money. For then the governors of provinces will only plunder them of ſo much money as they want for themſelves and their children; whereas now they muſt have enough to purchaſe Patrons and Advocates, and to bribe the Prætors and Judges. The famous Q. CATULUS, in a ſpeech made on occaſion of POMPEY's propoſing a Law for reſtoring to the Tribunes ſome of their ancient privileges, ſays, that the corruption of the Senatorian judges was the reaſon why the *Roman* People ſo earneſtly deſired the re-eſtabliſhment of the Tribunician power. POMPEY alſo complained of this iniquity of the Senators, and promiſed, in his Conſulſhip, to find a remedy for it.

"they

" they are Senators, it is true: But they voluntarily " ſought that dignity: We, by being Knights, are " forced to become Judges. Wherefore, either reſtore " to us our youth, that we may ſue for offices, or, ſince " this cannot be, ſuffer us to continue in that condition " of life, for the ſake of which, we have renounced all " pretenſions to offices and honours." This plea was urged without effect. DRUSUS got his Law paſſed, in ſpite of all oppoſition.

But now the allies ſolicited the Tribune to perform his promiſe, and procure them the freedom of *Rome*. As the Senate and the People equally diſliked this project, he found himſelf greatly at a loſs, how to put it in execution. It is ſaid, that, in order thereto, the *Italians* laid a plot to murder the Conſul PHILIPPUS at the *Feriæ Latinæ*, but DRUSUS gave him notice of the danger. It ſeems PHILIPPUS oppoſed the Senate with no leſs vehemence, than he did the Tribune. In a ſpeech to the People during the *Feriæ*, he made a ſharp invective againſt the Conſcript Fathers, and ſaid, he muſt find a way to have another Council: For with the Senate, ſuch as it was, he could not carry on the Public Buſineſs. On the Ides of *September* DRUSUS convened the Fathers; and, after complaining heavily of PHILIPPUS, propoſed to them to deliberate on the offenſive words uttered by him againſt the Senate in the late Aſſembly of the People. CRASSUS, the orator, warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Senate; and it was thought (ſays CICERO) that as on former occaſions he had ſurpaſſed all other men in eloquence, ſo on this, he ſurpaſſed himſelf. The Conſul, a man of great ſpirit and reſolution, and the next in Eloquence to CRASSUS and ANTONIUS, tho' by far unequal to either, anſwered with much heat; and by way of puniſhing the orator for having failed in reſpect to him, impoſed a fine upon him, and demanded ſureties for the payment of the money. CRASSUS replied, that he would never acknowledge the authority of a Conſul, who would not reſpect him as a Senator; that he was not to be terrified by a demand of ſureties; that his tongue muſt be cut out, before he would be ſilent, and that, even then, his breath ſhould oppoſe the inſolence

Aug. de Vir. Illuſt.

Cic. de Orat. l. iii. c. i.

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ſolence of the Conſul. After haranguing long with great vehemence, acuteneſs, and ſtrength, he gave his opinion in words weighty and eloquent, ſays CICERO; that it ſhould be made appear to the *Roman* People, that the Senate had never been wanting to the Republic, either in wiſdom or in fidelity. This, adds the writer, was the laſt oration of this divine man, for, in the vehemence of his action and diſcourſe, he was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, and then fell into a violent ſweat, which was ſucceeded by a ſhivering fit: But as the Senate had with unanimity gone into his opinion, he would not leave the houſe, till he had ſeen the decree regiſtered: After which he went home ill of a fever, and died in ſeven days.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxi. App. de Bell Civ. l. i. p. 372. Auct. ad Herenn. l. iv. c. xxii. & alii. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. xxxiii. Id. pro Milon. c. vii. M. de Leg. l. ii. c. vi. Orat. i. pro C. Corn. & Aſcon. in loc. Senec. de brev, Vit. c. vi.

The *Italians*, ſeeing no probability of their obtaining the freedom of *Rome* by a Law, began to hold conſultations [h], how to procure it by force of arms: and then DRUSUS, being looked upon as the author, or at leaſt the occaſional cauſe, of theſe cabals, became odious to the Senate. Shortly after, he was ſtabbed in a gallery of his own houſe: and though the houſe was, at that time, crouded with people, the aſſaſſins eſcaped unknown. The ſuſpicion (according to ſome writers) fell upon PHILLIPPUS and COEPIO, according to others, upon Q. VARIUS, Tribune of the Commons. No enquiry, however, was made concerning the murder [i]. And the Senate, at the motion of the Conſul PHILLIPPUS, abrogated all the Laws of DRUSUS by one decree, declaring, that they had been carried contrary to the Auſpices, and that the People were not bound by them: CICERO tells us, that the SENATE frequently aſſumed this power.

As to the character of DRUSUS, authors differ extremely. *Vell. Paterculus* commends him highly; per-

[h] According to *Plutarch*, it was about this time, that king BOCCHUS dedicated to the Gods, in the Capitol, *a ſculpture in gold*, repreſenting himſelf delivering up JUGURTHA into the hands of SYLLA: at which MARIUS was highly offended, *&c.* Vid. ſup. p. 76. in the note.

[i] *Seneca* (de brevit. vit. c. vi.) tells us, that ſome people thought DRUSUS killed himſelf; but that no body thought he died too ſoon.

haps,

haps, in flattery, to the emperor TIBERIUS; for this prince (in whoſe time *Paterculus* wrote) was, by the mother's ſide, deſcended from the family of DRUSUS. The greater number of writers repreſent the Tribune, as ambitious, proud, and violent. CICERO is of both opinions: for ſometimes he ſpeaks honourably of him, and, at other times, with contempt.

Val. Max. l. ix. c. v. § ii Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 638. Flor. l. iii. c. xvii. Auct. de Vir. Illuſt. Cic. pro Mil. c. vii. De nat. Deor. l. iii. c. xxxiii. In Vat. c. ix.

CHAP. VIII.

The war called the MARSIC, *the* SOCIAL, *the* ITALIC *war; being the war of* ROME *with her* Italian allies.

IT has been already obſerved, that the *Italians* had begun to concert meaſures for ſupporting, by arms, their claim of the Freedom of *Rome*. The murder of DRUSUS confirmed them in this reſolution: For now they totally deſpaired of obtaining, by treaty, thoſe privileges, to which they had ſo juſt a pretenſion.—The *rights* of a City ſuſtained chiefly by their arms, they having, in all its wars, furniſhed two thirds of the troops.

By the *Italians* were anciently meant, all the nations within the *Rubicon* (which falls into the *Adriatic*, not far from *Ariminum*) and the *Arnus*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Tuſcan* (or *Hetrurian*) ſea, near *Piſa*, the *firſt* town of *Hetruria*. The country, between theſe rivers and the *Alps*, had the name of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and was reduced to the form of a province. The *Italians* were not called ſubjects, but allies; and as they had been ſubdued (moſt of them after many defections) at different times, the conditions of their alliance were different. The *Latines*, properly ſo called, enjoyed the greateſt privileges:

Sigon. de Jure Ital. Polyb. l. ii. c. xvi.

[1] The boundaries of *Latium* were anciently the *Tiber* to the Weſt; the *Anio* and the Sabines to the North; the *Valſci* and the River *Ufens* to the Eaſt; and the *Tyrrhenian*, or *Tuſcan* ſea to the South. This country, in the time of the *Social War*, extended to the *Liris* on the Eaſt, and to the country of the *Marſi* on the North. The Nations of *Old Latium* were

Y. of R. 662. privileges: What theſe were is uncertain; but they were leſs than thoſe of *Roman* Citizens, and greater than

were the *Albani*, *Rutuli*, *Volſci*, and *Æqui*: of *New Latium*, the *Oſci*, *Auſones*, and *Hernici*. And all theſe, *Sigonius* thinks, had, in proceſs of time, the full rights of *Latium*. *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital.* l. i.

[k] By the *Roman* Law no one, who had the full rights of Citizenſhip, could belong to another city. *Duarum civitatum civis eſſe noſtro jure civili nemo poteſt: non eſſe hujus civitatis civis, qui ſe alii civitati dicarit, poteſt.* Cic pro Balb c. xi. Nor was any man obliged againſt his will to change his city.' *Itaque & ex Latio multi, & Tuſculani & Lanuvini, & ex cæteris generibus gentes univerſæ in civitatem ſunt receptæ; ut Sabinorum, Volſcorum, Hernicorum: quibus ex civitatibus nec coacti eſſent civitatem mutare, ſi qui noluiſſent*, &c. *Cic. pro Balb.* c. xiii. None therefore could be *Roman* Citizens, but ſuch as lived in *Rome*, or in its proper territory; and though many among the *Latines*, and even whole nations, as the *Sabines*, *Volſci*, and *Hernici*, were made free of *Rome*; yet the *full privilege* of Citizenſhip extended only to thoſe of them, who, accepting it, removed from their own cities to *Rome*, which none of them were compelled to do. *Sigonius* [*de Antiq. Jur. Ital.* l. i. c. iv.] thinks, that all the *Latines* had the right of ſuffrage, but that the Conſuls had a power to order them to depart from *Rome*, at the time of holding the Comitia. And this he endeavours to prove by ſeveral examples. *Spurius Caſſius*, Conſul in the year of *Rome* 267, having called as many as he could of the *Latines* and *Hernici* to vote in an Agrarian Law, his colleague *Virginius*, by edict, commanded every one, who had not a habitation in *Rome*, to quit the City. And the Conſul *Fannius*, in a like caſe, commanded the *Latines* to leave the City, though they had been invited thither by CAIUS GRACCHUS, to give their ſuffrages. And *Cicero* (*pro Sext.* x.) tells us, that the *Latines* took nothing more heinouſly, than their being ordered by the Conſuls to leave *Rome*, which ſeldom happened. *Salluſt* ſays, that when *Mamilius*, the Tribune, propoſed a Law for proſecutiug thoſe, by whoſe fault *Jugurtha* had diſobeyed the orders of the Senate, the guilty prepared to defeat the Law, chiefly by means of the *Latines*, and the *Italian* allies. In the trial of *Poſthumius Pyrgenſis*, in the year of *Rome* 541, *Livy* mentions a Tribune's calling for the urns to determine by lot where the *Latines* ſhould vote. *Sitellaque allata eſt, ut ſortirentur, ubi Latini ſuffragium ferrent.* Liv. xxv. 3. *Gronovius* is ſo much offended with the notion of the *Latines* having the right of ſuffrage, that he would have *Livy*'s text altered in this place. *Dujatius* thinks, the hiſtorian does not ſpeak of the *Latines* in general, but of thoſe Citizens of *Latium* who had the freedom of *Rome*; and many ſuch there were.

Sigonius argues, that CRASSUS and GRACCHUS would not have called the *Latines* to vote, unleſs theſe had had a right of ſuffrage; nor unleſs their privileges of voting had depended on the Conſuls, would theſe Magiſtrates have forbid them to remain in the City.

But

than thoſe of the other *Italians*. That theſe had not the right of ſuffrage, is manifeſt from their entering into the preſent war to obtain it. And it would ſeem likewiſe, from the *Latines* adhering firmly to *Rome*, in this quarrel, that they had much greater privileges than the other allies. The *Sabines* likewiſe ſteadily ſupported the cauſe of *Rome*; but theſe (according to *Vell. Paterc.*) had the right of ſuffrage.

The allies in general were ſubject to tribute, and obliged to furniſh ſoldiers for the *Roman* armies, commonly in the proportion of two to one. Yet the auxiliaries were never admitted among the legions, but ſerved in ſeparate cohorts under Prefects, who received their orders from the *Roman* generals. Liv. l. ix. & l. xxvii. App. de Bell Civ. l. i Vell. Pat. l, ii. c. xv. Cic 2. in Verr. c. ii.

THE detail of the actions in this great and difficult war, and the order of time in which they happened, are indiſtinctly related by the hiſtorians. At firſt, the *Italians* concerted their ſcheme in ſecret, entered into a confederacy, and gave hoſtages to one another. The *Romans*, however, had notice, that a conſpiracy was forming, and they ſent ſpies up and down the country to procure further intelligence. One of theſe happening to ſee a young man of *Aſculum* (in *Picenum*) carried as a hoſtage to a neighbouring town, gave notice of it to *Servilius*, who, in quality of Proconſul [1] or Prætor, watched that part of the country *Servilius* haſtened to *Aſculum*, and reprimanded the inhabitants with great ſeverity and many threatnings, which ſo exaſperated them, that they fell upon him, and ſlew him, together with his lieutenant *Fonteius*; and maſſacred the App. de Bell.Civ. l. i. p. 373. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xv. Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ. App. p. 374.

But as it is hard to conceive, that all the *Latines* had a title to vote in the Comitia; becauſe in that caſe the electing of Magiſtrates and the making of Laws would have been chiefly in their hands (they being ſeldom ordered to depart the City) it is moſt probable, that the right of Suffrage belonged only to ſome particular men, or cantons, among them.

[1] *Appian* ſays, that from hence it appears, that in ancient times the ſeveral countries of *Italy* were ſubject to Proconſuls: But *Sigonius* blames this conjecture, for there is no inſtance of a *Roman* Proconſul or Prætor preſiding among the *Italians*, except on occaſion of a war in *Italy*. *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital* l i. c. xxi.

Romans

Y. of R. 662. *Romans* they found in the place. Inſtantly, as if this had been the ſignal for a general revolt, the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Veſtini*, and *Marrucini*, took arms; and their example was ſoon followed by the *Picentes*, *Ferentani*, *Hirpini*, *Pompeiani*, *Venuſini*, *Apuli*, *Lucani*, and *Samnites*, and, in a word, by all the nations between the two ſeas, from the *Liris* eaſtward to the extremity of ancient *Italy*. The *Marſi*, a people renowned for bravery, and over whom, or without whom, it is ſaid, the *Romans* never triumphed, gave their name to this war, becauſe they were the firſt in the revolt; though it is called alſo the *Social* and the *Italian* war.

App. p. 378. Strab. l. v. p. 241.

Before the confederates proceeded to acts of hoſtility, they ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to repreſent, that they had ſerved the Republic in all her wars, and had every year furniſhed a double proportion of troops; and to demand that, ſince by their means the City had been raiſed to her preſent height of power, they might be acknowledged as Citizens. The Senate anſwered haughtily, that if the *Italians* were ſenſible of their error, their Ambaſſadors would be received, otherwiſe not. Upon the report of this anſwer, the allies choſe *Corfinium* (the chief town of the *Peligni*) for their principal place of arms, and deſtined it to be the capital of *Italy*, inſtead of *Rome*: They then conſtituted a Senate, compoſed of 500 members, and out of theſe elected two Conſuls, and twelve Generals, or Prætors. Their firſt Conſuls were *Q. Pompedius Silo*, the chief of the *Marſi*, and *C. Aponius Mutilus* (called by ſome hiſtorians *C. Papias*) a *Samnite*. To *Pompedius*, and ſix of the Prætors, they allotted the North and Weſt parts of the revolted country, and to *Aponius*, and the other ſix Prætors, the South and Eaſt parts.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xvi.

Aſcon. in Orat. pro Scaur.

At *Rome*, the Nobles became odious to the People, who looked upon them as the authors of the war, by their having rejected the requeſt of the *Italians*. *Q. Varius*, the ſame who had been ſuſpected of murdering DRUSUS, laid hold of this opportunity, and notwithſtanding the *interceſſion* of the Tribunes, his collegues, obtained a Law for enquiring by whoſe fault it had happened,

Id. loc. cit. Val. Max. l. viii. c. vi. §. iv.

pened, that the allies had taken arms [m]. In conſequence of this Law, many of the Senators and Nobles were ſummoned to their trials. *Beſtia*, and *Cotta* (the nephew of *Rutilius*) to avoid a ſentence went into voluntary exile. *Mummius Achaicus* is ſaid to have been baniſhed to the iſland *Delos*; but if he were living at this time, he could not be leſs than a hundred years old. ANTONIUS, the orator, ſaved himſelf by his eloquence; and ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, who, on different accounts, had been often accuſed, and as often acquitted, found means to eſcape once more [n]. Q. VARIUS himſelf, when out of office, was condemned by his own law, and was baniſhed [He afterwards ſuffered death by torture, but at whoſe command is not known].

App. p. 373.

Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. ii. c. xxiv. Id. pro Scaur. & Aſcon. in loc.

But now the Senate made diligent preparation for war. The *Latines*, *Sabines*, *Hetrurians*, and *Umbrians*, and even ſome places in the revolted provinces, continued faithful to the Republic, and furniſhed their contingents of men. Foreign nations ſent auxiliaries to her, and SERTORIUS, then Quæſtor in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, brought her a reinforcement of *Gauls*. The conduct of the war was committed to the Conſuls, L. JULIUS CÆSAR, and P. RUTILIUS LUPUS. It is thought, that CÆSAR had *Samnium* allotted to him for his province, and RUTILIUS the country of the *Marſi*. And in order to ſtop all proſecutions, on account of *Varius*'s law, and

Id in Brut. c. lxxxix. Id. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. xxxiii. Liv. Epit. l. lxxii. Plut. in Sertor. Y. of R. 663. Bef. J. C. 89. Conſ. p. 362.

[m] *Appian* ſays, the purport of the law was to bring into judgment all who had openly, or ſecretly, favoured the pretenſions of the *Italians*: that the *Roman* Knights put the Tribune upon this project, that they might have an opportunity to revenge themſelves on their enemies, and that they guarded him with drawn daggers, till he had carried his law. *App. de Bell. Civ.* l. i. p. 373.

[n] Whatever difficulties SCAURUS might have found to eſcape in former trials, he got rid of this with great eaſe. To all the declamations of his adverſaries, he made only this laconic reply: *Q. Varius, a* Spaniard *of* Sucro, *accuſes* M. SCAURUS, *prince of the* Roman *Senate, of having excited the allies to take up arms.* M. SCAURUS, *Prince of the Senate, denies the charge: no witneſs is produced: which of the two will you believe,* Romans? This kind of defence had ſuch an effect on the Aſſembly, that the Tribune thought it the ſafeſt way to deſiſt, and declared that he would give him no farther trouble. *Aſcon. in Cit. pro Scaur. Quintil.* v. 12.

thereby

Y. of R. 663. thereby free the City from inteſtine diſſentions, the Senate ordered the courts of juſtice to be ſhut up, during the *Italian* war. To each of the Conſuls were aſſigned five lieutenants, who, under their direction, commanded ſeparate armies with Proconſular authority. The lieutenants of RUTILIUS were C. MARIUS, *Cn. Pompeius*, father of *Pompey* the Great, *Q. Cæpio*, *C. Perperna*, and *Valerius Meſſala*. CÆSAR's chief officers were CORNELIUS SYLLA, *P. Lentulus*, *T. Didius*, *P. Licinius Craſſus*, and *M. Marcellus*. Theſe generals, leaving a ſufficient garriſon in *Rome*, ſet out with 100000 men, divided into ſeveral armies: nor were the forces of the *Italians* leſs numerous.

Aſcon. Or. 1. pro C. Corn.

App. p. 374.

App. p. 375.

PRESENTEIUS, one of the generals of the allies, defeated a conſiderable body of troops under *Perperna*, and ſlew 4000 of his men. Whereupon, the Conſul RUTILIUS deprived *Perperna* of his command, and joined the remains of his routed troops to thoſe of MARIUS. The two generals encamped on the banks of the *Liris* ° near each other: VETTIUS CATO, who had already vanquiſhed in battle the Conſul CÆSAR, and taken *Æſernia*, a *Roman* colony on the *Vulturnis*, now advanced to hinder RUTILIUS and MARIUS from paſſing the *Liris*. MARIUS adviſed the Conſul not to hazard a battle, till his raw ſoldiers were diſciplined; but RUTILIUS neglected the advice, thinking, that his lieutenant envied him, and wanted a ſeventh Conſulſhip, that he might have the glory of finiſhing the war. His ſuſpicions, if we may believe *Dio Caſſius*, were not ill founded. Be that as it will, RUTILIUS paſſed the river, and fell into an ambuſh, loſt 8000 of his men, and was himſelf mortally wounded. MARIUS knowing, by the number of dead bodies that floated down the ſtream, that the armies were engaged, drew out his forces, paſſed the river, and eaſily made himſelf maſter of the enemies camp: ſo that VETTIUS was obliged to paſs the night on the field of battle, and to march off next morning for want of proviſions.

Oroſ. l. v. c. xviii.

Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 641.

App. loc. cit.

App. p. 377.

° *Oroſius* ſays, it was the *Telonius*, in the country of the *Marſi*.

When

When the bodies of the Conſul, and of the other officers that had fallen in the battle, were brought to *Rome* to be interred, the conſternation among the People was ſo exceſſive, as to induce the Senate to make a decree, that thenceforward the bodies of the ſlain ſhould be buried on the ſpot where they died: And this, as a prudent example, was followed by the enemy.

Q. COEPIO having obtained ſome ſmall advantage over the allies, the Senate ordered, that MARIUS and he ſhould ſhare between them the forces which *Rutilius* had commanded. This honour greatly raiſed the preſumption of COEPIO; of which the *Italian* Conſul *Pompedius* found means to make advantage for his cauſe. Leaving his army, he went to the *Roman* camp, and together with two ſlaves ſumptuouſly dreſſed, who, he ſaid, were his ſons, ſurrendered himſelf to the general. To gain the more credit, he had brought with him large pieces of lead covered with gold and ſilver, which, as his treaſure, he depoſited in the hands of COEPIO. At the ſame time, he urged him to fall upon the *Italian* army, while without a leader, and offered himſelf to be his guide. COEPIO gladly liſtened to the propoſal; and when he had brought his army near the place, where an ambuſh was laid for him, *Pompedius*, under pretence of reconnoitring the enemy, rode up to an eminence, and from thence gave the appointed ſignal to his men, who inſtantly ruſhed out upon the *Romans*, made a great ſlaughter of them, and killed COEPIO himſelf. What remained of his army joined that of MARIUS, by order of the Senate. Liv. Epit. l. lxxiii.

During theſe tranſactions, the confederates had great ſucceſs in other parts of *Italy*. In *Campania*, *Lucania*, and *Apulia*, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral important towns, which had refuſed to join with them in the war. And *M. Lamponius* had routed a *Roman* army, commanded by *Licinius Craſſus*, lieutenant to the Conſul CÆSAR. The Conſul himſelf, after his defeat by VETTIUS CATO, had recruited his army with a conſiderable body of *Gauls* and *Numidians*, and marched to the relief of *Acerræ*, then beſieged by *Aponius*. App. p. 375.

Y. of R. 663. App. p. 376. Hereupon the *Italian* general brought *Oxinta*, the ſon of *Jugurtha*, from *Venuſia*, where he was kept in confinement, and gave him the title of king. The *Numidians* deſerted in ſuch numbers to their ſovereign, that the Conſul, fearing they would all leave him, ſent what yet remained with him into *Africa*. After this, *Aponius* attempted to force the *Roman* entrenchments, but loſt 6000 men in the action. Yet CÆSAR, it is ſaid, left *Acerræ*, and we do not find that *Aponius* raiſed the ſiege of it. However, at this time, the Citizens of *Rome* laid aſide the military habit which they had worn from the beginning of the War.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxiii. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xvi.

App. p. 377. The next account we have of CÆSAR, is, that his forces, conſiſting of 30000 foot and 5000 horſe, were attacked, on a march, by *Marius Egnatius*, who cut off the greater part of them. Nevertheleſs, the Conſul recruited his army, and marched once more to the relief of *Acerræ*: But it is not ſaid that he attempted any thing againſt *Aponius*; or *Aponius* againſt him.

App. p. 378. In the mean time, three of the *Italian* generals, *Afranius*, *Judacilius*, and *Ventidius*, had routed the army of *Cn. Pompeius*, and driven him to take refuge in *Firmum*, a city of *Picenum*. After this victory, *Judacilius* and *Ventidius* turned their arms another way, leaving *Afranius* to beſiege *Firmum*. To the relief of this place, *Sulpicius* advanced by unfrequented roads, and while the beſieged, in concert with him, made a ſally upon the beſiegers, he attacked their camp on the other ſide, and ſet fire to it. This diſaſter ſo terrified the *Italian* ſoldiers, that they fled in diſorder to *Aſculum*; but their general, diſdaining to fly, fell in the engagement. *Pompeius*, ſoon after, inveſted *Aſculum*, the ſiege of which laſted a long time.

The *Marſi*, under what general is uncertain, attacked MARIUS in his camp: He repulſed them, and drove them into ſome vineyards, whither he did not think it adviſable to follow them. But SYLLA, who lay encamped on the other ſide of thoſe vineyards, fell upon the enemy, and made great havock of them. Above 6000 of the *Italians* fell in the two actions. The *Marſi*, however,

however, ſoon recruited their forces, and frequently offered battle to MARIUS, which he conſtantly declined. He was, during this war, if we may believe *Plutarch*, extremely ſlow, irreſolute, and inactive; which, the hiſtorian ſays, might be owing to his being advanced in years (for he was then ſixty-five) or to his being troubled with nervous diſorders. The enemy ſurrounded him with intrenchments, and inſulted him daily [p]: But of this he took little notice: and, at length, laid down his command, under pretence of wanting health. Plut. in Mar.

The ill ſucceſs of the *Romans* in this campaign encouraged the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians* to think of revolting from the Republic. In ſo great an extremity, the Senate not only ordered the freedmen to be inliſted in the Legions, but even began to yield the point they had ſo obſtinately refuſed. The Conſul L. JULIUS CÆSAR obtained a Law [q] (which from his name was ever after called *Lex Julia*) ordaining that the freedom of the City ſhould be given to the *Latines*, and to thoſe of App. p. 379. Liv. Epit. l. lxxiv. Cic. pro Balb. c. viii. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xvi. Strab. l. v. p. 241. A. Gell. l. iv. c. iv.

[p] *Plutarch* reports, that *Pompedius Silo* went up one day to MARIUS's entrenchments and called out to him: MARIUS, *if you are a great general, come down into the plain, and fight us:* to which MARIUS anſwered, *If you*, Silo, *are a great general, force me to a battle againſt my will.*

[q] According to *Appian*, the *Julian* Law gave the freedom of *Rome* only to thoſe of the *Italians*, who had not entered into this war againſt the Republic. CICERO, in the place above quoted, ſays, in general, that by this Law the allies and *Latines* obtained the Freedom of the City. It is probable, the Law included all who would take the benefit of it: For *Appian* himſelf, p. 382, ſays, that privilege was given to all the allies; to each nation as they laid down their arms. *Strabo* likewiſe tells us, that the *Italians* continued this war for two years, until they had procured themſelves the Freedom of the City, for which they had taken up arms. *Strab. loc. ſupra cit.* In the Epitome of *Livy* l. xxx. it is ſaid, that the Senate gave the Freedom of Rome to the nations of *Italy*. And *Vell. Paterculus*, after mentioning the ill ſucceſs of the *Romans* in this war, adds, that they recovered ſtrength by granting the Freedom of the City by degrees to thoſe who had not taken up arms, and to thoſe who laid them down in time. Now as we find no Law, during the courſe of this war, which gave the privilege of Citizenſhip to the allies in general, except the *Julian* Law, it is probable, that it extended to all who choſe to be included in it. This likewiſe helps us to account the more eaſily for the ill ſucceſs of the *Italians* the next campaign, notwithſtanding the great advantages they gained in the preſent year.

Y. of R. 663. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 379. Liv. Epit. l. lxxiv. Oroſ. l. v. c. xviii.

the other *Italians*, who had not taken up arms againſt the Republic, and to thoſe who ſhould lay them down. According to *Appian*, this Law, being ſent into the ſeveral towns of *Hetruria*, kept the people of that country ſteady to the intereſt of *Rome*. Some authors, however, mention a victory over the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, but it is uncertain, whether this victory was obtained before the paſſing of that Law, or after it.

Y. of R. 664. Bef. J. C. 88. Conſ-p. 363. Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital. l. iii. c. i. App. loc. cit. Vell. Pat. l. xi. c. xx. Cic. pro Arch. c. iv.

In the following Conſulſhip of CN. POMPEIUS STRABO [r], and L. PORCIUS CATO, new Cenſors were elected a year before the uſual time: And therefore *Sigonius* conjectures they were choſen to aſſign to the allies their proper tribes. That the allies might have little ſway in the Comitia, the Senate would not diſtribute them into the old thirty-five tribes, but created for them eight new tribes; ordering, that theſe ſhould give their ſuffrages the laſt, ſo that they ſeldom came to vote at all: an affair, which afterwards occaſioned great diſturbances in the Republic.

Another Law, which was at this time obtained by *C. Papirius Carbo*, and *M. Plautius Silvanus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, imported, that all foreigners, who were free of the cities, allied to the Republic by league, ſhould likewiſe have the Freedom of *Rome*, provided they had at that time an habitation in *Italy*, and gave their names in to the *Roman* Prætor, within ſixty days after the promulgation of the Law.

[r] *Cicero* tell us, that he was preſent at a conference between POMPEIUS the Conſul, and VETTIUS the general of the *Marſi*, who had given the *Romans* a cruel defeat the year before, in which the Conſul RUTILIUS was killed: It was held in ſight of the two camps, and managed with great decency: The Conſul's brother, *Sextus*, being an old acquaintance of VETTIUS, came from *Rome* on purpoſe to aſſiſt at it; and at the firſt ſight of each other, after lamenting the unhappy circumſtance of their meeting at the head of oppoſite armies, he aſked VETTIUS, by what title he ſhould now ſalute him, of friend or enemy; to which VETTIUS replied, "Call me friend by inclination, enemy by "neceſſity." *Quem te appellem, inquit: at Ille: Voluntate Hoſpitem, Neceſſitate Hoſtem.* Phil. xii. xi. which ſhews, that theſe old Warriors had not leſs politeneſs in their civil, than fierceneſs in their hoſtile encounters. *Midd. Life of Cic.* vol. i. p. 18.

This

This *Plautius*, by the assistance of the Nobles, procured a Law, which deprived the *Roman* Knights of the sole right of judicature. It ordained, that *each* tribe should, out of their own body, annually elect fifteen persons to act as Judges; an honour now made common to all the three orders in the state [s]. Cic. Orat. 1. pro. C. Corn. & Ascon. in loc. Liv. Epit. l. lxxiv.

At this time, great numbers of Citizens being plunged in debt, and their creditors demanding payment, not only of the principal, but of the interest; which last, though allowed by custom, was prohibited by law, the debtors not only refused to pay, but some of them even threatened to prosecute their creditors for usury. *A. Sempronius Asellio*, then Prætor Urbanus, after endeavouring in vain to reconcile the parties, gave permission to the debtors to plead the Law; which so inraged the creditors, that they fell upon him, and murdered him, while he was performing the sacrifice in the Forum. In this riot they were assisted by *L. Cassius*, one of the Tribunes of the People; and though the Senate offered a reward to whoever should discover the authors of the murder, effectual care was taken by the usurers to prevent the appearing of any informer. Val. Max. l. ix. c. iv. §. 4. App. p. 382.

DURING the broils in the City, war was carried on with vigour abroad. The Consul POMPEIUS continued the siege of *Asculum* [t], while his collegue PORCIUS CATO successfully fought several battles with the *Marsi*: but in an attempt to force their camp, he was slain [u], and his army routed. It would seem that, after this, POMPEIUS turned the siege of *Asculum* into a blockade; for it is said, that he routed the *Marsi* and *Marrucini*, and reduced the *Vestini* to surrender themselves. The Prætor Liv. Epit. l. lxxv. Liv. Epit. l. lxxv. lxxiv. App. p. 381.

[s] Some think, that the same Tribune was author of the Law *de vi*, which may be rendered *concerning assault and battery*: But others are of opinion, that this Law was not enacted till the year 675.

[t] *Vell. Pat.* reports, that an army of 75000 *Romans* fought a battle before *Asculum* with 60000 *Italians*; but he neither tells us at what time, nor who were the generals, nor which side gained the victory.

[u] If we may believe *Orosius*, l. v. c. xviii. CATO had boasted, that by his exploits he had equalled MARIUS; and, for this boasting, the son of MARIUS killed him, during a battle with the *Marsi*.

A. of R. 664. tor *Coſconius* took *Salapia* and *Cannæ*, and beſieged *Canuſium*, but the *Samnites* defeated him in battle, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege: yet, in a ſecond action, he, and the Prætor *Lucceius*, obtained a victory over them, and ſlew 15000 of their men, together with one of their leaders, *Marius Egnatius*.

Plin. l. iii. c. v. In the beginning of the campaign, SYLLA made himſelf maſter of *Stabiæ*, and razed it to the ground. He then joined to his own forces a *Roman* army, which had juſt ſlain their general *Poſthumius Albinus*, for treating them haughtily *. SYLLA made no enquiry concerning the criminals, alledging, that to make the crime be forgotten, the ſoldiers would fight with greater bravery.

Oroſ. l. v. c. xviii. Plut. in Sylla.

The hiſtorians have left us ſuch romantic accounts of ſome of the remaining exploits of SYLLA during this war, that it may reaſonably be ſuſpected, they took them from his own memoirs. We are told, that while he lay encamped near *Pompeii*, in *Campania*, *L. Cluentius* came and pitched his camp within three furlongs of him. This SYLLA looked upon as ſo great an affront, that though he had ſent out ſome part of his army to forage, he immediately gave battle to the enemy, in which he was vanquiſhed and put to flight. Nevertheleſs, the foragers having joined him, he again attacked *Cluentius*, defeated him, and forced him to remove his camp to a greater diſtance: the latter, however, got ſuccours from the *Gauls*, and then offered battle to SYLLA. When the two armies were drawn out, a huge *Gaul* came forward, and challenged the braveſt of the *Romans* to fight him: this gigantic hero being ſlain by a little *Numidian*, the *Gauls* were terrified, and inſtantly took to flight. The *Italians*, ſeeing their army broken, fled likewiſe. SYLLA purſued them and, before they could reach *Nola*, whither they bent their courſe, ſlew 30000 of them: and as the people of *Nola* would open but one of their gates, leſt the enemy ſhould enter with their friends, SYLLA cut off 20000 more of *Cluentius*'s army round the walls of that place, and,

App. p. 380.

* The Epitome of *Livy* ſays, *Albinus* was meditating treaſon.

among

among the reſt, *Cluentius* himſelf, who died fighting valiantly. Yet this hero it ſeems ſlew no body; for we are told, that SYLLA did not loſe * a ſingle man, or, at moſt, but one. What follows has leſs of the *marvellous*.

* Eutrop. l. v. c. ii.

The *Roman* general marched to *Æquulanum*, a town of the *Hirpini*, and ſummoned the inhabitants to ſurrender.—Theſe, expecting the *Lucanians* to come to their aſſiſtance that very day, deſired time to deliberate. SYLLA granted them only an hour, and employed that time in laying faggots to the walls, which were of wood. When the hour expired, he ſet fire to the faggots; and though the *Æquulani* ſurrendered themſelves, yet as fear had determined them to make this ſurrendry, SYLLA plundered the town, as if he had taken it by force. The reſt of the towns belonging to the *Hirpini* voluntarily ſubmitted.

App. loc. cit.

After theſe atchievements, SYLLA turned his arms againſt the *Samnites*. Near *Æſernia*, *Aponius* ſurpriſed him in a paſs, out of which it was not eaſy to eſcape. The *Roman*, to deceive the enemy, pretended a deſire to capitulate; and having obtained a truce, took advantage of it, while the *Samnites* were negligent, to march off in the night, leaving a trumpeter in his camp to ſound the watches. Returning ſuddenly by a way which *Aponius* did not think of, he fell upon him, and routed his army. In this action, *Aponius* was wounded, and few of his men eſcaped. SYLLA plundered the enemies camp, and then marched to *Bovianum*, which he took after an aſſault of three hours.

Frontin. Strat. l. i. c. v. §. xvii.

App. p. 381.

In the mean time, *A. Gabinius*, after ſome ſucceſsful engagements with the *Lucanians*, and reducing ſeveral of their towns, was ſlain in an attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the enemies camp.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxvi.

Sulpicius defeated the *Marrucini*, and forced them to ſubmit to the Republic.

The *Marſi* alſo, being frequently vanquiſhed by *Muræna* and *Metellus Pius*, at length ſued for peace.

To POMPEIUS, the *Veſtini* and *Peligni* made their ſubmiſſion. The latter having ſeized their general *Vettius*

Senec. de Benef. l. iii. c. xxiii.

A. of R. 665. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. ii.

tius Cato, in order to deliver him up to the *Romans*, one of his ſlaves ſnatched up a ſword and killed him. *Now*, ſaid he, *that I have ſet my maſter at liberty, it is time to provide for myſelf*; and in that inſtant ran the ſword through his own body.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. l. xxxvii.

Corfinium, the capital of the *Peligni*, being now in the hands of the *Romans*, the allies made *Æſernia*, in *Samnium*, their principal town, and choſe themſelves five generals, of whom the chief was *Pompedius Silo*.

App. p. 378. Oroſ. l. v. c. xviii.

Aſculum ſtill held out againſt POMPEIUS. *Judacilius*, one of the *Italian* commanders, and an *Aſculan* by birth, advanced to the relief of the place, but had only eight cohorts with him. To facilitate his enterprize, he gave notice to the *Aſculans* of his approach, deſiring them to make a ſally upon the beſiegers, as ſoon as he ſhould come in ſight. *Judacilius* had perſonal enemies in the place; and either by their influence, or through fear, the *Aſculans* kept cloſe within their walls. Nevertheleſs, ſword in hand, he forced his way over the *Roman* entrenchments, and marching with his men up to the gates of the town, was then received by the inhabitants: but deſpairing of the preſervation of the place, when he had firſt maſſacred all his enemies, he gave a great feaſt to his friends; at the cloſe of which, he drank off a cup of poiſon, that he might not ſurvive the ruin of his native city [y].

App. p. 379.

Oroſius. l. v. c. xviii.

POMPEIUS, after this, entered *Aſculum*. He put to death all who had any command in the place, and all the principal citizens, diſmiſſing the reſt of the inhabitants, after he had ſtripped them of their effects. The ſlaves, with all the plunder, (which he ſold;) in ſhort, the whole prey he converted to his own uſe, though the treaſury, as *Oroſius* tells us, was ſo much exhauſted, that the houſes about the Capitol, which had been aſ-

[y] The writers [*Appian* and *Oroſius*] who mention this ſtory, place it in the beginning of the ſiege of *Aſculum*, but it is not probable, that *Judacilius* would have killed himſelf ſo ſoon, had he ſeen the town in a condition to hold out a long ſiege. *Crevier.*

ſigned

ſigned to the ſeveral orders of prieſts and augurs, were ſold to raiſe money for the exigencies of the ſtate.

The conqueror had the honour of a triumph; and, among the reſt of the captives led in the proceſſion, were *P. Ventidius* and his wife; ſhe bearing in her arms a ſon, who afterwards became Conſul of *Rome*, and, in the time of the ſecond Triumvirate, had himſelf a triumph for his victories over the *Parthians*.

In the end of the campaign, SYLLA went to *Rome* to ſue for the Conſulſhip. He was forty-nine years of age, or, according to *Plutarch*, fifty: and few men had done greater exploits than he, before their arrival at that dignity [z]. But, probably, the credit and influence of MARIUS had ſtood in the way of his ambition. He now obtained the Conſular Faſces, and the People gave him for his collegue *Q. Pompeius Rufus*. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xvii. Plut. in Mar. Liv. Epit. l. lxxv. Y. of R. 665. Bef. J. C. 87. Conſ. p. 364.

The affairs of the allies continuing to decline, they

[z] Dr. *Middleton* obſerves, that "MARIUS in this war performed "nothing anſwerable to his great name and former glory: his advanced "age had increaſed his caution, and after ſo many triumphs and Con"ſulſhips, he was jealous of a reverſe of fortune; ſo that he kept him"ſelf wholly on the defenſive, and, like old FABIUS, choſe to tire out "the enemy by declining a battle; content with ſnatching ſome lit"tle advantages, that opportunity threw into his hands, without ſuf"fering them however to gain any againſt him.

"SYLLA, on the other hand, was ever active and enterprizing; he "had not yet obtained the Conſulſhip, and was now fighting for it, as "it were, in the ſight of the Citizens; ſo that he was conſtantly urging "the enemy to a battle, and glad of every opportunity to ſignalize his "military talents, and eclipſe the fame of MARIUS; in which he ſuc"ceeded to his wiſh, gained many conſiderable victories, and took ſe"veral of their cities by ſtorm, particularly *Stabiæ*, a town of *Campania*, "which he utterly demoliſhed. CICERO, who ſeems to have followed "his camp, as the chief ſcene of the war, and the beſt ſchool for a "young volunteer, gives an account of one action, of which he was "eye-witneſs, executed with great vigour and ſucceſs: *That as* SYLLA "*was ſacrificing before his tent in the fields of* Nola, *a ſnake happened to* "*creep out from under the bottom of the altar, upon which* Poſthumius, *the* "*Haruſpex, who attended the ſacrifice, proclaiming it to be a fortunate* "*omen, called out upon him to lead his army immediately againſt the enemy*; "SYLLA *took the benefit of the admonition, and drawing out his troops* "*without delay, attacked and took the ſtrong camp of the* Samnites *under* "*the walls of* Nola. This action was thought ſo glorious, that SYLLA "got the ſtory of it *painted* afterwards in his *Tuſculan villa*."

ſent

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. l. xxxvii.

ſent an embaſſy to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, requeſting ſuccours from him. The king anſwered, that he would paſs into *Italy* as ſoon as he had ſubdued *Aſia*.

Jul. Obſ. c. liv. App. p. 382.

POMPEDIUS, if *Diodorus* is to be credited, raiſed an army of above 50000 men, 21000 of which were ſlaves. With theſe forces he retook *Bovianum*, but was defeated in battle by *Mamercus*, and afterwards loſt his life in an engagement with METELLUS PIUS.

The *Samnites* and *Lucanians* ſtill continued in arms, but we hear of no more warlike exploits performed by them, or againſt them: The *Romans*, ſufficiently employed by their civil broils, and their war abroad with *Mithridates*, had little leiſure to attend to the total reduction of the revolted *Italians*. But, in concluſion, each nation of theſe allies obtained the Freedom of *Rome* ſucceſſively, upon laying down their arms. Even to the *Samnites*, and *Lucanians*, was at length granted the ſame privilege [a]. And, though ſome *Roman* hiſtorians would diſguiſe it, it ſeems plain that the Republic granted the Freedom of the City, not generouſly to each nation after ſubduing it, but by treaty, and as a condition of Peace.

App. loc. cit. Vell. Pat. l. ii. Strab. l. v. p. 241.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xv.

In this war periſhed 300000 men, *Romans* and *Italians*.

[a] M. *Monteſquiou* obſerves, that the *grant* which the *Romans* made to the *Italian* allies of the rights of the City, though conſidered at firſt as the foundation of a perpetual peace, was one of the cauſes, that haſtened the ruin of the ſtate; "for the enormous bulk, to which the City was "ſwelled by it, gave birth to many new diſorders, that gradually cor-"rupted, and at laſt deſtroyed it; and the diſcipline of the Laws cal-"culated for a People, whom the ſame walls could contain, was too "weak to keep in order the vaſt body of *Italy*: So that from this time "chiefly all affairs were decided by faction and violence, and the influ-"ence of the great; who could bring whole towns into the Forum "from the remote parts of *Italy*: or pour in a number of ſlaves and "foreigners under the form of Citizens; for when the names and per-"ſons of real Citizens could no longer be diſtinguiſhed, it was not poſ-"ſible to know, whether any act had paſſed regularly, by the genuine "ſuffrage of the People." *De la Grandeur des Remains*, c. ix.

This obſervation is doubtleſs very juſt, but it were to be wiſhed, that the ingenious writer, or his ingenious admirer, Dr. *Middleton*, had told us, how it was poſſible for the *Romans* to avoid making that conceſſion, without expoſing themſelves to inevitable ruin.

Midd. Life of Cic. p. 21.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The occaſion of the FIRST Mithridatic *War. It commences under the conduct of* THREE Roman *Generals.*

TO check the progreſs of *Mithridates*, was now the great affair of the Republic: He had made no oppoſition to SYLLA's replacing *Ariobarzanes* on the throne of *Cappadocia* (in 661); yet, not long after, had contrived to have him driven from thence a ſecond time. Vid. ſupr. p. 149.

Tigranes, king of *Armenia*, by his conqueſts, had very much extended the dominions left him by his anceſtors, and had formed a mighty empire. In order to draw him into a war with the *Romans*, *Mithridates* firſt engaged him to marry his daughter *Cleopatra*, and then, by the agency of *Gordius*, prevailed with him to undertake the dethroning of *Ariobarzanes*; the *Armenian* not imagining, that he ſhould thereby give offence to the *Roman* Republic. The *Cappadocian* king, inactive by nature, and unable to withſtand ſo powerful an invader, retired out of the country upon the firſt approach of *Tigranes*, and carried off all his ſubſtance. Juſt. l. xxxviii. c. iii.

Nicomedes Philopator, king of *Bithynia*, dying about this time, his ſon *Nicomedes* ſucceeded him, and was confirmed on the throne by a decree of the *Roman* Senate. He had a brother, *Socrates*, ſurnamed *Chreſtus*, who it ſeems made pretenſions to the kingdom. This man, with the aſſiſtance of ſome forces lent him by *Mithridates*, drove out *Nicomedes*, and took his place.

The two dethroned kings repaired to *Rome*, and there made their complaints to the Senate, who ordered ſome commiſſioners, at the head of whom was that *Manius Aquilius*, who terminated the war of the ſlaves in *Sicily*, to go into *Aſia*, and, in conjunction with *Caſſius*, then Proconſul of *Aſia*, and even with *Mithridates* himſelf, reinſtate *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes* in their reſpective Vid. ſupr. 128.

Y. of R. 665. Id. c. v. ſpective kingdoms. *Mithridates* would not give aſſiſtance to theſe commiſſioners; yet he quitely ſuffered them to reſtore the dethroned kings; and he put to death *Socrates Chreſtus*, who had taken refuge in his dominions.

During this ſeeming inaction of the king of *Pontus*, he took meaſures to ſtrenghten himſelf, by an offenſive treaty of alliance, which he made with *Tigranes*: it was agreed between them, that, of the conqueſts they ſhould make, the cities and countries ſhould belong to *Mithridates*, and all the men and plunder to *Tigranes*; who, in this article, had a view to the peopling of *Tigranocerta*, which he was then building, and which he intended to make one of the greateſt cities in the world. The king of *Pontus* gained likewiſe to the intereſt of his cauſe the *Gallo-greeks*, the *Sarmatæ* the *Baſtarnæ*, and the *Scythians*; in a word, he armed almoſt all upper *Aſia* againſt the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, to preſerve the appearance of juſtice, he forbore all acts of hoſtility againſt them, and confined himſelf to obſerving their motions. It was in theſe circumſtances, that he received an embaſſy from the *Italian* ſtates to invite him to join his forces with theirs; but, at that time, the affairs of *Aſia* were too much embroiled to permit his abſence.

App. Mithrid. p. 177. The occaſion he wanted and wiſhed for, to enter upon action, was ſoon furniſhed him by the *Roman* generals; who, for the ſake of enriching themſelves, had meditated the kindling a war in *Aſia*; with this view they endeavoured to perſuade *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* to invade the dominion of the king of *Pontus*; promiſing to lend them aſſiſtance. Neither of the kings was willing to provoke ſo powerful a neighbour: But, at length, the *Bithynian*, who owed a great ſum of money to the *Roman* generals, and commiſſioners, for his reſtoration, beſides what he had borrowed at intereſt from the *Aſiatic* Romans, entered the territories of *Mithridates* in a hoſtile manner, and ravaged the

the country, as far as *Amaſtris*. The king of *Pontus* had a conſiderable army on foot, yet, ſuffered, without reſiſtance, theſe depredations, that he might have many and juſt cauſes for the war: and though he knew that the *Roman* commiſſioners had incited the *Bithynian* to make this incurſion, he diſſembled his knowledge of it, and ſent one *Pelopidas*, to repreſent to them, that *Mithridates* was the friend and ally of *Rome*, and to deſire, that they would aſſiſt him againſt *Nicomedes*, or, at leaſt, oblige that prince to give him ſatisfaction for the injuries he had already ſuffered from him. The *Bithynian* Ambaſſadors, on the other hand, accuſed the king of *Pontus* of ill deſigns againſt the *Roman* Republic; deſigns, which they ſaid, he had ſufficiently diſcovered, by aſſiſting *Socrates* to dethrone their maſter, whom the Senate and People of *Rome* had declared king of *Bithynia*; by having ſeized upon many places in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, though the *Romans* had forbidden all the *Aſiatic* kings to hold any poſſeſſions in *Europe*; and by the great preparations he had made for war, and the numerous alliances he had formed. *Pelopidas* replied, that there was no occaſion for long diſputes, the commiſſioners ſeeing very well the ſtate of affairs, and therefore he again deſired they would reſtrain *Nicomedes*, or grant aid to *Mithridates*, or ſuffer him to defend himſelf. As the king of *Pontus* had not yet violated the league with *Rome*, the commiſſioners were at a loſs what anſwer to return. At length they pronounced, that it was not their pleaſure *Nicomedes* ſhould moleſt *Mithridates*, nor would they allow the king of *Pontus* to make war upon the king of *Bithynia*; it being contrary to the intereſt of the *Roman* Republic, that the *Bithynian* ſhould ſuffer any detriment. *Pelopidas* would have objected to this declaration, but they would not hear him. Idem. p. 178.

Mithridates, on his return home, thinking himſelf openly injured by the *Romans*, ſent his ſon *Ariarathes* with an army into *Cappadocia*, to ſeize the kingdom; which

Y. of R. 665. which he did without great difficulty. After this expedition, the king of *Pontus* diſpatched *Pelopidas*, a ſecond time, to the commiſſioners. The Ambaſſador told them, that what had been done in *Cappadocia*, contrary to their inclinations, was entirely owing to the iniquity of their conduct, and the prevarication of their anſwers; that his maſter had ſent to *Rome* a complaint againſt them, and that he ſummoned them to appear there, and defend their cauſe. He then admoniſhed them not to enter upon a war, without being authorized by a decree from the *Roman* Senate and People, and boaſted of the greatneſs of *Mithridates*, reckoning up the nations that were ſubject to him, and the number of his allies; and concluded, with aſking them, either to reſtrain *Nicomedes* from making war upon *Pontus* (in which caſe he promiſed them his maſter's aſſiſtance to reduce the *Italians*) or renounce that ſpecious league, which had nothing of friendſhip in it, but the name. Provoked at this diſcourſe, the commiſſioners ordered *Mithridates* totally to quit *Cappadocia*, and to forbear all hoſtilities againſt *Nicomedes*; adding, that they would take effectual care, that *Ariobarzanes* ſhould be immediately reſtored to his dominions. They then commanded the Ambaſſador to leave their preſence, and forbad him to return, unleſs the king obeyed the *Romans*.

App. in Mithridat. p. 180.

Idem. p. 181.

Without waiting for orders from the Senate, the commiſſioners haſtened to form a mighty army. *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Gallo-greece*; furniſhed them with troops, which, added to the *Roman* forces, made up 120000 men. Theſe they divided into three equal bodies, commanded by three generals; *L. Caſſius*, Proconſul of *Aſia*, *M. Aquilius*, and *Q. Oppius*. The Proconſul encamped on the confines of *Bithynia* and *Gallo-greece*; *Aquilius* ſeized the paſſes by which the king of *Pontus* might enter *Bithynia*; and *Oppius* poſted himſelf on the borders of *Cappadocia*. They had alſo a fleet, which, under the command of *Minucius Rufus*, and

and *C. Popilius*, guarded the ſtreights of the *Euxine* ſea. Beſides theſe forces, *Nicomedes* brought into the field an army of 50000 foot and 6000 horſe.

On the other hand, *Mithridates* made it appear, that *Pelopidas* had not exaggerated, when he boaſted of his maſter's ſtrength. The king's army conſiſted of 250000 foot, and 40000 horſe. He had beſides 130 armed chariots, and 400 ſhips of war. His ſon-in-law, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, aſſiſted him in this war, and the kings of *Parthia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, favoured his cauſe. His chief generals were *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus*, two brothers, *Cappadocians*, but he frequently commanded in perſon.

Near the river *Amnias* in *Paphlagonia*, *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus*, with the light armed infantry, 10000 *Armenian* horſe, and ſome chariots, attacked *Nicomedes*, though greatly ſuperior in numbers, and totally overthrew him. The king of *Pontus* treated all the priſoners kindly, and ſent them home without ranſom. This victory, obtained without the aſſiſtance of the phalanx, and without advantage of ground, over ſuperior numbers, by the ſkill of the generals, and the bravery of the ſoldiers, made the *Roman* commiſſioners perceive, that they had been more haſty, than wiſe, to kindle a war of ſuch conſequence, before they were authorized by a public decree. Strab. l. xii. p. 562. App. Mithrid. p. 182. Idem. p. 183.

On the approach of *Mithridates*, *Aquilius* retreated; *Neoptolemus* purſued him, forced him to an engagement, and defeated him. He fled to the river *Sangar*; croſſed it in the night, and continued his flight to *Pergamus*. *Caſſius*, on this news, retired to *Leontocephale*, a ſtrong caſtle in *Phrygia*; but ſoon quitted that place, and ſhut himſelf up in *Apamea*. *Nicomedes* took refuge in *Pergamus*; *Oppius* in *Laodicea*. The land forces of the *Romans* being thus diſperſed, their fleet deſerted the entrance of the *Euxine* ſea, and left the *Bithynian* ſhips a prey to *Mithridates*'s admiral. In a ſhort time, all ſubmitted to the king of *Pontus*. He treated the inhabitants

Y. of R. 665. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. iii.

tants with great clemency, forgave the debts they owed to the crown, and remitted the cuſtomary tribute for five years.

After this, he overran *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Aſia Propria*, *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*. Few places made any reſiſtance, and he poſſeſſed himſelf of all the towns and iſlands of *Aſia Minor*, except *Rhodes*. The *Laodiceans* having, on the king's ſummons, delivered up to him *Q. Oppius*, the *Roman* general, he ſpared his life, but led him about as a ſpectacle. *Aquilius*, the author of the war, whom the people of *Mitylene* in *Leſbos* had delivered up, was treated with extreme rigour. *Mithridates* made him go along with the army mounted upon an aſs, and forced him frequently to proclaim, that he was *Manius Aquilius*, the *Roman* Proconſul. At laſt he cauſed him to be put to death at *Pergamus*, by pouring melted gold down his throat, in reproach of the *Roman* avidity.

Liv. Epit. lxxviii. App. Mithrid. p. 184.

Val. Max. l. ix. c. xiii. §. i. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. iii.

CHAP. X.

Civil Commotions raiſed by MARIUS *and* SYLLA *(now Conſul, Year of* Rome 665.*)* SYLLA *procures the baniſhment of his rival. The diſtreſſes and adventures of* MARIUS. *He paſſes into* Africa. *He returns into* Italy *on the invitation of* CINNA, *Conſul in* 666. *The violence and cruelties of* MARIUS *and* CINNA. MARIUS *dies in his 7th Conſulſhip, Year of Rome* 667.

Plut. in Syl.

AS the Republic had reſolved to ſend an army againſt *Mithridates*, the Conſul SYLLA, among many competitors, ſhewed an extreme eagerneſs to have the command of it; and either by lot, or by appointment, it fell to him. MARIUS had long ſet his heart upon this commiſſion; for notwithſtanding his years and infirmities, he was ſtill tormented with ambition and the thirſt of glory, paſſions (ſays *Plutarch*) which never grow old in man. His avarice likewiſe ſided with his ambition: *Aſia* abounded with riches, and a war in that country he thought would be more lucrative than difficult.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 383. Plut. in Mar.

difficult. Nevertheleſs, he pretended that his ſole reaſon for deſiring this province, was to have an opportunity of teaching his ſon the art of war. To perſuade the People, that he had yet a conſtitution fit to endure the fatigues of a military life, he daily went into the *Campus Martius*, and there, though ſeventy years of age, and extremely corpulent, performed his exerciſes among the *Roman* youth, contending with them in horſemanſhip, &c.

The better to ſucceed in his project, he joined himſelf with *P. Sulpicius*, then Tribune of the People. This man, ſays *Paterculus*, was rich and eloquent, had great talents, great ſpirits, and great intereſt; and whereas formerly he had endeavoured to eſtabliſh to himſelf a name, by honourable methods, yet now, as if he repented of his virtues, he all on a ſudden ran headlong into wickedneſs. When very young, he had ſignalized himſelf, by accuſing of treaſon the famous *C. Norbanus*, whom ANTONIUS, the orator, defended. He is mentioned in ſeveral parts of CICERO's works [a], and with great commendation of his eloquence. His entrance into public life, according to that author, was very promiſing: But his eagerneſs, when Tribune, to hinder *C. Cæſar Strabo* from being Conſul before he had paſſed through the Prætorſhip, and the applauſes he met with from the People, on that occaſion, carried him farther than he at firſt intended. *Plutarch* tells us, that in *Sulpicius* were united cruelty, impudence, avarice, and all ſorts of vice: ſo that it was needleſs to enquire wherein his wickedneſs exceeded that of other men, but wherein it ſurpaſſed itſelf. It ſeems, he propoſed SATURNINUS for his model, and, as the only thing which he blamed in that model, was his not being daring and quick enough in his enterprizes, he himſelf immediately appeared attended with a guard of 3000 men, among whom were 600 Knights. This guard he called the *Anti ſenate*. He alſo publickly ſold the

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 18.

Cic. de Orat. l. ii. c. xlvii. & ſeq.

Id. de Orat. l. i. vii.

De Har. Reſp. c. xx.

In Brut. c. lxiii.

Plut. in Sylla & in Mar.

[a] *De Har. Reſp.* c. xix. *In Brut.* c. xlix. lv. CICERO makes him one of the ſpeakers in the three dialogues he compoſed DE ORATORE.

A. of R. 665. freedom of the City to ſtrangers and freedmen [b], and received the money at a table placed in the Forum. One of his collegues had propoſed a Law for recalling thoſe exiles [c], who had been ſent into baniſhment without being heard; but *Sulpicius* would not ſuffer the Law to paſs. Auct. ad Herenn. l. ii. c. xxviii. Afterwards, nevertheleſs, he himſelf propoſed the ſame Law, without allowing it to be the ſame, becauſe he had changed the word *exiles* into the words *thoſe who had been ejected by force*. He then propoſed ſeveral other Laws, among which one prohibited the Senators from contracting debts [d] above the value of 2000 *denarii*. Another ordered, that the new Citizens (meaning the *Italians*) and the freedmen ſhould not, in voting, be confined to certain tribes, but be diſperſed through the whole; a third was for transferring from SYLLA to MARIUS the conduct of the *Aſiatic* expedition. Plut. in Sylla. 64l. 11s. 8d. Arbuthnot. Liv. Epit. l. lxxvii. Aſcon. in Orat. in t. pro. Corn.

To defeat theſe projects, the Conſuls proclaimed holidays, which laſted a long time, during which, it was not lawful to aſſemble the Comitia: But the Tribune, having gathered about him a multitude, went to the Senate-houſe, and commanded the Conſuls, POMPEIUS and SYLLA, to revoke their edict concerning the holidays, that the People might give their votes with regard to the Laws in queſtion. The Conſuls refuſed: *Sulpicius*'s party drew their daggers; POMPEIUS made his eſcape, his ſon was killed, and SYLLA, being cloſely purſued, took refuge in MARIUS's houſe. Some ſay, that MARIUS let him out at a back door: but SYLLA, in his own memoirs quoted by *Plutarch*, denied, that he took refuge in MARIUS's houſe, and affirmed, that *Sulpicius*'s followers forced him thither, and then obliged him to return to the Forum, and revoke the edict App. de Bel. Civ. l. i. p. 383. App. p. 384. Plut. in Sylla & in Mar.

[b] The *Roman* freedmen had not a title to all the rights of Citizenſhip.

[c] It would ſeem, that by the exiles are meant thoſe who had been baniſhed by the *Lex Varia*, mentioned above, p. 158.

[d] Yet, after the death of *Sulpicius*, it was found, that he himſelf had contracted debts to the amount of three Millions of Denarii, that is, about 96875 pounds ſterling.

in

in queſtion [e]. Be that as it will, it is certain, he revoked the edict, for which reaſon *Sulpicius* left him in poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip, degrading only his collegue POMPEIUS. SYLLA, immediately after the tumult, left the City, and joined his army, then employed in the ſiege of *Nola*, which ſtill held out againſt the Republic. The Tribune, having obtained the Laws he propoſed [f], ſent two officers to *Nola*, to receive the army from SYLLA; but the ſoldiers fell upon them, and murdered them. MARIUS, in revenge, put to death many of SYLLA's friends in the City, and confiſcated their effects. In the mean time, SYLLA marched his troops, conſiſting of 30000 foot and 5000 horſe, towards *Rome*. *Appian* tells us, that they followed him very readily, becauſe they hoped, that under his conduct they ſhould enrich themſelves by the plunder of *Aſia*, and feared leſt MARIUS would make uſe of another army in the *Mithridatic* war. All things were in confuſion at *Rome*. Some (among whom was the Conſul POMPEIUS) fled to the Camp of SYLLA, while others, deſerting SYLLA [g], took refuge in the City. The Senate found themſelves obliged to obey the orders of *Sulpicius* and MARIUS. Theſe, on SYLLA's approach, ſent to him two of the Prætors, *Servilius* and *Brutus* [h], forbidding him to proceed any farther on his march. The ſoldiers inſulted thoſe Magiſtrates, pulled off their robes, and broke the

[e] *Vell. Pat.* and *Eutropius* ſay, that SYLLA was with an army in *Campania*, during this tumult, contrary to what *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Sylla*'s own Memoirs affirm. [If thoſe Memoirs of *Sylla* were genuine, it may reaſonably be aſked, why did not *Paterculus* follow them?]

[f] According to *Appian*, *Sulpicius* concealed his deſign of giving the conduct of the *Mithridatic* war to MARIUS, till after the tumult above mentioned, and his obtaining the Law, authorizing the new citizens and the freedmen to vote in all the tribes: Nor did SYLLA ſuſpect any thing of the matter till he joined his army at *Nola*.

[g] The ſame writer tells us, that none of SYLLA's principal officers ſtaid with him, except his Quæſtor.

[h] Ambaſſadors were ſent ſeveral times to SYLLA to enquire, why he approached the City in arms? to which he always anſwered, that his deſign was to reſcue it from tyranny. At laſt MARIUS and *Sulpicius* ſent orders to him, in the name of the Senate, not to come within five miles of *Rome*. Appian.

Y. of R. 665. Faſces of their Lictors. Hereupon the Senate diſpatched new Ambaſſadors to SYLLA, intreating him not to come nearer the City, and promiſing to ſatisfy him. He anſwered, that he would ſtay where he was; and, as if he intended ſo to do, ordered a camp to be marked out: but the Ambaſſadors were no ſooner gone, than he detached two of his officers, with a body of men, to ſeize one of the gates of *Rome*, and the wall near the *Eſquiline* hill. The detachment entered the City, but the inhabitants drove them back to the foot of the walls. In that inſtant, SYLLA arriving, commanded his men to ſet fire to the houſes, and he himſelf gave the example. MARIUS, *Sulpicius*, and their followers, made what reſiſtance they could; and promiſed freedom to all ſlaves that would arm in their cauſe. Few, or none, daring to join them, they fled out of the City. SYLLA marched on to the Capitol, where he aſſembled the Senate; and propoſed to them the baniſhment of *Sulpicius*, MARIUS, and the ſon of MARIUS, together with nine more of their principal adherents. Of all the Senators, Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA was the only man who refuſed to concur in this vote; and when SYLLA endeavoured to terrify him by menaces, he boldly anſwered, "Although you ſhould threaten me with death, and "give me up to thoſe ſoldiers, with whom you have "ſurrounded the Senate-houſe, you ſhall never per-"ſuade me, for the ſake of a life, now exhauſted to the "dregs, to pronounce MARIUS an enemy, who has "ſaved *Italy* and *Rome*." The decree paſſed; and it would ſeem that SYLLA, by edict, ſet a price upon the heads of the exiles, and confiſcated their eſtates.

Val. Max. l. iii. c. viii. § v.

Val. Max. l. vi. c. v. § vii.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 386.

Sulpicius being taken through the treachery of his ſlave, was put to death, and his head fixed upon the Roſtra. To reward the ſlave, SYLLA gave him his freedom; and to puniſh his treachery, cauſed him to be thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock. The two Conſuls, after their victory, took great care that the City ſhould not be pillaged by the ſoldiers. The next day, having convened the *general aſſembly*, they notified, that

that for the future, the People ſhould not be aſſembled by tribes, but by centuries, and that nothing ſhould be brought before the Comitia, till it had been firſt approved by the Senate. They likewiſe annulled all thoſe acts of *Sulpicius*, which had been paſſed ſince the proclamation of the holidays: and, to have a Senate at their devotion, they created (if we may believe *Appian*) three hundred new Senators. To the Conſul POMPEIUS was aſſigned the command of an army, which then ſerved under his kinſman *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, who had reduced *Aſculum*.

Affairs being thus regulated, SYLLA ſent his troops before him to *Capua*, intending ſoon to ſet out for *Aſia*. The *Marian* faction, in the mean time, laid a ſnare (as it is ſaid) for his life, and the People were ſo exaſperated againſt him, that, at the election of certain Magiſtrates, they not only paſſed by his nephew and his friend, but choſe two of the candidates, whom they thought the moſt diſagreeable to him. On this occaſion he affected to ſay, that he was pleaſed to ſee the People make uſe of the liberty he had procured them. Plut. in Sylla.

When the Conſul POMPEIUS came to take the command of the army appointed him, *Strabo* gave it up to him, without any ſeeming reluctance: But the next day, the ſoldiers, ſuborned by their old general, fell upon the Conſul, while he was ſacrificing, and killed him. *Strabo* pretended to be in great wrath for this murder, yet he reſumed his former command. App. p. 388. Vell. Pat. l ii. c. xx. Val. Max. l. ix. c. vii. §. vi.

At *Rome*, SYLLA, to ingratiate himſelf with the People, ſuffered them to give the Conſular faſces to L. CORNELIUS CINNA, a Patrician of their own party; but had the precaution to make him ſolemnly ſwear, he would ſupport *his* intereſt. The other Conſul was CN. OCTAVIUS, a peaceable man, and a ſtrict obſerver of the Laws. Y. of R. 666. Bef. J. C. 86. Conſ-p. 365. Plut. in Sylla.

CINNA, raſh in counſel, (ſays *Paterculus*) but a man in action, dared what no man of virtue would dare, and performed what none but a man of the greateſt reſolution could have performed. No ſooner did he enter Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xxiv. Plut. in Sylla.

Y. of R. 666. upon his office, than he began to entertain projects for overturning all that SYLLA had done; and even excited *Virginius*, a Tribune of the People, to accuse him of a capital crime: But SYLLA, neglecting the accusation, set out for his province. According to *Appian*, the friends of the exiles, depending upon CINNA, began to revive MARIUS's proposal of dispersing the new Citizens among all the tribes; and CINNA had been gained to favour this project, by a bribe of 300 talents: His collegue OCTAVIUS undertook the cause of the old Citizens. On the day, when the Comitia met to determine concerning this affair, the two parties, each headed by a Consul, came to a battle in the Forum: victory declared for OCTAVIUS, and, if one may believe *Plutarch*, near 10000 of the new Citizens were slain [i].

App. p. 389.

58125 l. Arb.

Plut. in Sertor.

CINNA, who had depended upon his superiority in number, seeing his party, contrary to his expectation, defeated, ran up and down, inviting the slaves, by a promise of liberty, to take arms. This stratagem not succeeding, he left *Rome*, and made a progress through several towns of the allies, soliciting them every where to revolt, and raising money for the expences of the war. While he was thus employed, *C. Marius Gratidianus*, *C. Milonius*, and *Q. Sertorius* [k] joined him, but

[i] *Appian* relates the affair thus. CINNA and his party, armed with daggers under their gowns, took possession of the Forum. OCTAVIUS, attended by the honester part of the People, armed likewise with daggers, kept at home, till he was informed, that the majority of the Tribunes, having forbid proceeding to pass the Law, the new Citizens had driven them from the Rostra; then he, and his followers, broke like a torrent into the Forum, pushed through the midst of the croud, and having frighted away the rioters, retired to the temple of *Castor*; for *out of regard to his collegue he forbore to attack him.* Nevertheless, the followers of OCTAVIUS fell upon the new Citizens, killed many of them, and drove the rest out of the City.

[k] SERTORIUS, according to *Plutarch*, was present at the late conflict in the Forum, and fled from thence together with CINNA. He had, not long before, stood for the Tribuneship; but though he was so great a favourite of the People, that, one day, when he entered the Theatre, they broke out into a shout of applause, yet he lost his election through the influence of SYLLA's party. *Plut. in Sertor.*

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the Senate paſſed a decree againſt him to this effect; *Becauſe* CINNA *has deſerted the Republic in her danger, and called the ſlaves to arms, we declare him fallen from his right of Citizenſhip, and depoſe him from the office of Conſul.* In his place was ſubſtituted L. CORNELIUS MERULA, then Flamen Dialis Hereupon CINNA haſtened to *Capua*, where was quartered a *Roman* army, and having gained the officers who commanded it, and, by their means, got the troops convened, he entered the Aſſembly without the Faſces, and in the habit of a private man. Then, with tears, addreſſing himſelf to the ſoldiers: *From you, Citizens, I received the honour of the Conſulſhip: what you gave me by your ſuffrages, the Senate, without conſulting you, has taken from me. This injury I do not lament ſo much for my own ſake, as for yours. What occaſion will there be hereafter to court the favour of the tribes? What occaſion for Aſſemblies and Comitia? And wherein can you be uſeful, if you ſuffer your determinations to be ſo eaſily annulled?* After complaining much of his own misfortunes, he rent his garment, and coming down from the place where he had harangued, threw himſelf upon the ground, before the Aſſembly. The ſoldiers, moved with compaſſion, raiſed him up, gave him back his Faſces, and deſired him to take courage, and lead them wherever his affairs ſhould require. That this opportunity might not be loſt, both officers and ſoldiers immediately took an oath of fidelity to CINNA. App. p. 390.

In the mean time, OCTAVIUS and MERULA made diligent preparation for the defence of *Rome*, and ſent to make levies of ſoldiers, not only among the allies, but among the *Gauls*. They moreover ordered *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* to come inſtantly with his army to the aſſiſtance of the Republic. He had continued at the head of this army ever ſince the murder of his kinſman (SYLLA's collegue in the Conſulſhip) who had been appointed to command it, as we have before obſerved. Some ſay, that *Strabo* firſt offered his ſervice to CINNA, who rejected it: Others, that, by encouraging both parties, he fomented a war which he could eaſily have ſup- Oroſ. l. v. c. xix. Liv. Epit. l. lxxix.

Y. of R. 666. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xxi.

ſuppreſſed in the beginning. Be that as it will, he marched to *Rome*, and joined OCTAVIUS, but acted in ſuch a manner, as made it viſible he had nothing in view, but his own intereſt. CINNA, on the other hand, to give credit to his party, ſent to recal MARIUS and his ſon from baniſhment.

Plut. in Mar.

We have already ſeen, that SYLLA drove MARIUS from *Rome*, and ſet a price upon his head. In the evening of that day, on which he made his eſcape, he arrived at a villa of his own, called *Salonium*, and from thence ſent his ſon to ſome neighbouring farms belonging to his father-in-law MUCIUS, there to provide neceſſaries for their voyage. He himſelf went, in the mean time, to *Oſtia*, where his friend *Numerius*, having prepared him a ſhip, he, without ſtaying for his ſon, but taking with him *Granius*, his wife's ſon by a former huſband, weighed anchor. Paſſing along the coaſt of *Italy* with a favourable wind, he was in no ſmall apprehenſion of one *Geminius*, a man of great intereſt at *Tarracina*, and his enemy. He therefore bad the ſailors keep off from that place, and they were willing to obey, but the wind changing, and blowing hard from the ſea, and their veſſel being ſcarce able to reſiſt the waves, MARIUS too being indiſpoſed, and ſea-ſick, it was with great difficulty they could get ſo far as *Circeii*, on this ſide of *Tarracina*.

The ſtorm now increaſing, and their proviſions failing, they went on ſhore, and wandered up and down they knew not whither; avoiding, as it uſually happens in great dangers, the preſent evil, and relying on uncertain hopes. The land and the ſea were both perilous: They feared to meet with people, and yet, wanting food, feared more to meet with no body. Towards night they light upon a few poor herdſmen, who unhappily had nothing to give them: But, knowing MARIUS, they adviſed him to get away, as ſoon as poſſible, for they had ſeen a party of horſe in ſearch of him. MARIUS ſeeing that his attendants, ſpent with long faſting, were unable to go farther, turned aſide out of the road,

road, and hid himſelf in a thick wood, where he paſſed the night in great diſtreſs. The next day, though pinched with hunger, yet willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had left, he travelled by the ſea ſide, encouraging his companions by prophecies, upon which he ſaid he depended. He told them, that when he was a child, he brought home an eagle's neſt, in which were ſeven young ones, and that his parents, much aſtoniſhed at the accident (for it is ſaid, that an eagle never hatches more than two) having conſulted the diviners, theſe had declared, that he would be the greateſt amongſt men, and be ſeven times poſſeſſed of the higheſt Magiſtracy in his country.

When he and his company were now about two miles and a half from *Minturnæ*, they eſpied a troop of horſe making towards them with all ſpeed, and, at the ſame time, two ſhips pretty near the ſhore. Hereupon they ran as faſt as they could to the ſea, and plunging themſelves into it, ſwam to the ſhips. *Granius*, and thoſe that were with him, got into one of them, and paſſed over to the oppoſite iſland, called *Ænaria*. MARIUS, heavy, and unwieldy, was, with much difficulty, borne above the water by two ſlaves, and put aboard the other ſhip. In this inſtant, the ſoldiers arrived at the ſea ſide, and from thence called out to the mariners, to bring their veſſel to ſhore, or elſe to throw out MARIUS. He, on the other hand, beſought them with tears, not to deliver him up to his enemies. The mariners, after a conſultation, wherein they inclined ſometimes to the one ſide, ſometimes to the other, at length anſwered poſitively, that they would not deliver up MARIUS. But, ſoon after the ſoldiers were gone away, and out of ſight, the ſailors brought the veſſel to an anchor, at the mouth of the *Liris*, where it makes a great marſh; and then they adviſed MARIUS to go on ſhore, and refreſh himſelf, till the wind ſhould come fair, which, they ſaid, would ſoon happen; for that, when the ſea breeze fell, there generally aroſe a freſh gale from the marſh. MARIUS liſtened to their advice, and when they had ſet him on ſhore, he laid himſelf down in a place not far from

Y. of R. 666. from the ſea, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting what was to befal him: For the mariners, preſently after, weighed anchor, and ſailed away, not thinking it excuſable to deliver MARIUS into the hands of thoſe who ſought to deſtroy him, nor conſiſtent with their own ſafety to protect him. Deſerted thus by all, he lay a good while ſilent on the ground: at length, collecting the remains of his ſtrength, he got up, and travelled along moſt diſconſolately. After wading through bogs, and ditches full of water and mud, he at laſt ſtumbled upon an old man's cottage, who worked in the fens. Falling at his feet, he beſought him to give aſſiſtance to a perſon, who, if he eſcaped the preſent danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, whether he had formerly known MARIUS, or was then moved, ſays *Plutarch*, with the majeſty of his countenance, anſwered, *If you want only reſt, you may repoſe yourſelf conveniently in my cottage; but if you are flying from an enemy, I will hide you in a more retired and ſecret place.* MARIUS having deſired he would do him that good office, the old man led him to a cave by the river ſide, and there covered him with reeds, and other light things, which would conceal, but not burden him. Scarce had he laid himſelf down, when he was diſturbed by a great noiſe from the cottage. His enemy, *Geminius*, had ſent horſemen from *Tarracina* in purſuit of him, and ſome of them happening to come that way, moſt ſeverely menaced the poor old man, as one who had entertained and concealed an enemy to *Rome*. MARIUS, thinking himſelf in imminent danger, ſtripped off his clothes, and, leaving his concealment, plunged himſelf into a great pool of water. From thence his purſuers dragged him naked, and all covered with mud, and, in that condition, carried him away to *Minturnæ*, where they delivered him into the hands of the Magiſtrates. There had been publiſhed throughout all the towns of *Italy*, a decree of the Senate, importing, that ſearch ſhould be made for him, and that he ſhould be put to death, if he were found. The Magiſtrates therefore,

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in obedience to this decree, caſt him into priſon, and ſent a ſlave, belonging to the Public, a *Cimbrian* by birth, to cut off his head: for none of their own Citizens would undertake the office.

Several authors have reported, that MARIUS, ſeeing the ſlave enter the priſon, ſaid to him with a ſtrong voice, *Haſt thou the audaciouſneſs to kill* MARIUS? and that, at theſe words, the *Cimbrian* inſtantly ran away into the town, and, throwing down his ſword before the people, cried out, *I have not the power to kill* MARIUS: Nevertheleſs, it would ſeem, from certain paſſages in CICERO, that this ſtory is an invention of ſome of the later writers. Be that as it will, the *Minturnenſes* furniſhed MARIUS with a ſhip and proviſions; he ſailed firſt to *Ænaria*, where having found *Granius*, and the reſt of his company, that had eſcaped thither, he, together with them, ſteered his courſe towards *Africa*. Want of water forced him to put in near *Eryx* in *Sicily*. A *Roman* Quæſtor, who guarded that coaſt, fell upon MARIUS at his landing, ſlew ſixteen of his men, and was near taking him priſoner. The illuſtrious fugitive, however, at length arrived in *Africa*, and went on ſhore near *Carthage*, in the hope, that *Sextilius*, the Prætor of that province, a man to whom he had done neither good nor harm, would, out of mere compaſſion, aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs. But ſcarce was he landed, when an officer from *Sextilius* forbad him to ſet foot in that country, and declared to him, that if he did not obey, he would be treated, conformably to the decree of the Senate, as an enemy to *Rome*. MARIUS, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this meſſage, remained a conſiderable time without ſpeaking a word, his eyes fixed upon the meſſenger. The man, at length, aſked him, what anſwer he ſhould carry back to the Prætor? *Go tell him* (ſaid MARIUS) *that you have ſeen* MARIUS, *an exile from his country, and ſitting among the ruins of* Carthage: meaning by this (ſays *Plutarch*) to propoſe the fortune of that city, and his own fortune, as inſtructive leſſons to the Prætor. He went again on board, and wander-

Liv. Epit. l. lxxvii. V. Pat. V. Max. Plut. App. & alii.

Cic. pro Plancio, c. x. pro Sext. c. xxii. Plut. in Mar.

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Y. of R. 666. ed about, in thoſe ſeas, a great part of the winter. His ſon *Marius*, who had taken refuge in the court of *Mandreſtal* (or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Hiempſal*) king of *Numidia*, came from thence, and joined his father.

We left the younger *Marius* in *Italy*, at ſome farms belonging to *Mucius*, whither he had been ſent to get neceſſaries for his father's voyage, the very day his father ſet ſail from that country. While the ſon was buſy in executing his commiſſion, he had like to have been ſurpriſed by ſome troopers, who were in ſearch of his father; but by the care of *Mucius*'s ſteward, who had notice of their approach, he was put into a cart covered over with beans, and conveyed to his wife at *Rome*. From thence, together with *Cethegus*, and ſome others, he made his eſcape in the night, went on board a ſhip, paſſed into *Africa*, and there implored the protection of the king of *Numidia*. *Hiempſal* treated him, and his companions, with great civility; but whenever they expreſſed an intention to depart, found ſome pretext or other to detain them, and it was manifeſt he made thoſe delays with no good deſign. An accident contributed greatly to their preſervation. The hard fortune of young *Marius*, who was very handſome, nearly touched one of the king's concubines, and this her pity was the beginning of her love, and a veil to cover it. At firſt, he avoided all engagements with her; but, finding he had no other probable way of making his eſcape from *Numidia*, and that her paſſion was no leſs generous, than violent, he returned it with kindneſs; and ſhe, in requital, procured him, and his friends, the means of eſcaping. Having joined his father, they left *Africa*, and ſailed for *Italy*, whither MARIUS, as was before mentioned, had been invited by CINNA. As ſoon as they landed, they ſet about raiſing ſoldiers. MARIUS proclaimed liberty to all ſlaves that would arm in his quarrel, and, in a ſhort time, got together a conſiderable body of troops; which was ſoon after ſtrengthened by 500 of his party from *Rome*. He then ſent a deputation in form to CINNA, offering to ſerve under him,

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and obey his orders as Conſul. All CINNA's officers, except SERTORIUS, were of opinion, that MARIUS ſhould be received. SERTORIUS, a great warrior, but prudent and moderate, and who dreaded the revengeful temper of MARIUS, remonſtrated to CINNA, that, without the aſſiſtance of MARIUS, he was powerful enough to triumph over his enemies; that MARIUS, if received, would rob him of the glory and advantage of the war, and prove a troubleſome and unfaithful partner in the government. CINNA owned all this to be very juſt and ſolid; but he added, *With what face can I reject a man, whom I myſelf have invited to join with me in the war?* To which SERTORIUS replied, *I thought* MARIUS *had come into* Italy *of his own accord, and therefore I only conſidered what, in that caſe, was expedient to be done. But ſince he is here by your invitation, you ought not to have even deliberated, whether you are to receive and employ him. Your promiſe given precludes all conſultation and uncertainty.* Plut. in Sertor.

CINNA hereupon wrote immediately to MARIUS, gave him the title of Proconſul, and ſent him the faſces, and other badges of that dignity. MARIUS would not accept of theſe honours: he ſaid, they did not ſuit with his preſent misfortunes. From the day that he fled from *Rome* he had worn an old robe, and neglected his hair and beard; and he walked ſlowly, like a man oppreſſed with calamities: But, through the diſguiſe of that doleful countenance, ſomething was diſcerned ſo fierce, that he rather created terror, than moved compaſſion. Plut. in Mar.

After he had joined CINNA, they marched together, and encamped on the *Tiber*: CINNA and *Carbo* againſt *Rome*; SERTORIUS above it; and MARIUS lower down towards the ſea. The laſt applied himſelf to cut off all proviſions, that were ſent up the river to ſupply the City; and he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral of the maritime towns; and, among the reſt, of *Oſtia*, which, having reduced it by force, he plundered; and maſſacred the greateſt part of the inhabitants. CINNA ſent a party of ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of *Ariminum*, App. de Bell. Civ. p. 391. Plut. in Mar. Liv. Epit. l. lxxix. App. loc. cit.

that

Y. of R. 662. that no aſſiſtance might be ſent to *Rome* from *Gaul*. *Appius Claudius*, to whom the guard of *Janiculum* had been intruſted, received MARIUS and CINNA into the place; but they were driven out again by *Pompeius Strabo*, and the Conſul OCTAVIUS. *Strabo* being ſoon after killed by a flaſh of lightening[1], the ſole command of the army devolved to OCTAVIUS. The incapacity (ſays *Plutarch*) of this Conſul, was not ſo detrimental to the public affairs, as was his too ſcrupulous attachment to the Laws: For when they adviſed him to ſet the ſlaves at liberty [in order to make ſoldiers of them, and prevent their going over to the enemy] he anſwered that he could never give to ſlaves the privileges of that City, the gates of which he had, in obedience to the Laws, ſhut againſt CAIUS MARIUS.

Plut. in Mar.

About this time, *Metellus Pius*, the ſon of *Numidicus*, arrived at *Rome*. He had lately commanded an army in *Samnium*, where the Social War was not totally extinguiſhed; and the Senate had deſired him to make peace with the *Samnites* upon any honourable terms, and lead his forces to the defence of his country; but while he heſitated about granting the conditions inſiſted upon by the enemy, MARIUS yielded to all their demands, and they joined themſelves to his party.

App. loc. cit.

At *Rome*, the ſoldiers of OCTAVIUS deſerted him, and offered their ſervice to *Metellus*, who was much the better general; but upon his reproving them roughly, and ordering them back to the Conſul, they went over to CINNA.

Plut. in Mar.

MARIUS, in the mean time, reduced *Antium*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and ſeveral other towns, where the *Romans* had magazines of proviſions. After this the confederate generals drawing nearer to *Rome*, OCTAVIUS, *Craſſus*, and *Metellus*, marched out to oppoſe them, but did not think it adviſable to truſt the ſafety of their country to the hazard of a battle. CINNA having proclaimed liberty to all the ſlaves in the City, who ſhould join

App. p. 392.

[1] *Vell. Pat.* reports, that the plague raged in both armies. He adds, that the joy for the death of *Pompeius* was almoſt balanced by the grief for the loſs of ſo many Citizens as died by the ſword, or the peſtilence.

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him, they flocked to him from thence in crouds. The Senate terrified hereby, and fearing the diſcontent of the People, who ſuffered greatly through want of proviſions, ſent deputies to CINNA to negociate a peace. His firſt queſtion to them was, whether they had a commiſſion to treat with him as Conſul, or as a private perſon: and they, not giving him a ſatisfactory anſwer, could effect nothing. After their return to the City, CINNA advanced and encamped under the walls. Multitudes went over to him, ſome through fear of famine, others, becauſe they favoured his cauſe, and his nearneſs gave them an opportunity to eſcape. The Senate unwilling to depoſe MERULA, who had been appointed Conſul in the room of CINNA, were in great perplexity. But MERULA, that he might be no hindrance to the public tranquillity, voluntarily laid down his office; and the Senate immediately diſpatched new deputies to CINNA, with orders to acknowledge him as Conſul [m]. They required no other condition of peace, but his taking an oath, not to put to death any of the Citizens. He refuſed to ſwear [n], but gave them his promiſe, that none ſhould be ſlain with his knowledge, or conſent, and even deſired, that the Conſul OCTAVIUS might leave *Rome*, leſt ſome misfortune ſhould befal him. MARIUS was ſtanding next to CINNA's tribunal. He did not ſpeak a word, but the gloomineſs of his countenance, and the malice that appeared in his eyes, ſufficiently prognoſticated, that he would ſoon fill the City with ſlaughter.

Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xxii.

App. p. 393.

Plut. in Mar.

Shortly after this conference, CINNA entered *Rome*, ſurrounded with ſoldiers, but MARIUS ſtopped at the gate, ſaying angrily, *That he was an exile, and forbidden by the Laws to enter the City: If therefore they wanted his preſence, they muſt reverſe the decree of his baniſhment.* The

[m] According to the Epitome of *Livy*, l. lxxx. the Nobles, forced by the incapacity and treachery of the generals and ſoldiers, who, corrupted by money, either would not fight, or went over to the enemy, received CINNA and MARIUS into the City.

[n] *Appian* ſays, that both CINNA and MARIUS took an oath not to kill OCTAVIUS.

People

Y. of R. 666. People accordingly were aſſembled; but ſcarce had three or four of the tribes given their votes, when he, throwing off the maſk, entered the City with his guards: a band of about 4000 of the ſtouteſt ſlaves, whom he had choſen to be miniſters of his cruelty. Inſtantly the gates were ſhut, that none might eſcape, and a ſlaughter enſued, as in a town taken by aſſault. *C.* and *L. Julius*, with many other conſiderable Senators, were murdered, and, among the reſt, *Antoninus* the orator, whoſe head MARIUS cauſed to be fixed upon the Roſtra. The Conſul OCTAVIUS was ſlain on his Tribunal. *Ancharius*, a man of Prætorian rank, coming to pay his compliments to MARIUS, was murdered by the guards, becauſe their general took no notice of him; and from that time thoſe ſlaves made it their practice to murder every man whoſe ſalutation MARIUS did not return: So that even his friends never approached him, but with terror.

Dio. Caſſ. ap. Val. p. 642. Liv. Epit. l. lxxx. App. loc. cit. Plut. in Mar. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xxii. Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. v. c. xix. & de Orat. l. iii. c. iii.

In the midſt of theſe murders, MARIUS aſſembled the People, and made a ſpeech to them (CICERO tells us, he was himſelf preſent, and obſerved, that the old ſoldier, far from being diſpirited by his adverſities, ſeemed to have the ſtrength of his mind renewed.) When he had recounted the ſeries of his late ſufferings, he told the People, that, being now reſtored to his dignity, and having recovered all that he had loſt, it ſhould ſtill be his principal care to preſerve that courage and virtue which he had never loſt.

Cic. poſt red. ad Quir. c. viii.

After the firſt fury of ſlaughter, the tyrants reſolved to proceed againſt ſome of their enemies by way of trial. MERULA, to avoid an unjuſt ſentence, cauſed his veins to be opened. As he was a prieſt of *Jupiter*, it was not lawful for him to die with the mitre on his head: he therefore left a writing behind him, ſignifying that, before his death, he had put off that ſacred ornament.

Catulus, the collegue of MARIUS in the *Cimbrian* war, ſmothered himſelf with the vapour of charcoal. It is reported, that MARIUS, when the friends of *Catulus* interceded for him, made no anſwer but, *he muſt die, he muſt die.*

Some

Some authors ſay, that CINNA began to ceaſe his cruelties; but that MARIUS, growing daily more thirſty of blood, proceeded to deſtroy every man of whom he had the leaſt ſuſpicion; till at length CINNA and SERTORIUS, having ſurpriſed, and ſurrounded with ſoldiers the murderous guards of MARIUS, put every man of them to death. Plut. in Mar. & in Sertor.

Many of the Nobles fled to SYLLA, then in *Greece:* his wife and children likewiſe, with ſome difficulty, eſcaped to him, and he learnt from them, that his enemies had burnt his houſe, and ravaged his lands.

When the time came for chuſing ſupreme Magiſtrates, MARIUS and CINNA declared themſelves CONSULS, without ſo much as the form of aſſembling the *Comitia.* On the day of their inauguration, MARIUS cauſed a Senator, named *Sex. Licinius*, to be thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock. His own death ſoon after put a ſtop to his cruelties. He died, according to the moſt probable account, of a pleuritic fever, on the 13th of *January*, about the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. A. of R. 667. Bef. J. C. 85. Conſ-p. 366. Liv. Epit. l. lxxx. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xxiii.

To grace his funeral, *C. Fimbria* (at this time *Quæſtor Urbanus*) ordered Q. SCÆVOLA (the Pontifex Maximus) to be put to death; and hearing afterwards, that he might recover of the wound he had received, ſummoned him to take his trial before the People. When ſomebody aſked *Fimbria*, *Of what crime he could accuſe ſo good a man?* he anſwered, *Of not having received in his body the whole of the weapon with which he was ſtabbed.* Cic. pro S. Roſ. c. xii. Val. Max. l. ix. c. xi. § ii. Vid. Pigh. ad Ann. 667.

CHAP. XI.

VALERIUS FLACCUS, *aſſociated by* CINNA *in the Conſulſhip for the remainder of the year* 667, *is likewiſe appointed by him to ſucceed to* SYLLA's *command in* Aſia.

An account of the progreſs of Mithridates, *after his defeating the three* Roman *generals in* 665. *The arrival*

of SYLLA *in* Greece *in* 666. *He there vanquiſhes the armies of* Mithridates.

SYLLA *paſſes into* Aſia, *and concludes a peace with the king of* Pontus (*in* 668); *returns into* Greece *in* 669; (*being the fourth Conſulſhip of* CINNA, *and the* 3*d year of his holding that Magiſtracy by uſurpation.*) *From* Athens SYLLA *writes a menacing letter to the* SENATE, *who had ſuffered him to be declared an exile, and to be loaded with other injuries and indignities. In* 670 *he lands in* Italy, *totally ſubdues the* Marian *faction*; *and proſcribes thoſe of his enemies, who had eſcaped his ſword*; *and, in* 671, *he is conſtituted* PERPETUAL DICTATOR.

Y. of R. 667. App. p. 396.

ON the death of MARIUS, CINNA choſe L. VALERIUS FLACCUS to be his collegue in the Conſulſhip, appointing him to ſucceed SYLLA in the conduct of the war againſt *Mithridates*[n], and giving him *Fimbria* for his lieutenant.

Vid. ſupr. p. 175, 176. Id. l. ii. c. xviii. Cic pr. L. Manil. c. iii. App. in Mithrid. p. 185.

WE left *Mithridates*, in 665, victorious over the *Roman* armies in *Aſia Propria*, and maſter of all that country, and the iſlands adjacent, except *Rhodes*. This prince, a ſecond *Hanibal* in his hatred to the *Romans*, diſpatched circular letters throughout *Aſia*, directing, that the People, on a certain day, ſhould maſſacre all the *Italians* that were in that country; men, women, and children, freemen, and ſlaves: and that the effects of the ſlain ſhould be diſpoſed of, part to his own treaſury, and part to the aſſaſſins; and he forbad the people, under pain of death, to ſpare the life of any *Italian*, or to bury him, when dead. Fourſcore thouſand[o] of that nation periſhed in this maſſacre; and the cruelty, with which the *Aſiatics* executed the vengeance of *Mithri-*

Val. Max. l. ix. c. ii. App. Mith. p. 186.

[n] The king of *Pontus*, by ſeizing the effects of the Publicans, and of all the other *Italians*, had occaſioned an almoſt univerſal bankruptcy in *Rome*. VALERIUS, before he ſet out upon this expedition, publiſhed a Law, importing, that the debtors ſhould not be obliged to pay to their creditors, more than one quarter of the principal ſums they owed. *Cic. pro L. Manil.* c. vii. *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. xxiii.

[o] *Plut.* (*in Sylla*) makes the number amount to 150000.

dates,

dates, ſhewed plainly (ſays *Appian*) that they were actuated more by hatred to the *Romans*, than fear of the king.

After this he attacked *Rhodes*, by ſea and land, with all his forces; but miſcarried in the enterprize [p]. To hinder the *Romans* from entering *Aſia*, he reſolved to tranſport the war into *Europe*. With this view he ſent his youngeſt ſon (called by him *Arcathias*, by others, *Ariarathes*) with a powerful army, through *Thrace* into *Macedon*. *Archelaus*, the ableſt of his generals, he commiſſioned to go with a fleet to *Greece*, in order to bring over to his party, the people of that country, either by perſuaſion or force; and diſpatched *Metrophanes*, another of his generals, into *Euboea*, and to the ſea-coaſt of *Theſſaly*.

Cic. 2. in Verr. c. lxv. App. in Mithr. p. 186. & ſeq. Plut. in Sylla.

The *Athenians* (we are not told for what cauſe) had been condemned to a fine by the *Romans*, and their magiſtrates forbidden to exerciſe their functions: And *Ariſtion*, an Epicurean philoſopher, whom they had ſent on an embaſſy to *Mithridates*, being gained by that monarch, had exhorted them to ſide with the king; aſſuring them, that the popular government ſhould be reſtored, and that not only the public would be benefitted, but private perſons would reap great advantages from the alliance of ſo powerful, and ſo generous a prince. The people, dazzled with theſe proſpects, gave a favourable anſwer, and the chief men of the city, finding themſelves unable to reſtrain the madneſs of the multitude, paſſed into *Italy*, and took refuge in *Rome*.

Poſidon. apud Athen. 5. 13.

Cic. in Brut. c. lxxxix.

Archelaus ſubdued the iſland *Delos*, which had revolted from the *Athenians*, ſlew there 20000 men, moſt of them *Italians*, and plundered the temple of *Apollo* [q]. The iſland he reſtored to the *Athenians*, and depoſited

App. Mith. p. 188. Idem, p. 189.

[p] *Cic.* (*loc. cit.*) tell us, that notwithſtanding the *Rhodians* were beſieged by *Mithridates*, and that they particularly hated him; yet they did not demoliſh a ſtatue, which they had formerly erected to him in the moſt conſpicuous part of their town.

[q] *Pauſanias* (in *Lacon.* c. xxiii.) aſcribes theſe actions to another of *Mithridates*'s generals, named *Menothanes*.

Y. of R. 667. in their city the booty he had taken. But under pretence of guarding it, he ſent along with it 2000 ſoldiers, by whoſe aſſiſtance *Ariſtion* aſſumed to himſelf the chief power in *Athens*, and put to death, or delivered up to *Mithridates*, all the citizens that adhered to the *Romans*.

Plut. in Sylla. *Archelaus* likewiſe brought over to his maſter's intereſt, the *Achæans*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Bœotians*, and reduced the *Cyclades*, and all the other iſlands, as far as the promontory of *Malæa*. At the ſame time *Metrophanes* landed in *Eubœa*, and, ſoon after, pillaged the territories of *Demetrius* and *Magneſia*. Some ſay, that *Bruttius Sura*, the lieutenant of *Sentius*, Prætor of *Macedon*, not only attacked *Metrophanes*, and drove him out of the country, but gained three victories over *Archelaus* (or, according to ſome, fought with him three days ſucceſſively with equal advantage) and forced him to confine himſelf to his fleet.

App. p. 190. SYLLA [in the year of *Rome* 666] arrived in *Greece* with five Legions and ſome *Italian* Cohorts. Having received ſupplies of men and money from *Ætolia* and *Theſſaly*, he marched into *Attica* againſt *Archelaus*. In his way, almoſt all the *Bœotians* ſubmitted to him, with the ſame readineſs they had declared for *Mithridates*.

Plut. in Sylla. Soon after, the other towns of *Greece*, except *Athens*, diſpatched deputies to him, offering to put themſelves under his protection. LUCULLUS, whom he had ſent before him, obliged *Sentius* to retire into *Macedon*; and the general, on his arrival, left part of his forces to beſiege *Athens*; while he himſelf went to attack the *Piræeus* (the port of that city) where *Archelaus* had ſhut himſelf up.

Plin. l. vii. c. lvi. * Αθήνη. *Athens* was divided into two parts; the one called *Cecropia*, from its founder *Cecrops*; the other *Athens*, from the Greek * name of *Minerva*, its protectreſs. They were ſeparated only by a wall, and one common rampart encloſed them. On the weſt ſide of the city ran the *Cephiſus*; on the eaſt the *Illiſſus*. *Phalerum* had

Corn. Nep. in Themiſt. been anciently the port of *Athens*, till the time of *Themiſtocles*, who, finding a bay, near the *Cephiſus*, more large

large and commodious, built there the port *Piræus*. *Pericles* raiſed walls about it forty cubits high, and of a very extraordinary thickneſs; and on each ſide the road, five miles in length, between it and the city, he built a ſtrong wall. *Athens* had alſo another port, called *Munychia*, leſs than the *Pyræeus*: it was nearer the town, encompaſſed with the ſea, and well fortified. App. Mith. p. 190.

SYLLA, at firſt, thought to carry the *Pyræeus* by aſſault: but being repulſed by *Archelaus*, he retired to *Eleuſis* and *Megara*, between *Athens* and *Corinth*, in order to build towers and engines for carrying on the ſiege in form. For this work, he cut down the ſacred woods about *Athens*, and the trees of the fine walks belonging to the academy [r], and the *Lycæum*. He demoliſhed the long walls that joined the *Pyræeus* to the city, and turned them into ramparts, upon which he erected his engines. So great were his preparations, that, for the ſervice of the engines alone, he kept 20000 mules conſtantly employed. And as he wanted large ſums of money for carrying on the war, he ſent to the council of the *Amphictyons*, or deputies, from the ſtates of *Greece*, then aſſembled at *Delphi*, and deſired they would ſend him the riches of *Apollo*'s temple in that place; adding, that the treaſure would be ſafer with him, or if he ſhould be obliged to make uſe of it, he would take care to return the value. To receive this treaſure by weight, he ſent one of his friends, named *Caphis*, who being unwilling to violate the holy place, wrote to SYLLA, that on his arrival at *Delphi*, the ſound of *Apollo*'s lyre had been heard from the ſanctuary: thinking to terrify the general with an apprehenſion of the anger of the God. The Proconſul returned anſwer, that he much wondered *Caphis* had not made the juſt reflection on what had Plut. in Sylla.

[r] The academy was a part of the *Ceramicus* without the city, from which it was diſtant about ſix furlongs. It was the place where *Plato* and his followers held their lectures. *Hipparchus*, the ſon of *Piſiſtratus*, ſurrounded it with a wall. The *Lycæum* was ſituate on the banks of the *Iliſſus*, and ſacred to *Apollo*, Λύκιος, from whence it had its name. There *Ariſtotle* and the *Peripateticks* taught.

Y. of R. 667. happened: That muſic was a ſign of joy and not of anger: That therefore he might boldly take away the treaſure, and be well aſſured that the God was kind, and offered it. It was accordingly delivered up to *Caphis*, nor did the inhabitants of *Olympia* and *Epidaurus* dare to refuſe him the conſecrated treaſures in the temples of *Jupiter* and *Æſculapius*.

App. p. 191. SYLLA, having finiſhed his works, renewed the ſiege of the *Piræus*. *Archelaus* neglected nothing that could conduce to the defence of the place, or to the annoyance of the beſiegers. Upon the walls he erected moveable towers, equal in height to thoſe uſed by SYLLA; ſent for a reinforcement of troops from *Chalcis*, and the *Greek* iſlands: armed the mariners of his fleet; and in a general ſally by night, repulſed the *Romans*, and burnt one of their *Galleries* (they had but two) with all its appurtenances. SYLLA puniſhed ſome of the Cohorts, which had given ground, by obliging them, in the next engagement, to fight in the van, without ſhoes, and with their clothes ungirt; and as for the damage done to the engines, it was repaired in ten days time. *Archelaus* therefore made a ſecond eruption upon the works. The attack was briſk, but, by the obſtinate reſiſtance of thoſe Cohorts, which had recoiled in the laſt action, and by the ſingular bravery of *Muræna*, a Legionary Tribune, the *Aſiatics* were at length forced to retire, after a loſs of near 2000 men. Their general ſtaid ſo long without the gates, endeavouring to ſtop the runaways, that he was ſhut out, and had been taken priſoner, if the beſieged had not expeditiouſly drawn him up by a cord to the top of the wall.

Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. i. § xxvii.

App. p. 192.

Winter now came on, which obliged SYLLA to abate ſomewhat of his ardour, and retire to *Eleuſis*. The ſiege however was continued, and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the *Romans* and the *Aſiaticks*.

Plut. in Sylla. All this while, *Athens* was ſo cloſely ſhut up, that it could receive no ſupplies of proviſions, and there was a great ſcarcity in the town. *Ariſtion* nevertheleſs, ſpent his time in debauchery and feaſting with his companions,

panions, and is ſaid to have railed from the walls at the Proconſul and his beloved wife *Metella*. *Archelaus* had plenty of every thing in the *Piræeus*, becauſe he commanded the harbour; and *Mithridates*'s fleet commanding the ſeas frequently cut off SYLLA's proviſions. To remedy this evil, the *Roman* ſent his Quæſtor *Lucullus* with five ſhips, in the middle of winter, to *Rhodes*, and the eaſt, to get together a fleet. The *Rhodians* durſt not put to ſea, for fear of meeting with the ſhips of *Mithridates*: The Quæſtor therefore ſailed to *Egypt*, to aſk aſſiſtance of *Ptolemy*; but the king would enter into no alliance with SYLLA, leſt he ſhould thereby draw the war into his own country. *Lucullus*, however, was furniſhed with a conſiderable number of ſhips from the maritime towns of *Syria*.

Plut. in Lucull. App. loc. cit.

It has been already mentioned, that *Mithridates* ſent his youngeſt ſon with an army through *Thrace* into *Macedon*. The young Prince, joined by a multitude of *Thracians*, drove out of the laſt mentioned country, the few *Romans* he found there, ſubdued it totally, and then marched to oppoſe SYLLA; but died on the way at *Tidæum*. The approach of this army made the Proconſul redouble his efforts to reduce *Athens* and the *Piræeus*. *Archelaus* made repeated attempts to ſupply the city with proviſions; but the *Romans* never failed to diſappoint him: for they had always timely notice of his deſigns. Two ſlaves in the *Piræeus*, either out of inclination for the *Romans*, or from a view to their own ſafety, wrote the reſolutions of the beſieged on balls of lead, which they threw by ſlings into the enemy's camp. The *Aſiatic* general, finding the *Romans* always ready, concluded he was betrayed. To draw the beſt advantage therefore from the treachery, he cauſed a ſally to be made upon the beſiegers, at the ſame time that he ſent out a convoy of proviſions for *Athens*. The ſucceſs anſwered his expectation: SYLLA became maſter of the convoy; but the garriſon burnt ſeveral of the *Roman* engines. The reſt of the *Roman* works *Archelaus* endeavoured to deſtroy by ſap, but his purpoſe being

App. Mith. p. 193. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxi. App. loc. c

Y. of R. 667. App. p. 194.

diſcovered by the tottering of one of the engines, the *Romans* immediately withdrew it, and filled up the hollow. After this example, they fell to ſapping in their turn, and the pioneers of the two parties frequently met, and fought under ground. At length the beſiegers found means to undermine the wall in ſeveral places; but ſupported it with timbers, from which timbers, to the entrance of the mine, they laid a train of ſulphur, pitch, and other combuſtible matter. After this, when they had made a breach above with their battering rams, SYLLA led his men to the aſſault, ordering fire to be put to the combuſtible matter in the mine. Very ſoon the wall came tumbling down in ſeveral places; and during the conſternation of the beſieged, the *Romans* lodged themſelves in the breaches, and burnt one of *Archelaus*'s towers. But he, encouraging his ſoldiers, and bringing freſh men to ſucceed thoſe who had given way, made ſo obſtinate a defence, that all the bravery and ſkill of SYLLA proved ineffectual to get poſſeſſion of the place. The *Roman*, after a long attack, ſounded a retreat, in order to give his weary troops ſome repoſe. The garriſon, in the night, built up another wall, not exactly on the foundations of the old one, but in the form of ſeveral creſcents; the horns projecting towards the enemy. Next day SYLLA attempted, with all his forces, to deſtroy this work; imagining it might eaſily be done, while new and unſettled. However, he met with ſo warm a reception from the garriſon, eſpecially that part of it which defended the horns of the creſcents, and galled his flank, that he was forced to give over his enterprize. And being doubtleſs convinced, that it was impracticable to take the *Piræus* with the troops he then had before it, he contented himſelf with keeping it blocked up on the land ſide, and turned his chief efforts againſt *Athens*; purpoſing, when he ſhould be maſter of the city, to bring more forces to the attack of the port.

App. p. 195.

Plut. in Sylla.

The city was already in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. *Ariſtion* alone, and the companions of his

his tyranny, enjoyed plenty, while the citizens were reduced to feed upon horſes, dogs, boiled leather, and the herbs that grew on old walls. The tyrant had even the inhumanity to inſult the people in this extremity, to which he himſelf had brought them. He refuſed to give a little oil, to ſupply the ſacred lamp which fed the perpetual fire in *Minerva*'s temple; and when the high prieſteſs deſired of him, in her great indigence, half a buſhel of barley, he ſent her in deriſion that quantity of pepper. The exceſſive miſery of the *Athenians* conſtrained them to petition their tyrant, that he would come to an accommodation with the *Romans*. Their Prieſts and Senators, in a body, went to him with this requeſt, but he inſolently cauſed them to be driven from his preſence with blows. However, when at length SYLLA appeared before the town, *Ariſtion*, ſeeing no way to eſcape, was prevailed upon to ſend a deputation to him. The men he choſe for that commiſſion, were two or three of the companions of his debauchery. Theſe, when admitted by the Proconſul to an audience, inſtead of making any propoſal tending to the preſervation of the city, began a pompous harangue in praiſe of *Theſeus* and *Eumolpus*, and the exploits of the *Athenians* againſt the *Perſians*. SYLLA, tired with their impertinence, bad them be gone with their rhetoric, adding, the *Roman* People have not ſent me hither to ſchool, but to puniſh Rebels.

Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ.

Plut. in Sylla.

During this conference, ſome old men of the *Athenians* were overheard, in the *Ceramicus* without the city, blaming the tyrant for neglecting to guard a weak part of the wall, oppoſite to a place, called the *Heptachalcos*. The *Roman* general, being informed of this, went to view the wall; and finding the place acceſſible in that part, made an aſſault in the night of the 1ſt of *March*, and ſucceeded.

No ſooner was he maſter of the town, than, by his order, the ſoldiers put to the ſword all the inhabitants that fell in their way; without diſtinction of ſex or age. Such a quantity of blood was ſpilt in the ſtreets, that it

App. Mith. p. 195. Plut. in Sylla.

Y. of R. 667. it flowed out of the gates. Many of the *Athenians*, believing their native city was going to be deſtroyed, killed themſelves, that they might not ſurvive its ruin. *Ariſtion*, with ſome of his adherents, retired into the citadel, but it was not long before want of water conſtrained him to ſurrender at diſcretion. The firſt fury againſt the *Athenians* being now abated, SYLLA, at the requeſt of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, two *Athenian* exiles, and of all the *Roman* Senators in his camp, ſpared the reſt of the citizens, ſaying, that *he pardoned the living for the ſake of the dead*, meaning the great men which *Athens* had produced. Nevertheleſs, he deprived the *Athenians* of the privileges of chuſing their own magiſtrates, and making laws. He alſo condemned to death *Ariſtion*, together with his counſellors, his generals, and all the miniſters of his tyranny; but the execution of the tyrant was deferred till another time.

App. Mith. p. 196. Florus, l. iii. c. v. The *Piræus* ſtill remained to be reduced. SYLLA led his forces againſt it, and *Archelaus* defended it, with his wonted courage and ability. According to *Florus*, SYLLA beat down the wall ſix times, and *Archelaus* as often reſtored it. Neceſſity, however, at length compelled the brave *Aſiatic* to abandon the place: and he then retired to the port of *Munychia*. The *Romans* demoliſhed the fortifications of the *Piræus*, and burnt the ſtore-houſes, together with the magnificent arſenal built by *Philo*.

App. loc. cit. *Archelaus* ſoon quitted *Munychia*, and went into *Bœotia*, and from thence into *Theſſaly*. There he aſſembled all the *Aſiatic* troops that were in *Greece*, and ſent for the army of *Arcathias*, now under *Taxiles*, to come and join him. *Taxiles* obeyed, and *Archelaus* took upon him the chief command of all the forces, which conſiſted of 100000 foot, 10000 horſe, and 90 chariots of war. SYLLA, from *Attica*, marched into *Bœotia*, to meet the enemy. This he was blamed for, becauſe the vaſt plains of *Bœotia* were much more convenient for the cavalry and chariots of the barbarians, in which their chief ſtrength conſiſted, than the rough and rocky country

Plut. in Sylla.

try about *Athens*. But Sylla wanted proviſions, and *Attica* naturally barren, and now ruined by war, could not ſubſiſt his army. Beſides, he was in anxiety for a body of troops, which, by his order, *Hortenſius* was bringing to him from *Theſſaly*. *Hortenſius*, under the guidance of *Caphis*, eſcaped the enemy, who endeavoured to intercept him; and, paſſing over mount *Parnaſſus*, joined Sylla at the foot of it. *Plutarch* ſays, the proconſular army conſiſted of no more than 15000 foot, and 1500 horſe. According to *Appian*, it did not amount (auxiliaries included) to a third part of the *Aſiatics*. Sylla poſted himſelf on an eminence in the middle of the plains of *Elatea*, and in ſight of the enemy. *Archelaus*, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority of numbers, did not think it prudent to hazard a general action; nevertheleſs, being prevailed upon by the preſſing inſtances of his officers, he drew out his forces, and offered battle. The *Roman* general would have accepted the challenge; but could neither by remonſtrances, nor intreaties, ſpirit up his men to fight; they were ſo terrified at the ſight of the enormous multitude of the barbarians[a]. Theſe, on the other hand, deſpiſing their enemies, quitted their camp in large companies, without leave of their commander, and went roaming about the country to pillage. Sylla, in the mean time, employed his ſoldiers in the moſt laborious and difficult works; that he might bring them to demand the fight, rather than ſubmit to ſuch drudgery. After three days they called out to be led to battle. Sylla anſwered, *You are only weary of labour. If you really deſire to fight, arm yourſelves immediately, and ſeize that poſt*: pointing to a ſteep rock at the confluence of the *Cephiſus* and *Aſſus*. *Archelaus* had already detached a body of his troops to take poſſeſſion of that rock. The *Romans* obeyed their general, and, by their diligence, prevented the enemy. On this diſappointment the *Aſiatics* decamped, and

App. p. 197. Plut. in Sylla.

[a] According to *Appian*, *Archelaus*, ſo ſoon as the two armies came near enough to each other, offered battle, and Sylla declined it.

marched

Y. of R. 667. marched to *Chæronea*, thinking to ſurpriſe it: But SYLLA again prevented them, and threw into the town a *Roman* Legion, under the command of *Gabinius*. *Archelaus* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Chæronea*, in a place difficult of acceſs, and over-looked by a ſteep hill, called *Thurium*: where he poſted a large detachment. The *Roman* general followed him, and ſoon after ſent off a party of ſoldiers under the guidance of ſome *Chæroneans*, to diſlodge the enemy from *Thurium*. In the mean time, he drew up his forces in order of battle, and *Archelaus* did the like. While the two armies ſtood fronting of each other, the *Roman* detachment, which, by a private road, had mounted unſeen to the top of the hill, drove from it the *Aſiatics*, who, in their flight, falling in among their own men, put them into diſorder. Inſtantly, *Sylla* advanced, and with ſo much diligence, that he allowed no opportunity, no ſpace, for their chariots to act. Their efforts were ſo weak, that, according to *Plutarch*, the *Romans*, who had eaſily repelled them, called out for more, as they uſed to do at the chariot races in the *Circus*. The hiſtorians have left us a very confuſed deſcription of this battle: the victory they unanimouſly aſcribe to SYLLA. Of the numerous forces of *Archelaus*, we are told, that only about 10000 eſcaped with their general to *Chalcis*; but what is yet more incredible, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius*, make the loſs on the ſide of the *Romans* to amount, the firſt to twelve, the ſecond to thirteen, and the laſt to fourteen men. It would ſeem, that SYLLA invented this fable himſelf: for in ſome Memoirs of his, quoted by *Plutarch*, he wrote, that, after the battle, he miſſed only fourteen of his men, two of whom returned to the camp before night.

Plut. App. Liv. Epit. Eutrop.

Plut. in Sylla.

In honour of this victory, he celebrated muſical games at *Thebes*, and ſent to the neighbouring towns for judges, to determine to whom the prizes ſhould be given; for ſuch was his hatred to the *Thebans*, that he would admit none of them to be judges; and what doubtleſs they felt more ſeverely, he took from them half their lands,

lands, and allotted the produce to the payment of the money, of which he had robbed the temples of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*.

Scarce were the games over, when he received intelligence, that the Conſul VALERIUS FLACCUS was croſſing the *Ionian* ſea with an army, in order to diveſt him of his authority, and aſſume the conduct of the war againſt *Mithridates*. The Proconſul marched directly to oppoſe him, and in *Theſſaly* was joined by ſome troops, which VALERIUS had ſent before him to take poſſeſſion of that country. Hearing of this defection, the Conſul ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, with a view to paſs that way into *Aſia*. At the ſame time SYLLA turned his arms againſt *Dorylaus*, one of *Mithridates*'s generals, who had juſt entered *Greece* at the head of 80000 men, and was ravaging *Bœotia* in conjunction with *Archelaus*. The latter endeavoured to diſſuade *Dorylaus* from hazarding a pitched battle with the *Romans*, but with little effect, till ſome unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes convinced him, that his collegue judged rightly. They then retired before the enemy, and encamped near *Orchomenos*, in a vaſt plain watered by the river *Melas*, which, at a little diſtance, ſpreads itſelf in ſeveral muddy marſhes covered with reeds. So advantageous a ſituation induced the *Aſiatics* to venture a battle. SYLLA took meaſures to render this advantage uſeleſs to them. That he might not be ſurrounded, and that he might ſecure his wings, he cauſed ſeveral broad trenches [t] to be dug in the plain, and at the extremities of theſe trenches raiſed little forts to defend the approaches.

App. Mith. p. 204.

Plut. in Sylla.

Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. iii. § xvii.

On the day of battle, the *Aſiatics* ranged their chariots in the front; their phalanxes in the ſecond line; the auxiliaries and *Italian* deſerters (all armed after the *Roman* manner) in the third line; and their

App. Mith p. 202.

[t] According to *Plutarch*, SYLLA drew thoſe trenches to encloſe the enemy between him and the marſhes, ſo that they might not have room to employ their numerous cavalry; and their endeavour to hinder the works brought on the battle.

light

Y. of R. 667. light troops in the rear; their numerous cavalry were placed on the wings.

SYLLA drew up his infantry in three lines, leaving ſpaces between the battalions, that the cavalry, which he poſted in the rear, might have room to advance to the charge. Before the ſecond line, he cauſed a great number of ſtakes to be fixed in the ground, to ſtop the progreſs of the chariots; and gave orders to the ſoldiers of the firſt line to retire behind thoſe ſtakes, when the chariots approached. Victory declared for SYLLA. Having killed 15000 of the enemy, he purſued the reſt to their camp, and forced it. We hear no more of *Dorylaus*. As for *Archelaus*, we are told, that he hid himſelf, two days, in the marſhes, and then found a bark which carried him to *Eubœa*, where he aſſembled all the *Aſiatic* troops, that remained in *Greece*.

App. p. 203.

Idem, p. 201.

Mithridates, in the mean time, by his cruelties in *Aſia*, had occaſioned *Epheſus*, *Tralles*, and ſeveral other cities, to revolt from him. Thoſe which he reduced by force, he puniſhed with great ſeverity; but fearing a general defection, he proclaimed liberty to the *Greek* cities, remitted to the debtors the payment of what they owed to their creditors, and gave to all ſlaves and ſtrangers the freedom of the cities, in which they lived. Hearing of the defeat of his army at *Orchomenos*, he ſent orders to *Archelaus* to make peace with SYLLA, on the beſt conditions he could obtain. *Archelaus* immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to propoſe a treaty. SYLLA very willingly conſented; for he had neither ſhips, nor money to carry on the war; and longed impatiently to be in *Italy*, that he might revenge himſelf upon his enemies, who tyrannized in that country.

Idem, p. 202.

Idem, p. 206.

Y. of R. 668. Bef. J. C. 84. Conſ-p. 367. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiii. Plut. in Sylla.

CINNA, without the formality of holding the Comitia, had declared himſelf Conſul for the third time, and appointed CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO to be his collegue in that office.

The *Aſiatic* general, knowing theſe things, propoſed, in a conference which enſued, that SYLLA ſhould leave *Mithridates* in poſſeſſion of *Aſia* and *Pontus*, and return

to

to *Italy*, there to put an end to the civil war: in which end, the king, he ſaid, would ſupply him with men, money, and ſhips. On the other hand, SYLLA adviſed *Archelaus* to deſert *Mithridates*, deliver up his fleet to the *Romans*, and declare himſelf king in his ſtead: On which conditions he offered him the title of Friend and Ally of the Senate and People of *Rome*. *Archelaus* expreſſing his deteſtation of ſuch treachery, SYLLA replied, *If you, a* Cappadocian, *and the ſlave, or, if you will, the friend of a barbarian king, refuſe, for ſo great a reward, to commit a baſe action, how dare you make treaſonable propoſals to a* Roman *general—to* SYLLA? *Have you forgot, that you are the ſame* Archelaus *who fled from* Chæronea *with a handful of men, the remains of* 120000 *ſoldiers? That you afterwards hid yourſelf two days in the marſhes of* Orchomenos, *and that* Bœotia *is now rendered inacceſſible by the heaps of your ſlaughtered troops, with which its plains are covered*[u]? *Archelaus*, then changing tone,

[u] *Appian* gives a different account of this conference. According to him, *Archelaus* thus addreſſed SYLLA. "King *Mithridates*, who inherits his father's friendſhip for *Rome*, was compelled to make war againſt her by the covetouſneſs of other generals, whom ſhe employed; but now having had experience of your virtue, he ſues to you for peace, provided you require nothing but what is *equitable*."

SYLLA anſwered,

"*Mithridates* ought firſt to have ſent Ambaſſadors to complain of injuries; but inſtead of that, he injuriouſly invaded the territories of other powers, ſlaughtered multitudes of people, plundered the public treaſuries, and the temples, and ſeized the poſſeſſions of the ſlain. Nor has he acted with more fidelity, or moderation, with regard to his own friends, than to us. Many of thoſe he has put to death, without cauſe. And he diſcovered an inveterate hatred to us, not any neceſſity of making war, when he exerciſed all manner of cruelties upon the *Italians* of *Aſia*, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Such was the hatred of this *hereditary friend* of *Rome* to the *Roman* name: nor did he think of that friendſhip, till I had deſtroyed 160000 of his men. *Equity*, therefore, does not demand, that we ſhould receive him into an alliance; yet, for your ſake, I promiſe that the *Romans* ſhall forgive him, if he ſincerely repents. But if he ſtill diſſembles, I adviſe you, *Archelaus*, to reflect upon the preſent ſituation of his affairs, and *of your own*; and to conſider, how *he* uſes to treat his friends, and how *we* acted towards EUMENES and MASINISSA."

Archelaus,

Y. of R. 668. tone, begged of the *Roman* to grant peace to *Mithridates*. SYLLA conſenting, theſe terms were agreed upon.

The king was to relinquiſh *Aſia*, and *Paphlagonia*; give up *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*: pay the *Romans* 2000 talents for the expences of the war, and deliver to them 70 gallies with all their rigging.

On the other hand, SYLLA was to confirm *Mithridates* in the poſſeſſion of his other dominions, and procure him the title of *Friend and Ally of* Rome.

Theſe articles were ſent without delay to the king of *Pontus*, to be by him ratified. Then SYLLA ſet out for *Macedon*, in his way to the *Helleſpont*, and took with him *Archelaus*, who falling ſick at *Lariſſa*, he ſtopped the march of the army to wait his recovery, expreſſing the ſame tender regard for him, as if he had been his collegue, or his intimate friend. He alſo gave him 10000 acres of land in *Eubœa*, and honoured him with the title of *the Friend and Ally of* Rome; and though the Proconſul ſet at liberty all the other priſoners that were friends of *Mithridates*, yet he put to death *Ariſtion*, becauſe he was at enmity with *Archelaus*. Such extraordinary kindneſs to this general raiſed a ſuſpicion, that he had betrayed the *Aſiatics* at the battle of *Chæronea*. *Mithridates* himſelf in a letter to *Arſaces*, king of the *Parthians*, ſpeaking of theſe times, ſays expreſly, that *Archelaus*, the moſt unworthy of his ſervants, had ruined his affairs, by betraying his army. The eaſy victory which the *Romans* obtained, at *Chæronea*, over the numerous forces of *Archelaus*, who had fought ſo bravely in *Aſia*, and ſo ſtoutly defended the *Piræeus*; his giving battle in a place where his troops had not room to act; and SYLLA's dexterity in corrupting his adverſaries with money (an art to which his ſucceſs in

Frag. Salluſt. l. iv.

Archelaus, offended at this intimation, replied with heat, "Peace "may be concluded upon reaſonable terms; I will never betray the "forces intruſted to me."

war

war ſeems to have been chiefly owing) make the ſtory of *Archelaus*'s treachery not improbable [x].

Whilſt the Proconſul ſtayed at *Lariſſa*, Ambaſſadors from *Mithridates* arrived there, and informed him, that their maſter approved of all the other articles of the treaty, but would by no means part with *Paphlagonia*, or the ſeventy galleys demanded. To this SYLLA, in great anger, *What!* Mithridates *refuſes to give up* Paphlagonia *and the ſhips! He, who I thought would have fallen at my feet, and thanked me for leaving him that right hand, with which he has maſſacred ſo many* Roman *Citizens! He'll ſpeak in another tone, when I am in* Aſia. *At preſent let him ſit at* Pergamus, *and form projects for a war which he has not ſeen* [y]. Plut. in Sylla.

The Ambaſſadors, confounded, did not anſwer a word; but *Archelaus* taking SYLLA by the hand, begged of him to moderate his anger. At length he obtained leave to go to the king, promiſing to return with the ratification of the treaty, or to kill himſelf in his maſter's preſence.

In the mean time, SYLLA, to keep his troops in exerciſe, and enrich them with ſpoil, turned his arms againſt the *Medi* and *Dardani*, nations bordering upon *Macedon*, and pillaged their country. App. Mith. p. 207. Plut. in Sylla.

Archelaus, at his return, acquainted the Proconſul, that the peace would be concluded on the terms he had

[x] According to *Appian* (*Mithrid.* p. 214.) the king growing jealous of *Archelaus*, as if in the treaty of peace he had yielded too much to SYLLA, the *Cappadocian*, thereupon deſerted to *Murena*, (whom SYLLA had left at the head of the *Roman* forces in *Aſia*) and perſuaded him to renew the war againſt the king of *Pontus*.

Plutarch likewiſe (in *Lucull.*) ſays, that *Archelaus* deſerted to the *Romans*.

[y] The report of the Ambaſſadors, according to *Appian*, was, that *Mithridates* conſented to every thing but the ceſſion of *Paphlagonia*; and they added, "That the king could have obtained better terms from *Fimbria*." [then at the head of the forces, which the *Marian* faction had ſent into *Aſia* under VALERIUS FLACCUS.] SYLLA, angry at the compariſon, anſwered, "*Fimbria* ſhall be puniſhed; and when I come in-" to *Aſia*, I ſhall ſee whether *Mithridates* chuſes peace or war." *App. Mithrid.* p. 207.

Y. of R. 668. propoſed, but that *Mithridates* earneſtly deſired a conference with him. The reaſon why the King deſired this conference, was to procure the aſſiſtance of SYLLA againſt *Fimbria*, who made war upon him with great vigour.

App. loc. cit. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiii. Dio Caſſ. ap. Valeſ.

Fimbria, a good ſoldier, but an execrable villain, had (as was before mentioned) been, by CINNA, appointed lieutenant to VALERIUS FLACCUS, a man extremely covetous, and diſagreeable to the ſoldiers. The laſt year, when the army arrived in *Aſia*, *Fimbria*, on occaſion of a quarrel between him and the Quæſtor, was diſplaced by VALERIUS, and his office given to the Quæſtor. *Fimbria* reſenting this, ſtirred up the ſoldiers to ſedition, murdered the general, and put himſelf at the head of the forces. He afterwards defeated in battle one of *Mithridates*'s ſons, forced the King himſelf to quit *Pergamus*, and then beſieged him in *Pitanes*, a maritime town, whither he had fled. At this time, LUCULLUS, SYLLA's Quæſtor, returning from *Syria* with a fleet, *Fimbria* ſent to him, deſiring he would block up *Pitanes* by ſea, and ſhare the glory of finiſhing the war, by taking the king of *Pontus* priſoner; a glory which, he ſaid, would far outſhine the boaſted victories of SYLLA at *Chæronea* and *Orchomenos*. It is ſaid, that LUCULLUS, either unwilling to act without authority from his general, or to enter into a confederacy with ſo infamous a man as *Fimbria*, refuſed to join in the enterprize, and gave the king time to make his eſcape. Be that as it will, *Mithridates* got ſafe to *Mitylene* in *Leſbos*.

App.Mith. p. 205.

Plut in Lucul.

Dio Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. App. loc. cit.

After the king's flight, *Fimbria* ravaged the country at pleaſure, committing every where exceſſive cruelties [z]. The inhabitants of *Ilium* fearing the ſame treat-

[z] *Dio Caſſ.* (*ap. Valeſ.* 653.) reports, that *Fimbria* having ordered ſome wretches to be whipped to death, and having obſerved, on the day of execution, that there were more poſts fixed in the ground, than perſons condemned, cauſed ſome of the ſpectators to be ſeized and whipt at thoſe ſupernumerary poſts, that they might not ſeem to have been ſet up to no purpoſe.

ment

ment with their neighbours, ſurrendered themſelves to SYLLA by deputies whom they ſent to him: whereupon he ſent to *Fimbria* not to attempt any thing againſt that town. *Fimbria*, nevertheleſs, having by force or fraud got admiſſion into the place, put all the inhabitants he met with to the ſword, demoliſhed the walls, and burnt the houſes. Next day he went round it, to ſee that nothing was left ſtanding[a]. It is alſo ſaid that he put to death by torture the meſſengers whom SYLLA had ſent to him. Liv, Epit. l. lxxxiii.

To reduce this violent outrageous enemy, and to plunder *Aſia*, SYLLA haſtened into that country, having firſt ordered LUCULLUS to ſail to the *Helleſpont*, thereby to ſecure the paſſage of the army. When he had reached *Dardanus*, *Mithridates* arrived there with 200 gallies, and an army of 26000 men. At the conference which enſued, the king, approaching the *Roman* Proconſul, held out his hand to him, as a token of friendſhip. SYLLA, before he made any return to that civility, aſked him, whether he accepted of the peace, on the conditions to which *Archelaus* had agreed. The king making no anſwer, SYLLA continued: *It belongs to ſuppliants to ſpeak, conquerors may be ſilent, if they pleaſe.* Then the king began to juſtify his own conduct, laying the blame of the war upon the avarice of the *Roman* generals, who had deprived him of *Phrygia*, and ſtirred up *Nicomedes* againſt him. SYLLA, at length, interrupting him, ſaid, *I have often heard*, Mithridates, *that you are very eloquent, but now I am convinced of it by my own experience, ſince you can give ſuch plauſible colours to the moſt unjuſt and enormous actions.* And when he had put the king in mind, that the *Roman* Senate had annulled the bargain made between his father and *Aquilius* about *Phrygia*; that *Nicomedes* complained of his having aſſiſted *Socrates* to invade *Bithynia*, and therefore had a right Plut. in Sylla. App. Mith. p. 208. Plut. in Sylla. App. in loc. cit.

[a] The *Palladium* (ſays *Appian*) it is thought was found entire among the rubbiſh. Some chuſe rather to believe, that *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes* took it away in the time of the *Trojan* war. The hiſtorian calls the *Palladium, the ſhrine of* Minerva.

Y. of R. 668. to make repriſals; and that *Mithridates* ſhould have carried his complaints to the Senate, and waited for their anſwer before he began hoſtilities: He added, "but
App. p. 209. "granting you had a right to defend yourſelf againſt "*Nicomedes*, what injury had *Ariobarzanes* done you, "that you ſhould diveſt him of his kingdom? your op- "poſing his reſtoration, brought upon you this war; "a war which you had long before meditated; for you "hoped, that, when you had conquered the *Romans*, "you ſhould make yourſelf maſter of the whole world, "and therefore ſought an occaſion of quarrel with them. "This is undeniably clear from hence, that, before "the war began, you made alliances with the *Thra-* "*cians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, ſolicited the neigh- "bouring kings, built a fleet, and provided yourſelf "with pilots and maſters of ſhips; but your deſigns "are diſcovered, chiefly by the time in which they "broke out; for when you found that our allies in "*Italy* had revolted from us, you laid hold of that op- "portunity, attacked *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, the "*Gallo-greeks*, and *Paphlagonia*, and even our province "of *Aſia*. Not content with this, you carried your "arms into *Europe*, though, by the decrees of the Se- "nate, the *Aſiatic* kings were forbid to hold any thing "there. You over-ran *Macedon*, and deprived the "*Greeks* of their liberty: nor did you repent of theſe "actions, till I had delivered *Greece* and *Macedon* from "your violences, and cut off many thouſands of your "men I wonder you now attempt to excuſe, what
App. p. 210. "you before aſked pardon for, by *Archelaus*. Perhaps, "you were afraid of me when at a diſtance, but now, "when I am preſent, imagine I am to come to hear a "trial, a cauſe pleaded. The time for trials and plead- "ings is over: the affair is ſubjected to the determina- "tion of war: a war, in which you are the aggreſſor, "and we upon the defenſive; and as we have ſtrenu- "ouſly defended ourſelves hitherto, we ſhall continue "to do ſo to the end." The king, terrified at this angry

gry ſpeech, declared, that he ratified the PEACE [b] *on the conditions ſettled by* Archelaus. Hereupon SYLLA embraced

[b] Concerning *Mithridates*, the ingenious and judicious M. *Monteſquiou* writes thus: Conſid. ſur les Cauſes &c. ch. vii.

" Of the many kings whom the *Romans* attacked, *Mithridates* was " the only one who made a courageous defence, and brought them into " danger.

" His dominions were ſituated moſt advantageouſly for a war with " *Rome*, they reached to the inacceſſible country of Mount *Caucaſus*, in- " habited by a fierce and ſavage people, whom that prince could call to " his aſſiſtance: From thence they extended along the ſea of *Pontus*, " which was covered with his ſhips, and he was inceſſantly purchaſing " new armies of *Scythians*; *Aſia* lay open to his invaſions, and he was " rich, becauſe the inhabitants of his maritime cities carried on an ad- " vantageous traffic with nations leſs induſtrious than they.

" Proſcriptions, the cuſtom of which began at this time, had forced " ſeveral *Romans* to leave their country. Theſe were received by *Mith-* " *ridates* with open arms, and he formed Legions, into which he incor- " porated thoſe exiles, who proved the beſt ſoldiers in his army.

[" The cities of *Greece* and *Aſia*, finding the *Roman* yoke grow more " intolerable every day, repoſed their whole confidence in this barbarian " king, who invited them to liberty.]

" On the other ſide, the *Romans*, diſtreſſed by inteſtine diviſions, and " threatened with more imminent dangers, neglected the affairs of *Aſia*, " and ſuffered *Mithridates* to purſue his victories, or take breath after " his defeats.

" Nothing had contributed more to the ruin of moſt kings, than the " manifeſt deſire they ſhewed for PEACE: by this, they had prevented " all other nations from ſharing with them in a danger, from which they " were ſo anxious to extricate themſelves. But *Mithridates* immediate- " ly *made the whole world ſenſible, that he was an enemy to the* Romans, " *and would be ſo eternally.*" The author, when he penned theſe laſt words, had probably in his mind *the maſſacre of the* Italians *in* Aſia.

Dr. *Middleton* ſpeaks to the ſame effect in his life of *Cicero*.

" The *Italic* war was no ſooner ended, than another broke out, " which, though at a great diſtance from *Rome*, was one of the moſt dif- " ficult and deſperate, in which it ever was engaged; againſt *Mithri-* " *dates*, king of *Pontus*; a martial and powerful prince, of a reſtleſs " ſpirit and ambition, with a capacity equal to the greateſt deſigns; " who diſdaining to ſee all his hopes blaſted by the overbearing power " of *Rome*, and confined to the narrow boundary of his hereditary do- " minion, broke through his barrier at once, and over-ran the leſſer *A-* " *ſia*, like a torrent, and, in one day, cauſed *eighty thouſand* Roman *Ci-* " *tizens* to be maſſacred in cold blood. His forces were anſwerable to " the vaſtneſs of his attempt, and the INEXPIABLE WAR, *that he had* " *now declared againſt the Republic.*" Midd. Life of *Cicero*, vol. i. p. 21.

A. U. C. 668. braced him, and made a reconciliation between him and the two kings, *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*.

Plut. in Sylla. How advantageous ſoever this treaty was to the *Roman* general, his ſoldiers complained, that he had ſuffered the greateſt enemy of the *Roman* name to depart in peace, loaded with the ſpoils of *Aſia*. SYLLA, to juſtify his conduct, repreſented to them, that he ſhould not have been ſtrong enough to reſiſt *Mithridates* and *Fimbria*, had they joined againſt him. Some days after, he marched towards *Fimbria*, who lay encamped under the walls of *Thyatira* in *Lydia*; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood, ſent him a ſummons to deliver up the command of an army which he held contrary to Law.

App. Mith. p. 210. *Fimbria* anſwered him ſharply, that *his own authority was not very legal*; but his ſoldiers deſerting in great numbers to SYLLA, and thoſe who remained with him refuſing to take the military oath, he hired a ſlave to murder SYLLA; and this attempt not ſucceeding, he at laſt deſired an interview with him. The Proconſul ſent

App. Mith. p. 211. to him one of his officers, named *Rutilius*. *Fimbria* reſented it extremely, that SYLLA ſhould refuſe him a conference, which it was not uſual to refuſe even to an enemy: however, he aſked pardon for what he had done, and made his youth his excuſe. *Rutilius* anſwered, that if he would quit *Aſia*, SYLLA would allow him a ſafe paſſage to the ſea. To this *Fimbria* replied, that he knew a better way; and then, retiring into a temple in the town, ran himſelf through with his ſword. The wound not proving mortal, he commanded one of his ſlaves to diſpatch him. The ſlave immediately obeyed, and then killed himſelf upon his maſter's body. What

What is here ſaid, by theſe two excellent writers, concerning the purpoſe of *Mithridates*, in maſſacring ſo many thouſand *Italians* in cold blood, ſeems very well founded; that is to ſay, it was probably the king's intention at the time of his committing that maſſacre, that the neighbouring ſtates, and all the world, ſhould underſtand it as *his declaration of an* INEXPIABLE WAR againſt the *Romans*. However, from the ignominious terms of peace to which he ſubmitted by his treaty with SYLLA, he ſoon forfeited all the benefit he could poſſibly have promiſed himſelf from ſuch a declaration.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers had remained with him, now liſted in SYLLA's army.

The Proconſul ſtaid ſome time in *Aſia*, to ſettle the government, plunder the inhabitants, amaſs money for the *Italian* war, and enrich his ſoldiers. The *Ilienſes*, the *Chians*, the *Rhodians*, the *Lycians*, the people of *Magneſia*, who had all ſuffered great loſſes and hardſhips by *Mithridates*, were re-eſtabliſhed in their liberty, and declared the friends and allies of *Rome*. SYLLA then publiſhed an edict, commanding all the ſlaves who had been ſet free by the king of *Pontus* to return to their maſters. This edict occaſioning great tumults, and ſome cities revolting, the *Romans* made a prodigious ſlaughter of the people, both ſlaves and free, demoliſhed the walls of many towns, and ſold all the effects belonging to the inhabitants of many others. Thoſe of *Mithridates*'s party were every where ſeverely puniſhed, eſpecially the *Epheſians*, who had taken from their temples the preſents which the *Romans* had dedicated to their Gods. After this, the Proconſul convened at *Epheſus* an aſſembly of deputies from all the cities of *Aſia*. There he repreſented to them, the kindneſs of the *Roman* People to the *Aſiatics*, in delivering them from the yoke of *Antiochus* the Great, and in declaring them all free, except ſome nations which they had given to *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, rather as allies than ſubjects; and he reproached them with their readineſs to join *Mithridates*, and execute his cruel orders. He added, you have been in part puniſhed for theſe crimes by the king of *Pontus* himſelf, who exhauſted you by rapine and ſlaughter, deprived you of your lands, cancelled the debts due to you, ſet your ſlaves at liberty, placed tyrants in ſome towns, and gave all ſort of encouragement, both by ſea and land, to pirates and robbers (from whence you may know, by experience, what patrons you choſe to yourſelves, in the room of thoſe you renounced) and the authors of theſe miſchiefs have been in part puniſhed by us. Nevertheleſs, a public puniſhment muſt be inflicted for your demerits. But far be it from *Roman* clemency to command impious murders,

Plut. in Sylla. App. loc. cit.

Idem, p. 212.

Idem. p. 213.

A. of R. 668. unmerited confiſcations, and to deprive maſters of their ſlaves; barbarous practices, of which my mind abhors the very thought. Regard ſhall be had to the *Grecian* name, the glory of *Aſia*, and our ancient friendſhip. I ſhall therefore (and may the Gods proſper it) only fine you in a ſum to the value of five years tribute, which I now order to be paid, over and above the expences I have been at in this war, and the uſual taxes due from the province. I ſhall ſettle in juſt proportions what each city is to advance, and fix a time for payment. All who diſobey I ſhall look upon as enemies.

After this moſt gracious ſpeech, he ſent parties of ſoldiers into all the towns to collect the ſeveral ſums required. The people were obliged to borrow money at high intereſt, and to mortgage their theatres, their gymnaſiums, the fortifications of their towns, their walls, and whatever belonged to the public. According to *Plutarch*, the public fine, impoſed upon *Aſia*, amounted to twenty thouſand talents. Beſide this, SYLLA gave up the people to the inſolence and covetouſneſs of his ſoldiers, obliging their hoſts to pay to each of them ſixteen drachms a day, and to entertain them and as many of their friends as they ſhould pleaſe to invite. Every centurion had fifty drachms a day allowed him, and two ſuits of apparel[a].

Plut. in Sylla, 3875000l. Arbuth.

0l. 10s. 4d. Id.

11. 12s. 3⅓. Id.

Nor did the Proconſul defend the *Aſiatics* from the pirates, to whom *Mithridates* had given ſuch encouragement, that they not only infeſted the ſeas, but were become terrible to the towns. SYLLA quietly ſuffered them, while he was in *Aſia*, to take *Jaſſus*, *Samos*, *Clazomenæ*, and *Samothrace*, and to plunder the temple in the laſt-mentioned place of ornaments to the value of a thouſand talents. At length he prepared for his *Italian* expedition, leaving *Muræna* in *Aſia*, at the head of that army, which *Fimbria* had lately commanded, he ſet ſail from *Epheſus*, and, the third day,

App. Mithrid. p. 213.

193750l. Arbuth.

[a] According to *Salluſt*, SYLLA, to gain the affections of his ſoldiers, firſt introduced debauchery and drinking among them, and taught them to admire ſtatues and pictures, and to rifle private houſes, plunder temples, &c. *Bell. Cat.* c. xi.

arrived

arrived at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleuſinian* myſteries.

AT *Rome*, CINNA and CARBO had continued themſelves in the Conſulſhip for the new year, and the former had married his daughter to the famous JULIUS CÆSAR. On the news of the approach of SYLLA with a victorious army, a great fleet, and an immenſe treaſure, the Conſuls levied ſoldiers all over *Italy* to a prodigious number, fitted out ſhips, and collected money and proviſions for the impending war. The Proconſul, not daunted at theſe preparations, wrote a letter to the Senate, wherein he reckoned up all his exploits, from the time of his Quæſtorſhip to that of his Conſulſhip, againſt the *Numidians*, the *Cimbri*, and the *Italians*; exaggerated his victories over *Mithridates*, and boaſted of the number of nations he had reduced to the obedience of *Rome*: But he gloried in nothing ſo much, as that his camp had been a ſanctuary to the *Roman* Citizens, whom the cruelty of CINNA had driven into baniſhment. He added, that for a reward of theſe ſervices to the ſtate, his enemies had prevailed to have him declared an exile, his houſe demoliſhed, his friends murdered, and his wife and children forced to fly from *Rome* to ſave their lives: but that he would ſoon return, and take vengeance, both on his private enemies, and thoſe of the public. The reſt of the Citizens, the new as well as the old, he promiſed not to hurt. The Senate, terrified at this letter, immediately diſpatched commiſſioners, with an earneſt requeſt to him, to be reconciled to his adverſaries, offering him the ſecurity of the public faith for the performance of whatever he ſhould demand. At the ſame time, they forbad the Conſuls to make any more levies till an anſwer could be obtained from him. CINNA promiſed to obey; but no ſooner were the commiſſioners ſet out from *Rome*, than the Conſuls made a progreſs through *Italy*, enliſting ſoldiers, and forming different armies to oppoſe their enemy. Their deſign was, that the ſeat of the war ſhould be abroad; and, with this view, they ordered forces to be tranſported into *Dalmatia*. The firſt detach-

Y. of R 669. Bef. J. C. 83. Conſ-p. 368.

Sueton. in Jul. Cæſar, c. i.

App. de Bel. Civ. l. i. p. 396.

App. ibid. p. 397.

Y. of R. 669. tachment had a ſafe paſſage, but the next, meeting with a ſtorm, returned home, and diſperſed themſelves, giving out every where, that they would not fight againſt their countrymen. The reſt of the army, encouraged by this example, refuſed to embark for *Dalmatia*. Whereupon CINNA aſſembled them, and by menaces would have compelled them to obey, but they mutinied and ſlew him [b].

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiii.

CARBO, by the death of his collegue, remaining ſole maſter of the adminiſtration, found various pretences to put off the election of a new Conſul to the next year. In the mean time, the commiſſioners who had been ſent to SYLLA returned with an anſwer to this effect (according to *Appian*) that he would never have any friendſhip with the actors of ſuch crimes; that if the *Roman* People had an inclination to pardon them, he would not oppoſe it; but that thoſe would be in the ſafeſt condition, who took refuge with him, as he had an army ſo much at his devotion [c]. By which [laſt] words, ſays *Appian*, it was plain, he deſigned to retain his command, and to poſſeſs himſelf of the government *.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 398.

* τὴν τυραννίδα.

CARBO, to keep the *Italians* ſteady to his cauſe, would have obliged all the towns and colonies of *Italy* to give hoſtages for their fidelity. But the Senate hindered the execution of this project. However, by the intereſt of his party, he got a Law paſſed, for diſtributing the freedmen among all the five and thirty tribes, and ob-

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiv.

[b] *Plutarch* ſays, the mutiny was occaſioned by a ſuſpicion, that CINNA had murdered POMPEY (afterward ſurnamed the Great); that CINNA, in his flight, was overtaken by a Centurion; that when this man was going to run him through, he fell on his knees, and offered him, if he would ſpare his life, a ſeal ring, which was of great value. I do not come, ſaid the officer, to ſeal a contract, but to puniſh a wicked, and a cruel tyrant, and, at theſe words, plunged his ſword in the Conſul's body. *Plut. in Pomp.*

[c] The Epitome of *Livy*, l. lxxxiv. (with which *Vell. Pat.* ſeems to agree) tells us, that SYLLA offered to ſubmit to the authority of the Senate, on condition, that all who had been baniſhed by the *Marian* faction, and had fled to him, ſhould be reſtored: and that CARBO, and his party, hindered theſe terms from being accepted.

tained

tained a decree of the Senate, ordaining that all armies every where ſhould be diſbanded.

SYLLA paid no regard to this decree. Leaving *Athens*, he marched to *Dyrrhachium*, in order to embark there on board a fleet of twelve hundred ſhips (1600, according to *Appian*.) Before he ſet ſail, he began, it is ſaid, to fear leſt his troops ſhould, on their arrival in *Italy*, diſband themſelves, and return to their reſpective homes. But they ſoon freed him from his apprehenſions; for, of their own accord, they took a new oath of fidelity to him; nay, thinking, that he wanted money, they made a contribution among themſelves, and offered it to him: But he declined their preſent. App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 398. Plut. in Sylla.

It was in the Conſulſhip of L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO and C. JUNIUS NORBANUS, that SYLLA landed at *Brundu-ſium*, with an army of five *Roman* Legions, and ſix thouſand horſe, beſide the *Macedonian* and *Peloponneſian* auxiliaries, in all 60000 men[d]. By SYLLA's account, as given by *Plutarch*, the *Marian* faction had on foot 450[e] Cohorts of good troops, commanded by fifteen generals. *Appian* ſays, their forces, at this time, amounted to 200 Cohorts of 500 men each, but that afterwards they were increaſed. He adds, that the People favoured the Conſuls much more than SYLLA, becauſe he ſeemed the aggreſſor, invading his country in a hoſtile manner; whereas the Conſuls, though they had in reality only their own intereſt at heart, yet pretended a view to the public good. Beſides, the People, conſcious of being themſelves equally tranſgreſſors, took up arms out of fear, knowing, that SYLLA would not be ſatisfied with chaſtiſing them, but was meditating ravages, ſlaughter, and deſtruction Thus far *Appian*. But if we may believe *Vell. Paterculus*, all the beſt men flocked to SYLLA's army. Among theſe, it ſeems, was CETHEGUS, who had been a great enemy to the Proconſul, and had by him been driven out of *Rome*, when Y. of R. 670. Bef. J. C. 82. Conſ-p. 369. App. loc. cit. App. p. 400. App. p. 399.

[d] *Vell. Pat.* (l. ii. c. xxiv.) ſays, that SYLLA's army amounted to no more than 30000 men.

[e] *Vell. Pat.* (loc. cit.) tells us, that the *Marian* army conſiſted of above 200000 men.

CINNA

Y. of R. 670. Cic. in Verr. I. c. xii. & ſeq.

CINNA was expelled. *Verres* alſo, ſo well known by CICERO's pleadings againſt him, quitted *Carbo*, to whom he had been Quæſtor in *Gaul* the laſt year, carried off the public money with him, and took refuge with SYLLA, that he might not be obliged to paſs his accounts. The Proconſul, ſays CICERO, would not truſt him as a friend, but removed him from the army, and placed him at *Beneventum*, where he could do no hurt, being narrowly watched by perſons ſteady to the cauſe: Yet SYLLA afterwards rewarded him, as a traitor, liberally with the eſtates of ſome of the inhabitants of that town, whom he proſcribed. METELLUS PIUS, CRASSUS, and POMPEY, (the ſon of *Pompeius Strabo* formerly mentioned) likewiſe repaired to SYLLA's camp. METELLUS, ſince his flight from *Rome*, when MARIUS and CINNA entered the City, had endeavoured to kindle a war in *Africa*, but had been driven from thence by *Fabius*, Prætor of that province. CRASSUS, on the death of CINNA, had raiſed ſome forces in *Spain*, tranſported them into *Africa*, and joined METELLUS: but ſoon quarrelling with him, he left that country, and went to SYLLA. POMPEY (afterwards ſurnamed the Great) was at this time about twenty-three years of age. Having, by his credit in the country of *Picenum*, raiſed three Legions, he led them to SYLLA, and, in his march, defeated *Brutus*, one of the chiefs of the *Marian* faction, who oppoſed his paſſage. On his arrival, SYLLA roſe up to receive [f] him, (a civility which he paid to none of the other generals) and ſaluted him by the title of Imperator.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxiv.

Plut. in Craſſ.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xxix.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxv.

Plut. in Pomp.

App. p. 399.

SYLLA, advancing into the country, fought a battle with the Conſul NORBANUS, at *Canuſium*, vanquiſhed him, and ſlew ſeven thouſand his men [g]. The Procon-

[f] According to *Plutarch*, SYLLA advanced to meet POMPEY, and alighted from his horſe, as ſoon as he came up to him.

[g] In the Epitome of *Livy*, we are told, that, before this battle, SYLLA ſent deputies to NORBANUS to treat of peace; and that the latter offered violence to them. *Appian* ſays, that SYLLA ſent deputies to NORBANUS ſome time after the battle. Both ſtories can hardly be true.

ſul

ſul loſt only ſeventy ſoldiers on this occaſion, or, as ſome ſay, an hundred and twenty-four; and, if we believe *Plutarch*, he obtained this victory merely by the courage of his troops, for he led them to the attack without forming them into any order. NORBANUS ſhut himſelf up in *Capua*; and the other Conſul, L. SCIPIO, marched to oppoſe the enemy. As he was more ſolicitous to bring about a peace than to carry on the war, SYLLA, who knew his diſpoſition, ſent him ſome overtures, which he very willingly liſtened to: but the Proconſul found various pretences to put off the concluſion of the affair. During this negotiation, his ſoldiers, long practiſed in wiles and cunning under ſo artful a maſter, corrupted many in SCIPIO's army by bribes, promiſes, and flattery. At length, all the Conſul's troops deſerted him, and went over in a body to SYLLA [h]. SCIPIO was taken priſoner in his tent, together with his ſon; but the Proconſul, after having in vain endeavoured to engage them in his party, ſet them both at liberty: ſo different, ſays *Velleius*, was SYLLA, when carrying on the war, from the ſame SYLLA, when he had finiſhed it. On the news of this deſertion, NORBANUS is reported to have ſaid, that in SYLLA he had to fight againſt a Lion and a Fox; but that the Fox was the moſt dangerous enemy. To him likewiſe the Proconſul ſent deputies to treat of peace, but NORBANUS, dreading the fate of his collegue, would not ſo much as return an anſwer. Hereupon, SYLLA decamped, and drew nearer to *Rome*, ravaging the country in his march. NORBANUS directed his courſe to the ſame City, but by a different rout. *Carbo*, the laſt year's Conſul, entered it before either of them, and obtained of the Se-

Plut. in Sylla.

App. p. 402.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xxv.

Plut. in Sylla.

App. loc. cit.

[h] *Appian* reports, that, during the truce, SERTORIUS, who had been ſent by SCIPIO to conſult with NORBANUS about the articles of peace, ſeized upon *Sueſſa* in his way: that SYLLA, looking upon this ſtep as an infraction of the truce, SCIPIO, either conſcious of the fact, or not knowing what anſwer to make, reſtored to the Proconſul the hoſtages he had given in the beginning of the treaty; and that the Conſul's army, offended both at the taking of *Sueſſa*, and the returning of the hoſtages, deſerted to SYLLA.

nate

Y. of R. 670. nate and People a decree, declaring *Metellus*, and all the Senators who had joined SYLLA, enemies to the State.

About this time, the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was burnt down in the night. Some ſaid, it was ſet on fire by *Carbo*'s order: ſome ſuſpecting the Conſuls; others SYLLA. This laſt, in his memoirs, wrote, that a ſlave had told him, that if he did not haſten to *Rome*, the Capitol would be burnt, and had named the day when it ſhould happen, which was the ſixth of *July*.

Plut. in Sylla.

The reſt of the ſummer was ſpent by both parties in recruiting their armies. Multitudes flocked daily to the Conſuls from all parts of *Italy*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul*. SYLLA, on the other hand, diſperſed emiſſaries up and down the country, to bring over people to his intereſt by bribes, promiſes, and threats; and, that the *Italians* might have no reaſon to fear him, he entered into a league with them, promiſing to continue to them their right of *Roman* Citizenſhip. SERTORIUS, ſeeing the incapacity of the leaders of the *Marian* faction, and loſing all hope of preſerving *Italy*, after the deſertion of SCIPIO's army, had paſſed into *Spain*; there to aſſemble troops, and maintain the war againſt SYLLA and his adherents.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxvi. Plut. in Sertor.

Y. of R. 671. Bef. J. C. 81. Conſ. p. 370.

At the next election of Conſuls, CN PAPIRIUS CARBO, for the third time, and C. MARIUS, the [1] ſon of the great MARIUS, were appointed to that office.

[1] *Appian* this calls MARIUS, the nephew of the other MARIUS. *Florus* (b. iii. c. xxi.) ſays, he was the brother of MARIUS, meaning MARCUS, or, according to *Pliny*, (l. xxxiv. c. vi.) *Caius Marius Gratidianus*, whom *Catiline*, by SYLLA's order, murdered at the tomb of *Catulus*; and whoſe father (ſays CICERO, *in Brut.* c. xlv.) was *M. Gratidius*, the ſiſter of whom was CICERO's grandmother. *Cic. de Leg.* l. iii. c. xvi. *Pighius* (vol. iii. p. 191. and 252.) thinks, that both *Marcus* and *Caius* were the adopted ſons of the great MARIUS, a thing not very probable. That *M. Marius Gratidianus*, the ſon of *M. Gratidius*, was adopted by ſome MARIUS or other, ſeems plain from his name: but the Capitoline Tables, the Epitome of *Livy*, *Pliny* (l. xxxiii. c. i.) *Velleius Paterculus*, *Dio Caſſius*, *Plutarch*, *Auct. de Vir. Illuſt.* and *Eutropius*, call the Conſul of this year, C. MARIUS, the ſon of MARIUS, without mentioning adoption. The Conſul, according to the Epitome of *Livy*, was at this time but twenty years of age; the author *de Vir. Illuſt.* ſays twenty-five; *Vell. Pat.* twenty-ſix; and *Appian* twenty-ſeven.

MARIUS,

MARIUS, at the head of eighty-five Cohorts, fought an obſtinate battle with SYLLA, at *Sacriportus*, not far from *Præneſte*: but five Cohorts of foot, and two troops of horſe, in the heat of the action, going over to the Proconſul, the *Marians* were routed with great ſlaughter. SYLLA's Memoirs, ſo often mentioned, ſay, that he killed 20000 of the enemy, and took 8000 priſoners, with the loſs of only twenty-three of his own men [k]. Of the priſoners, all that were *Samnites* he ordered to be ſlain, as perpetual enemies to the *Romans*. MARIUS eſcaped with the remains of his army to *Præneſte*, which SYLLA ſoon after blocked up. Plut. in Sylla. App. de Bell. Civ. p. 403.

About the ſame time *Metellus* defeated another army of the *Marians*, the victory being facilitated by the deſertion of ſome of their Cohorts during the battle. Young MARIUS, ſeeing his affairs deſperate, and being eager to revenge himſelf upon his enemies, ſent orders to *Brutus Damaſippus*, the Prætor of *Rome*, to aſſemble the Senate upon ſome pretence, and put to death *L. Domitius*, *P. Antiſtius*, (*Pompey*'s father-in-law) *Mucius Scævola*, the Pontifex Maximus, and *C. Carbo*, a relation of the Conſul, and, according to CICERO, the only good man of the family. This cruel [l] order was punctually executed, and, according to the cuſtom then eſtabliſhed at *Rome*, the bodies of the ſlain were thrown into the river. App. p. 404. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. ix. Ep. xxi.

SYLLA, propoſing to march to *Rome*, left the blockade of *Præneſte* to the care of *Lucretius Ofella*, an ob-

[k] If we believe *Plutarch*, a dream, which SYLLA had, made him very eager to fight this battle; but his men were ſo fatigued with endeavouring to favour the junction of a part of their forces with the main army, that they laid down upon the ground to reſt themſelves; and SYLLA was prevailed upon not to offer battle. But MARIUS marching up boldly to the entrenchments, SYLLA's ſoldiers, in a paſſion, ſallied out upon their enemies, and routed them at the firſt ſhock. *Feneſtella*, and ſome other authors, wrote, that MARIUS, exhauſted with fatigue, fell ſo faſt aſleep under a tree, that he did not hear the noiſe of the battle, and could ſcarce be waked by the flight of his troops.

[l] The Epitome of *Livy* (l. lxxxvi.) places this order before the battle of *Præneſte*, and adds, that the Prætor murdered all the Nobles that were in *Rome*.

ſcure

Y. of R. 671. Dio. Caſſ. ap. Valeſ. p. 654. ſcure man: for the Proconſul, if we may credit *Dio Caſſius*, being now almoſt ſure of the victory, began to neglect the Nobles, who had hitherto done him ſingular ſervice, and to put his chief confidence in men of low birth and no virtue, as knowing, that theſe would be ready inſtruments of his wicked purpoſes, and that they would not arrogate to themſelves the glory of any exploit by him performed. On his approach toward the Capital, thoſe of the *Marian* faction fled from it. The inhabitants, famiſhed with hunger, immediately opened their gates to him, and he, as ſoon as he was maſter of the City, confiſcated the effects of *Marius*'s followers. Then aſſembling the People, he told them, that the wickedneſs of his enemies had forced him upon thoſe meaſures, and exhorted the Citizens to take courage, for that, in a ſhort time, they would ſee an end of their miſeries, and the Commonwealth ſettled upon a good footing. Having ordered all matters in the City according to the preſent exigence, and left a guard there, he marched to *Cluſium*, where he fought a battle with the Conſul CARBO: it laſted the whole day, and night put an end to it before victory had declared on either ſide[m]. After this, CARBO having ſent eight legions under the command of *Marcius* to relieve *Præneſte*, POMPEY laid an ambuſcade for thoſe troops, and with great ſlaughter forced them to retire to an eminence, where he ſurrounded them: and though *Marcius* brought them off in the night, yet, they thinking they had been defeated through his fault, the greater part of them diſbanded themſelves, ſo that he returned to CARBO with only ſeven Cohorts.

App. p. 404.

Idem. p. 405.

App. p. 406. About the ſame time, this Conſul, in conjunction with NORBANUS, attacked *Metellus*'s camp at *Faventia* in the evening, but without ſucceſs. Ten thouſand of their men were killed, 6000 ſurrendered themſelves to the enemy, and the reſt were diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that only a thouſand men retired with their commanders to *Arretium*. On the news of this defeat, a

[m] The Epitome of *Livy*, l. lxxxviii. gives the victory to SYLLA.

Legion

Legion of *Lucanians*, under *Albinovanus*, deſerted their leader, and went over to *Metellus*. *Albinovanus* returned to his general NORBANUS at *Arretium*, but it was only the more infamouſly to betray him. For ſoon after, being bribed by SYLLA, he invited to an entertainment NORBANUS, his lieutenants *Apuſtius* and *Fimbria* (brother of that *Fimbria* who had killed himſelf in *Aſia*) and all the chiefs of the *Marian* party then in the town, and cauſed every one of them to be murdered, except NORBANUS, who did not come to the entertainment. The aſſaſſin made his eſcape to SYLLA, to whom *Ariminum* about this time revolted, and ſome *Marian* armies in that neighbourhood deſerted. After ſo many misfortunes, NORBANUS apprehending, that none of his people would be ſteady to him, embarked on board a ſmall veſſel, and ſailed to *Rhodes*. SYLLA ſent to demand him, and while the *Rhodians* were deliberating, whether they ſhould give him up, he killed himſelf in the middle of the Forum.

CARBO, notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, made ſeveral attempts to relieve *Prænefte*, but without ſucceſs. A detachment of his army was routed at *Placentia* by LUCULLUS, one of SYLLA's lieutenants; and all *Ciſalpine Gaul* ſubmitted to *Metellus*. Hereupon, CARBO, though he had 30000 men at *Cluſium*, two Legions under *Damaſippus*, and two more commanded by *Marcius* and *Carinas*, beſides a powerful army of *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, yet abandoned *Italy*, and paſſed into *Africa*. After his departure, his troops at *Cluſium* were entirely defeated by POMPEY, and 20000 of them cut off. Idem, p. 407.

Some time before this, *Pontius Teleſinus*, a *Samnite*, and *M. Lamponius*, a *Lucanian*, had levied 40000 men in thoſe countries, and attempted to raiſe the blockade of *Prænefte*. According to *Appian* they were now joined by *Damaſippus*, *Marcius* and *Carinas*, with the troops under their command [n]. But fearing to be hemmed in between the armies of SYLLA and POMPEY, who were Plut. in Sylla. Vell. Pat. l. iii. c. xxvii. App. loc. cit.

[n] *Vell. Pat.* and *Plutarch* make no mention of the *Samnites* being joined by any *Roman* troops.

Y. of R. 671. advancing with great expedition to attack them in front and rear, *Teleſinus*, an able general, and a brave man, diſappointed their purpoſe; he decamped in the night, and marched directly to *Rome*. On his arrival there, the terror was no leſs than when *Hanibal* appeared before the gates. Yet the *Roman* youth marched out boldly, and attacked the enemy, but were repulſed with loſs. In the mean time, a body of horſe, detached by SYLLA, came opportunely to the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, and the general himſelf, with all his army, approached ſoon after. His troops were fatigued with their march, which ſome of his officers obſerving, and conſidering, that they were to fight with *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, endeavoured to perſuade him to defer the engagement. He, nevertheleſs, ordered the trumpets to ſound a charge. On the other hand, *Pontius Teleſinus*, an implacable enemy of the *Roman* name, walking through the ranks of his army, cried out, "The laſt "day of *Rome* is come. The City muſt be razed to "the ground. Wolves will never be wanting to prey "upon the liberties of *Italy*, till the wood in which "they ſhelter themſelves is cut down." The day was far ſpent before the battle began, which, it would ſeem, laſted the whole night, with great obſtinacy on both ſides. SYLLA's left wing, in which he commanded in perſon againſt *Teleſinus*, was entirely routed; and he himſelf was in imminent danger of being killed by two men, who, at the ſame inſtant, threw their darts at him: he eſcaped by his groom's opportunely ſtriking his horſe. It is ſaid, that when he ſaw his men give ground, he took out of his boſom a little image of *Apollo*, which he had ſtolen from the temple of *Delphi*, and had ever ſince carried about him when engaged in war. Kiſſing it, with great devotion, he expoſtulated with the God for having brought him to periſh diſhonourably with his countrymen, at the gates of his native City, after having raiſed him, by many victories, to ſuch a height of glory and greatneſs. Then throwing himſelf among his troops, he endeavoured by intreaties and threats to make them face the enemy. All was to no purpoſe. They

They were routed with great ſlaughter, and in their flight [P] to the camp, hurried him along with them. There, when it was very late in the night, meſſengers came to him from CRASSUS (who had commanded the right wing) with the good news, that he had defeated the left wing of the enemy, and purſued them to *Antemna*, where he kept them blocked up.

Moſt of the *Samnites* and *Lucanians* fell that night in battle, and, among the reſt, *Pontius Teleſinus*, who was found the next day with a countenance, ſays *Velleius*, which more reſembled that of a conqueror, than of a dead man.

As ſoon as it was light, SYLLA marched to join the forces at *Antemna*. Three thouſand of the enemy ſent deputies to him, aſking pardon, and offering to ſubmit. He anſwered, that he would ſpare their lives, if they would do ſome ſignal miſchief to the reſt of his enemies. Whereupon thoſe wretches turned their ſwords againſt their companions, killed a great number of them, and then ſurrendered themſelves to the Proconſul.

The enemy being entirely diſperſed, SYLLA ſent the heads of *Pontius Teleſinus*, *Marcius*, and *Carrinas*, (the two laſt having been taken in their flight) to *Lucretius Ofella* at *Præneſte*, with orders to have them carried round the walls of the town. On the news of SYLLA's victory, and of the flight of NORBANUS and CARBO, and of the conqueror's being maſter in *Rome*, the inhabitants of *Præneſte*, in deſpair of relief opened their gates to *Lucretius*. MARIUS, in attempting to make his eſcape through ſome ſubterraneous paſſages, was ſlain by thoſe who guarded him. Some ſay he fell by his own hand: others, that he and the younger brother of *Pontius Teleſinus* fought together, and that *Te-* App. p. 408.

[P] According to *Appian*, they fled to *Rome* with the *Samnites* at their heels, and the *Romans*, fearing leſt the enemy ſhould enter the town, let fall the Portcullis; ſo that SYLLA's men, urged by fear and neceſſity, returned to the fight, and obtained the victory. But ſince SYLLA came laſt before the City, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the enemy was between it and him, and conſequently, that his troops could not fly thither. By the ſame author's account, the loſs on both ſides amounted to 50000 men, and 8000 were taken priſoners.

Y. of R. 671. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxviii. App. p. 408.

leſtus being killed, and MARIUS wounded, the latter cauſed his ſlave to diſpatch him. *Lucretius* ſent his head to the Proconſul, who, on ſeeing it, is reported to have ſaid, that the young man ought to have learned to uſe the oar, before he attempted to manage the helm. Yet *Velleius* thinks, that SYLLA had a high opinion of MARIUS's talents, becauſe, upon his death, he immediately aſſumed the name of Felix, or the Fortunate, a name which, in the opinion of the ſame author, he would have been moſt juſtly entitled to, had his life ended with his victories. *Plutarch* ſeems to doubt, whether SYLLA's proſperity and power did really change his diſpoſition, or only diſcover his natural wickedneſs.

Plut. in Sylla.

It is, however, agreed, that no man ever made a more cruel uſe of victory. The *Romans* ſoon had an inſtance of the coolneſs with which he could perpetrate murders.

Plut. loc. cit. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxviii. D. Caſſ. ap. Val. p. 657.

The 3000 men, formerly mentioned, who, after maſſacring many of their companions, had ſurrendered themſelves to him upon promiſe of their lives, he cauſed to be ſhut up in a publick place, together with ſome other priſoners, (the whole number amounting to 6 or 8000) on pretence of enliſting them in the Legions. He then aſſembled the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, which was hard by; and while he was making a ſpeech to the Conſcript Fathers, his ſoldiers, according to their inſtructions, began to maſſacre the wretches he had ſhut up. Their cries and lamentations greatly terrified the Senators. SYLLA, without altering his countenance, ſaid to them, "Mind what I am ſaying, "Conſcript Fathers, 'tis nothing but a few ſeditious "men whom I have ordered to be puniſhed."

Senec. de Clement. l. i. c. xii. Plut. in Sylla.

After this, he filled *Rome* with ſlaughter, ſparing none of the adverſe party; nay, his friends, without regard to party, murdered, with his connivance, their own private enemies; and all were ſuch, whoſe birth or fortunes they envied. In the general conſternation cauſed by theſe murders, Q. *Catulus* had the courage to ſay to the Proconſul, "With whom do we propoſe "to live, if, in war, we kill all who are in arms, and, "in peace, all who are unarmed?" And C. *Metellus* aſked

Oroſ. l. v. c. xxi.

asked him in the Senate-house, "What end there was Plut. in
"to be to these calamities? he added, We do not Sylla.
"petition you to spare such as you have determined to
"destroy, but to quiet the apprehensions of those whom
"you intend to save." SYLLA answered, "That he
"was not yet certain whom he should leave alive."
Then *Metellus* (or, according to others, one *Ausidius*) desired him to let them know, who they were whom he had determined to punish. SYLLA promised he would, and on the morrow, caused to be fixed up in a public place an edict with a list of the names of eighty [a] persons, whom he doomed to death. This method of condemnation was called PROSCRIPTION, a method of which SYLLA was the inventor. By the edict, it was Vell. Pat. made capital to entertain or save any of the proscribed. l. ii. c. A reward of two talents was offered for each head; xxviii. even a slave was entitled to it for killing his master, App. p. and a son for murdering his father. The estates and 409. effects of the condemned were confiscated, and their Plut. in children and grandchildren declared incapable of hold- Sylla. ing any office in the state. SYLLA, says *Sallust*, was Sall. Bell. the first among men, who appointed punishments for Cat. c. li. people yet unborn, and prepared injuries for those whose life was yet uncertain.

The day after the first Proscription, SYLLA published a new list of 220 Persons whom he condemned, and the next day a like number. In an assembly of the People, he told them he had proscribed all he could think of, and that those whom he had now forgot, he would proscribe hereafter; and concluded with saying, that if the People were obedient to him, he would App. p. change their condition for the better; but as to his 409. enemies, he would spare none of them. After this speech, he proscribed, according to *Appian*, forty Senators, and 1600 Knights. The whole number of the Proscribed amounted, according to *Val. Max.* to 4700;

[a] According to *Orosius*, this first Proscription was before the surrendery of *Præneste*, or the death of NORBANUS; for MARIUS and NORBANUS, CARBO and SCIPIO, were among the proscribed.

Y. of R. 671. Val. Max. l. ix. c. ii. §. i.

he adds, that SYLLA, as if he gloried in his cruelty, cauſed their names to be entered in the public regiſters; but, probably, this was done, that it might be known, in future times, whoſe deſcendants ſtood excluded from offices. Whatever was the number of the proſcribed, that of the ſlain ſeems much to have exceeded *Valerius*'s account. And (if we may believe *Dio Caſſius*) when *Mithridates* ordered all the *Italians* in *Aſia* to be murdered, there did not periſh near ſo many of that nation, nor by ſuch cruel deaths, as in conſequence of SYLLA's edicts. Nor did the tyrant confine his cruelty to *Rome*. His aſſaſſins roamed over all *Italy*, every where ſearching out the favourers of the *Marian* faction. It was a crime, not only to have borne arms againſt SYLLA, but to have given even the leaſt aſſiſtance to his enemies, to have been in friendſhip with them, to have lent them money, nay to have travelled in company with any of them. The weight of the ſtorm fell chiefly upon the rich, more people being murdered for their eſtates, than on account of party, or private revenge. Nor did SYLLA ceaſe his Proſcriptions, till he had enriched all his friends and followers. He became the protector of all villains. Among theſe were *Oppianicus* and *Catiline*. The former, a *Roman* knight of *Larinum* in *Apulia*, having privately cauſed his wife's brother to be aſſaſſinated, that his own ſon might inherit the whole of his grandmother's eſtate, and being threatened with a proſecution by the relations of the deceaſed, he firſt took refuge in the camp of *Metellus*; and when afterwards he had procured a commiſſion from SYLLA, he returned to *Larinum* with a party of ſoldiers, and under cover of the proſcription murdered all who had threatened to bring him to trial. *Catiline* had formerly murdered his own brother, and now obtained of the Proconſul, that his brother's name ſhould be inſerted among the proſcribed, as if he had been ſtill living. In return for this favour, *Catiline* undertook the puniſhment of *M. Marius Gratidianus*, a man who had been twice Prætor, and ſo great a favourite with the *Roman* People, for his having promulgated a Law againſt the adulteration of

Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ. p. 658.

App. loc. cit.

Cic. pro Cluent. vii. & viii.

Aſcon. in Tog cand. Cic. de Offic. l. iii. c. xx. Plin. l. 33. c. 9.

the

the coin, that they erected ſtatues to him in all quarters of the City, and offered incenſe before them. *Catiline* cauſed *Gratidianus* to be whipped through the town, then dragged to the tomb of *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, where his legs and arms were broke, his eyes put out, and his hands and ears cut off; and when he had been tortured in every member, *Catiline* himſelf cut off his head, while he was yet alive, and, having carried it to SYLLA in the Forum, went and waſhed his bloody hands in the luſtral water, that was at the door of *Apollo*'s temple. *M. Plætorius*, a Senator, was put to death for fainting away at the execution of *Gratidianus*.

Liv. Epit. 88. Senec. de Ira. l. iii. c. xviii. Flor. l. iii. c. xxi. Plut. in Sylla. Cic. de Pet. Conſul. Val. Max. l. ix. c. ii. §. 1.

In great danger of being proſcribed was C. JULIUS CÆSAR. His aunt had been married to the elder MARIUS, and he himſelf was ſon-in-law to CINNA. All SYLLA's authority could not prevail with him to divorce his wife; he was therefore degraded from the office of Flamen Dialis, deprived of his patrimony, and forced to abſcond to ſave his life. At length, the veſtal virgins, and ſeveral of the chief men of *Rome*, earneſtly intreating, that he might be ſpared, SYLLA anſwered, "You have prevailed, but know, that he, "whom you ſo eagerly wiſh to ſave, will one day prove "the ruin of the party, which you and I have been "defending. You have no penetration, if, in that boy, "you do not ſee many MARIUS's."

Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xli. Sueton. in Jul. c. i.

The tyrant, not contented with proſcribing particular perſons, extended his revenge to whole towns and nations. *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, *Florentia*, *Sulmo*, and *Præneſte*, were razed to the ground, moſt of the inhabitants maſſacred, and their effects ſold. All the *Samnites* he put to death, or baniſhed *Italy*, alledging that, while they remained united, the *Romans* would never have peace; ſo that, in *Strabo*'s days, all their towns were either in ruins, or dwindled into villages.

App. p. 410. Flor. iii. 21. Strab. v p. 24

All *Italy* now ſubmitted to the conqueror, except *Nola* and *Volaterræ*; but the *Marian* faction had ſtill leaders in the provinces. SERTORIUS had aſſembled an army in *Spain*; *Perperna* prepared to defend *Sicily*, and the Conſul CARBO and *Domitius* (CINNA's ſon-in-law

Y. of R. 671. were in *Africa*. POMPEY, in virtue of a commiſſion from SYLLA, paſſed with an army into *Sicily*, whereupon *Perperna* abandoned the iſland. Soon after, CARBO, who had left *Africa* to go into *Sicily*, ſtopped at *Coſſura*, and from thence ſent *M. Brutus* to *Lilybæum*, to learn whether POMPEY was there. *Brutus*'s veſſel being ſurrounded by ſome of the enemy's ſhips, he ſlew himſelf, that he might not fall into the enemy's hands; and POMPEY, having diſpatched ſome veſſels in purſuit of CARBO, took him priſoner, with all his attendants. Theſe he cauſed to be ſlain, without ſuffering them to come into his preſence, but the Conſul to be brought in chains before his Tribunal; and when from thence he had reproached him in a long and bitter invective, commanded him to be led to execution. [POMPEY has been cenſured, with ſome ſeverity, for this treatment of CARBO, a man who had been thrice Conſul, and had warmly patronized him, when all the effects of his father, *Pompeius Strabo*, were, after his death, going to be confiſcated, for his having embezzled the public money.]

Plut. in Pom.

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxix.

App. p. 410.

Val. Max. l. v. c. iii. §. v.

Both the Conſuls being dead, and the time for the election of new Magiſtrates approaching, SYLLA left *Rome*, and went to his camp, from whence, by a meſſage to the Senate, he ſignified his deſire, that they would name an *Inter-rex*. The Fathers pitched upon VALERIUS FLACCUS, hoping, that he would hold the Comitia for an election of Conſuls: but SYLLA wrote to VALERIUS, adviſing him to propoſe to the PEOPLE the creating a DICTATOR, who ſhould hold that office, *not for any fixed term, but till the affairs of* Rome, Italy, *and the whole empire, that were in great diſorder through the late wars, ſhould be entirely ſettled.* At the bottom of the letter he added, that *with their approbation, he would burthen himſelf with the care of doing the Republic that ſervice.*

App. de Bell. Civ. p. 411, 412.

VALERIUS, having convened the People, propoſed and paſſed a Law, which not only conſtituted SYLLA Dic-

DICTATOR *for an unlimited time* [b], but likewiſe ratified every thing he had hitherto done, and gave him a full and uncontroulable power [c] over the lives and fortunes of his Fellow-citizens: "A Law (ſays CICERO) the "moſt iniquitous that ever was made, and the moſt "unlike a Law:" and indeed it is harder to conceive how a Law, ſo contrary to the very eſſence of civil ſociety, ſhould ever be propoſed, than that it ſhould paſs, at this juncture, without oppoſition. Plut. in Sylla. Cic. 3. in Rul. c. ii.

[b] There had been no DICTATOR in the Republic, during the laſt 120 years: and this is the firſt inſtance of a DICTATOR *created by the* PEOPLE, or *for an indeterminate time:* The People had once, indeed, in a time of great diſtreſs, during the ſecond Punic War, created a PRO-DICTATOR, but without giving him the power of naming his *general of the horſe.* See Vol. IV.

[c] *Legem interrex noſter tulit ut Dictator quem vellet civium indictâ cauſâ impune poſſet occidere.* 1. De Leg. 3287. *Omnium legum inquiſſimam diſſimillimamque legis eſſe arbitror eam, quam* Lucius Flaccus *interrex de* SYLLA *tulit, ut omnia quæcunque ille feciſſet, eſſent rata. Nam cum cæteris in civitatibus, Tyrannis inſtitutis, Leges omnes extinguantur atque tollantur, hic Reip. Tyrannum Lege conſtituit.* Cic. in Rull. iii. 2.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

EIGHTH BOOK.

From the Year 671, when SYLLA was created *Perpetual* DICTATOR, to the Commencement of the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE, formed in the end of 693.

CHAP. I.

The Laws and Inſtitutions of SYLLA, when DICTATOR. POMPEY's *ſucceſſes in* Africa: *For which he obtains a Triumph at his return to* Rome. SYLLA *abdicates the* DICTATORSHIP *in* 674; *and dies in* 675.

SYLLA, having rewarded *Valerius*, the *Inter-rex*, with the office of *general of the horſe*, came into the Forum, attended by *four and twenty* Lictors; in whoſe *Faſces*, to the great terror of the City, appeared the *axes*, which were never ſeen in the Conſular *Faſces*, within the walls of *Rome*. Beſide theſe Lictors, he had for his guard, a numerous band of ruffians, ever ready to execute his commands; and that all this was not merely *in terrorem* became quickly manifeſt. Appian.

To preſerve ſomewhat of the old form of the Commonwealth, it was the pleaſure of the Dictator, that *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, and other Magiſtrates, ſhould be elected as uſual. *Lucretius Ofella*, who had lately reduced *Præneſte*, preſented himſelf a Candidate for the Conſulſhip. The DICTATOR forbad him to ſtand: Nevertheleſs *Ofella*, having intereſt with the People, and many friends among the great, and having recently done the cauſe of SYLLA's party ſo conſiderable a ſervice, imagined he might ſafely diſregard the prohibition. He perſiſted, therefore, to ſolicit the voters. The DICTATOR, from his Tribunal, obſerving it, ſent to him a centurion, who killed him upon the ſpot. A tumult

Plut. in Sylla. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxix. Appian.

tumult, an uproar [d] enſued; the aſſaſſin was ſeized, and brought priſoner to the foot of the Tribunal; *Let him go*, ſaid the DICTATOR, *he has only obeyed my orders*. After this, he cauſed M. TULLIUS DECULA, and CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, to be elected Conſuls. The government of *Italy* fell by lot to DECULA, that of *Macedonia* to his collegue. Y. of R. 672. Bef. J. C. 80. Conſ-p. 371.

After theſe elections, towards the end of *January*, the DICTATOR made his *Triumphal* entry into *Rome*, on account of his conqueſt in the Eaſt. The Proceſſion, which laſted two days, was adorned with the richeſt ſpoils [e] of *Aſia*: But neither the name of any *Roman* Citizen vanquiſhed by him, nor the repreſentation of any city by him taken, that belonged to the *Romans*, appeared there. The principal ornament of his *Triumph* was a long train of Senators and other eminent Citizens, who, having been protected by him from the fury of MARIUS and CINNA, followed his chariot, calling him their *Father* and preſerver, and proclaiming, that they owed to him their lives, and whatever elſe they enjoyed that was dear to them. At the ſame time, ſome of his ſoldiers, agreeably to the freedom allowed on theſe occaſions, called his Dictatorſhip a *diſguiſed royalty*; intimating, that, though he declined Val. Max. l. xi. viii. Plut. in Sylla 473. App. p. 414.

[d] *Appian* tells us, that, on this occaſion, SYLLA ſpoke thus to the People. "A countryman, being bitten by vermin, cleared his ſhirt "of them once or twice; but when he found himſelf again teized by "them, he threw his ſhirt into the fire. Make the application"

The ſame author [p. 413.] ſays, that *Oſella* was treated with this rigour, becauſe he had the audaciouſneſs (in violation of a Law, which the Dictator had lately publiſhed) to ſue for the Conſulſhip, though he had not yet been either Prætor or Quæſtor, but was ſtill in the order of Knights. But *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. xxvii. tells us, that *Oſella* was Prætor when he left *Carbo*'s party, and went over to SYLLA: and it is not probable, that SYLLA's Inſtitutions were yet publiſhed.

[e] *Pliny* [l. xxxiii. c. i.] tells us, that on the firſt day were carried 15000 *pounds weight of gold* [i. e. 960000 l. ſterl.] and 115000 *pounds weight of ſilver* [which is 371354 l. 3 s. 4 d. ſterl.] which he had amaſſed in the war againſt *Mithridates*. And that on the ſecond day were carried 13000 *pounds weight of gold* [i. e. 832000 l. ſterl.] with 6000 *of ſilver* i. e. 22604 l. 3 s. 4 d.] which had been ſaved when the Capitol was burnt, and had been tranſported to *Præneſte* by the younger MARIUS.

the

Y. of R. 672. the title, he was in effect a KING: Others, who were diſpoſed to call things by their true names, termed it a *manifeſt tyranny*, that is, an *uſurped deſpotiſm*.

The ceremony over, SYLLA aſcended the Roſtra, and, in a ſtudied ſpeech, gave a pompous account of Plut. his exploits, aſcribing all his ſucceſs to FORTUNE, and deſiring they would give him no other ſurname, but that of FORTUNATE [FELIX[f]]; which, accordingly, was given him in the inſcription upon the pedeſtal of the gilt equeſtrian ſtatue erected, at this time, to his honour, by a decree of the Senate[g].

THOUGH SYLLA, by aſſuming the DICTATORSHIP, for an indeterminate time, brought the *Romans*, originally governed by KINGS, to be again ſubject (as *Appian* obſerves[h]) to regal domination: yet from ſome of the firſt acts of this new king, it would ſeem, that he never meant to retain the ſovereignty, longer than till he had ſatiated his revenge, and could return, ſecure of impunity, to the condition of a private Citizen. That he might be able to make a *ſafe* retreat from public life, he laid the foundation of an Ariſtocracy in the *Roman* ſtate, by ſuch ordinances as, upon his abdication of the DICTATORSHIP, would leave all authority and power in the hands of the SENATE: taking

App. p. 410. [f] SYLLA, in writing to the *Greeks* in their language, ſtiled himſelf *Epaphroditus*, *Beloved of Venus*, in that manner tranſlating the word *Felix*. His trophies that were ſtill extant in *Plutarch*'s time, bore this inſcription, LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA EPAPHRODITUS. And when his wife *Metella* was delivered of twins, a boy and a girl, he gave to both the name of *Happy*, calling the boy *Fauſtus*, the girl *Fauſta*. Plut. in Sylla.

[g] The *Triumph* was followed (if we may believe *Appian*) by magnificent games; for the celebration of which *Greece* was exhauſted of all her beſt performers in every kind of exerciſe; inſomuch, that, at the *Olympic games*, there was no contention this year, but in the exerciſe of *running* [δρόμου ταδίου]. *App.* p. 412.

[h] Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ρωμαῖοι ὑπὸ βασιλεύσιν ——— χρησάμενοι ——— αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλείας. *App. de Bell. Civ.* l. i. p. 412.

N. B. It appears from theſe words, that *Appian* did not think the government of *Rome* to have been in the time of its KINGS ſo *democratic* as Dr. *Middleton* and Dr. *Chapman* have repreſented it. See *Obſervations*, &c. p. 99.

eſpecial

eſpecial care, at the ſame time, that the SENATE ſhould conſiſt wholly of his own creatures. His Proſcriptions had very much thinned the Aſſembly, and had left in it (we may preſume) few or none, but ſuch as he believed to be entirely at his devotion. To theſe he added 300 of the moſt conſiderable men of the *Equeſtrian* order: But in making this addition, he complimented [1] the PEOPLE with the *choice* of the Perſons, gathering the

Liv. Epit. l. lxxxix. App. de Bell. Civ. p. 413.

[1] From SYLLA's remitting to the People the nomination of the 300 Knights, who were to have admiſſion into the Senate, Dr. *Middleton* would infer a probability, that the PEOPLE, in virtue of a conſtitutional right, had, *in all times*, filled up, by their elections, the vacancies which happened in that houſe. *Middleton's Treatiſe on the* Roman *Senate*, p. 73. He might, with almoſt as good reaſon, have inferred, from SYLLA's being named by the PEOPLE to the DICTATORSHIP, that it had ever been the cuſtom for the PEOPLE to chuſe the DICTATORS.

As SYLLA, by appropriating to the Senators the honour of judicature, deprived the People of the privilege of annually chuſing the perſons, who were to perform the office of Judges; his view, perhaps, in taking the votes of the tribes, upon the 300 Knights, whom he recommended to them for Senators, was to leſſen the diſcontent of the multitude; this compliment carrying ſome appearance of a remitting to them, for the preſent, the nomination of the greater part of the JUDGES.

Appian [*de Bell. Civ.* p 386.] ſpeaks of a prior addition of 300 members to the Senate, in the year 665, when SYLLA was Conſul, and ſays, that this election was made from the moſt reputable of the Citizens ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν. But Dr. *Middleton*, in his *Treatiſe on the* Roman *Senate*, takes no notice of this pretended prior addition: He ſays only, that, "SYLLA when it [the Senate] was particularly *exhauſted, added* "THREE HUNDRED to it at once from the *Equeſtrian Order*; which "might probably raiſe the whole number to about 500, and in this "ſtate it ſeems to have continued till the ſubverſion of their liberty by "J. CÆSAR." For CICERO, in an account of a particular debate, in one of his letters to *Atticus*, mentions 415 to have been preſent at it, which he calls a full houſe. *Middleton's Treatiſe on the* Roman *Senate*, p. 91.

Father *Catrou*, the Jeſuit, paſſes over the pretended addition of 300 members, made to the Senate by SYLLA in 665, without taking the leaſt notice of it in his text, as if he gave no credit to *Appian*'s report: and though it be mentioned by *F. Rouillé*, in a note on the other's text, it is mentioned only as a report made by *Appian*. M. *Crevier* omits it entirely; and *Pighius*, in this particular, pays no farther regard to *Appian*'s authority, than to ſay in general terms, when ſpeaking of SYLLA's Conſulſhip in 665, *ampliavit Senatum*.

But

Y. of R. 672. the votes of the TRIBES upon every individual of the 300 Knights, propoſed to them for their approbation; [a *choice* in which they were, unqueſtionably, juſt as free, as they had been in their *Election* of him to be perpetual DICTATOR.]

AND

But Dr. *Chapman* takes for granted the prior addition of 300 members reported by *Appian*. "We are not, however, (ſays the Doctor) "to ſuppoſe from *this*, or even the *ſecond* Lection made by SYLLA, "when raiſed to the DICTATORSHIP, that the Senate from this time "amounted to *ſix hundred*: For as the houſe is ſaid to have wanted "much of its due complement in both theſe inſtances, it is probable, "it fell conſiderably ſhort of that number, even after each of theſe "two additions was actually made. What therefore the Senate's pre-"ciſe number was from henceforth, we cannot take upon us to deter-"mine. Only as CICERO [*Attic.* l. i. 14.] in ſpeaking of a debate a-"bout twenty years afterwards, mentions 415 members being then in "the houſe, 'tis probable, that the whole in SYLLA's time amounted "to 500 *at leaſt*."

As to the *preciſe number* of members, of which the SENATE, after the addition to it of 300, did immediately conſiſt; and of which SYLLA intended it ſhould, for the future, always conſiſt (when complete); if we cannot aſcertain it, yet, perhaps, by the help of ſome conſiderations, which the ſtate of things at that time ſuggeſts, we may make a reaſonable conjecture. *Tacitus* tells us (as we ſee above in the text) that by one of SYLLA's laws *twenty* Quæſtors were to be created annually *for ſupplying the* SENATE, *to which he had tranſferred the* JUDICATURE. *Lege* SYLLÆ *viginti* [*Quæſtores*] *creati* SUPPLENDO SENATUI, CUI JUDICIA TRADIDERAT. *Tacit. Ann.* xi. 22. *Pighius* from theſe words gathers, that SYLLA augmented the number of the Quæſtors for this end principally, *that there might be a greater choice of men in the Senate, to ſerve occaſionally as Judges, the ſole right of judicature having been juſt tranſferred to the Senators*. "Ex quibus verbis fit ve-"riſimile, in eum maximè finem ampliaſſe Quæſtorum Collegium, uti "uberior deinceps ſuppeteret Judicum è Senatu ſelectio. Nam è Se-"natu dicebantur eſſe non ſolum Patres Conſcripti vel Senatores à Cen-"ſoribus lecti in eum ordinem ſed etiam populi honoribus uſi, quibus "in Senatum venire licebat & ſententiæ jus habebant." [And he conjectures from ſome paſſages in TACITUS and CICERO, that by SYLLA's Law for creating *twenty* Quæſtors, one half of the number was to be choſen by the People, the other named by the Conſuls.]

That SYLLA, when he augmented the number of the Quæſtors from *eight* to *twenty*, had the *Judicature* in view can hardly be queſtioned; not that this augmentation would of itſelf be effectual for ſupplying the public with a competent number of perſons to perform occaſionally the office of Judges; but would perhaps be ſufficient to keep the SENATE up to its due complement of members, after his introduction of the 300 Knights

AND now he reſtored to the SENATE a privilege which they had many years loſt [and by their miſbehaviour had very juſtly forfeited] ordaining, that none but SENATORS ſhould for the future be appointed to the office of JUDGES. Cic. in Verr. 2.

AND that the auguſt Aſſembly, thus augmented and *thus honoured with the* JUDICATURE, might thereafter have the contingent vacancies in their Houſe regularly filled up with properly-qualified perſons, he ordained, that inſtead of only EIGHT Quæſtors, as before, TWENTY ſhould be annually created. Tacit. Ann. xi. 22.

BUT in order to raiſe and eſtabliſh more effectually the authority of the SENATE, the DICTATOR almoſt totally annihilated that of the Tribunes, Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. xxx. Liv. Epit. l. lxxxix.

Knights into it, and his conſigning the Judicature wholly to the Senatorian order. *To provide Judges* in ſufficient number, was his object in making, at once, ſo large an addition of members to the SENATE: To keep the Senate full, after that addition, was his object in augmenting the number of the Quæſtors. By the *Plautian* [or *Plotian*] Law [*Vid. ſupra, Anno.* 664] it had been ordained, that each TRIBE ſhould annually chuſe out of its own body FIFTEEN perſons, to ſerve as JUDGES; and the honour was made common to all the three orders (*Senators*, *Knights*, and *Commoners*, *i. e.* the *Plebs*) according as the votes carried it in every Tribe. *Cn. Pompeio Strabone, L. Porcio Catone Coſſ. ſecundo anno Belli Italici, cum Equeſter ordo in judiciis dominaretur M. Plautius Silvanus legem tulit, adjuvantibus nobilibus:—Ex ea tribus ſingulæ quinos denos ex ſuo numero creabant ſuffragio, qui eo anno judicarent.* Cic. pro Cornel. & ad Att. iv. The number of perſons qualified, by this Law, to ſit as Judges, was therefore [35 times 15] 525. Now ſuppoſing the Houſe to have had its uſual complement of 300 members, at the time when SYLLA proſcribed 90 of them, *Appian*, p. 415. If to the remaining 210 we add the 300 Knights, and the 12 additional Quæſtors, the ſum total of the members of the Houſe will be 522; a number almoſt the very ſame with that of the perſons, which the tribes, in conformity to the *Plautian* Law, furniſhed annually by election to ſerve as JUDGES; and if we ſuppoſe (and ſurely there is reaſon to ſuppoſe) that the State had found it neceſſary or expedient (after taking the *Judicature* from the *numerous* body of the *Knights*) to provide ſo large a number as the *Plautian* Law preſcribed, of qualified perſons, out of which to chuſe the JUDGES, this will account both for SYLLA's adding ſo many members at once to the Senate, and for the proviſion he made to keep the number always complete; and it may, perhaps, be thought no weak reaſon for our fixing the due complement of the Senate at 525.

By

Y. of R. 672. By depriving them of the Power of LEGISLATION[k]; And by decreeing, that no Citizen, who had ſerved in the office of TRIBUNE, ſhould ever be capable of holding any ſuperior dignity: a decree which would naturally hinder all perſons, whoſe high birth, or extraordinary talents might render them formidable to the Ariſtocratic faction, from ſeeking, or even coveting the *Tribuneſhip*.

App. de Bell. Civ. p. 413.

D. Hal. l. ii. Dio l. xxxvii. Not content with humbling the PEOPLE, by this diminution of the power of their TRIBUNES, the DICTATOR took from the *Tribes* the privilege, they had obtained by the *Domitian* law, of filling up, by their elections, the vacancies which happened in the ſeveral colleges of the PONTIFS, AUGURS, and GUARDIANS OF THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS; and reſtored to theſe colleges the power of ſupplying their vacancies by CO OPTATION: increaſing, at the ſame time, the number of members in each college from TEN to FIFTEEN.

[k] Mr. *Kennet* ſays, that SYLLA deprived the TRIBUNES, not only of the power of *making Laws*, but of *interpoſing* [interceſſion] of *holding aſſemblies*, and *receiving appeals*; and for this he cites *Cic. de Leg.* l. iii. *Cæſ. Comm. de Bell. Civ. Florus*, *Plutarch*, &c. I have not been able to find *all* this either in the authors named, or in *&c.* We have CÆSAR's authority for SYLLA's leaving to the TRIBUNES the power of INTERCESSION. *Neque etiam extremi* JURIS INTERCESSIONE *retinendi*, QUOD L. SYLLA RELIQUERAT *facultas tribuitur.* Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. l. i. c. v. And we have, ſeemingly, CICERO's authority for SYLLA's leaving to the TRIBUNES the power of *receiving appeals:* unleſs by *poteſtatem auxilii ferendi* he means no more than the power of preventing oppreſſive Laws, by their *Veto*. *Quamobrem in iſtu quidem re vehementer* SYLLAM *probo, qui* TRIBUNIS PLEB: *ſuâ Lege injuriæ faciendæ* POTESTATEM *aademerit,* AUXILII FERENDI RELIQUERIT. *Cic. de Leg.* iii. ix.

M. *Crevier* (upon what authority I know not) writes, that by one of SYLLA's ordinances, *the* TRIBUNES *were to be always elected out of the body of the* SENATE: To *Appian*, it was not clear that SYLLA made this regulation, though it afterwards prevailed. ἐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, &c. *nec conſtat an eam* [*tribunitiam dignitatem*] *ut nunc eſt a Plebe ad Senatum tranſtulerit.* App. de Bell. Civ. p. 413.

N. B. Whether this regulation was made by SYLLA, or afterwards, it carries a proof, that the Quæſtors did not always, by their office, become Senators, as Dr. *Middleton* will have it; or that the Tribunes did not, in their way to the Tribuneſhip, always paſs through the Quæſtorſhip, for which the Doctor likewiſe contends.

WITH

WITH regard to the CIVIL MAGISTRACY, the DICTATOR enacted, that, whereas certain intervals had been required by Law between the offices of ÆDILE and PRÆTOR, and of PRÆTOR and CONSUL, it ſhould be permitted, for the future, to ſue for the higher office immediately after having held the lower. No man, however, was to ſtand for the Prætorſhip, who had not been Quæſtor; nor for the Conſulſhip, who had not been Prætor: and he revived the Law, which forbad the conferring on any Citizen a ſecond Conſulſhip, before ten years were elapſed from his holding that dignity [1]. App. de Bell. Civ. p. 413, 414. Pigh. ann.

AND, having firſt augmented the number of the PRÆTORS from SIX to EIGHT, he decreed, that, of theſe eight, ſix, at leaſt, ſhould continue at *Rome* a whole year to preſide in the ſeveral courts of juſtice, and ſhould afterwards have their provinces aſſigned them by lot. Pomp de Orig. Jur.

And whereas it was the cuſtom for the Prætors, when they entered on their office, to fix up an edict, declaring the method in which they would proceed in trying cauſes during their year; which method their ſucceſſors (being under no obligation to obſerve it) did not obſerve, ſo that the forms of proceſs were continually changing; SYLLA, to remedy this inconvenience, ordained, that the PRÆTORS ſhould always uſe one and the ſame method in their judicial proceedings. Cic. Philip. ii.

And he farther decreed, that it ſhould no longer be permitted to reject above three of the Judges appointed to ſit upon a cauſe: and that in criminal cauſes the votes might be taken, either publickly, or privately, at the option of the perſon accuſed. Cic. in Verr. iv.

The ancient penalties for bribery and corruption in trials were revived, and ſuch precautions taken, as would be moſt likely to recover the honour of the Se-

[1] This Law had been often violated of late years, and if SYLLA reſtored it at this time, he himſelf afterwards diſpenſed with it: For the very next year he cauſed himſelf to be elected Conſul, though he had been in that magiſtracy but ſeven years before. M. *Crevier* therefore with reaſon thinks it probable that the revival of this Law was not till after the ſecond Conſulſhip of SYLLA.

A. of R. 672. natorian Judges, who, formerly, when in poſſeſſion of the Judicature, had not behaved themſelves in a manner that did them much credit.

To theſe regulations concerning the SENATE, the PRIESTS, and the MAGISTRATES OF THE CITY, the DICTATOR added others relating to the GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCES. He decreed, that no governor ſhould lead his army out of his province, or himſelf leave the province, without an order from the *Roman* People, or Senate.

That whoever was ſent with any command into a province, ſhould hold that command till he was expreſly recalled; whereas, before, the office of a commander continued no longer than a ſet time, upon the expiration of which, if no ſucceſſor came, he was put to the trouble and inconvenience of getting a new commiſſion from the Senate.

Cic. Ep. ix. ad Lentul. & ad Attic. Ep. vi. l. iii.

Nor was any commander to remain, after the arrival of his ſucceſſor, more than thirty days in his province. Nor, at his departure from it, to exact from the inhabitants a greater ſum than was allowed by the Laws.

Cic. Ep. Fam. vi. l. iii.

THE reformation of the morals of private men [m] had likewiſe ſome ſhare of the DICTATOR's attention.

Ever ſince the times of the civil wars, when licentiouſneſs univerſally prevailed, the crimes of perjury, forgery, robbery, rape, poiſoning, and aſſaſſination, had been very common. He undertook to check the farther progreſs of theſe evils, by enforcing the penalties, which the ancient Laws had denounced againſt the guilty, and by making the ſanctions even more ſevere: Only, with regard to aſſaſſins, an exception was made in favour of thoſe who had killed any of the *proſcribed*.

Cic. pro Cluent.

[m] We are told, that he laid a reſtraint upon the diſpoſition to make expenſive entertainments; but that he did this, chiefly, with a view to lower the price of proviſions: That he likewiſe made a Law to repreſs the prevailing folly of making coſtly and pompous funerals. *Macrob. Sat.* l. iii. *Cic. Vern.* iii. *Plin.* l. xxxiii. *A. Gell.* l. ii. c. xxiv.

As

As to the reſt of the *proſcribed*, who by flight had eſcaped being murdered, he made a Law, that, wherever they were found, they ſhould be put to death as enemies of the Republic; and that all who had concealed them, ſhould be ſubject to the ſame penalty: That their eſtates ſhould be ſold by auction, and their children ſhould be for ever incapable of holding any Magiſtracy: but that ſuch perſons as had embraced his party in the late troubles ſhould have the privilege of bearing honours before they were, legally, capable by age. Cic. pro Roſc. Am. Plin. l. vii. Quintil. l. xi. c. i. Cic. in Piſ.

At the public ſale of ſome of the confiſcated eſtates he himſelf preſided, calling them *ſpoils*, as if they had been taken from a foreign enemy: and the eſtates, which he gave away, he beſtowed in ſo deſpotic and haughty a manner, as by this to give more offence, than even by the violence with which he had ſeized them. He made preſents of the revenues of a whole city, a whole province, to women, to muſicians, to players, and to the moſt worthleſs Freedmen [n]. Cic. de Off. xi. viii. Plut.

But the DICTATOR did not confine his bounties to that ſort of People; he extended them to his moſt illuſtrious partizans, and particularly to the gold-thirſty CRASSUS.

Notwithſtanding the low [q] price at which the eſtates of many perſons were ſold, near two millions ſterling, ariſing from the confiſcations, came into the public treaſury,

While

[n] CICERO, in his Oration for the poet *Archias*, mentions one of SYLLA's preſents made in pleaſantry. When the DICTATOR was preſiding at the ſales, a bad poet preſented him with an Epigram, which had no other reſemblance to poetry, than that every line was longer or ſhorter than the line which ſtood next to it. To reward his zeal, SYLLA gave him ſomething of what was then expoſed to ſale, but upon expreſs condition, that he ſhould make no more verſes.

[p] We are told, that, for the ſake of ſeizing upon the fortune of a very rich man, CRASSUS ventured, of his own private authority, to proſcribe him; and that this ſo highly diſpleaſed SYLLA, that he never after gave him any employment. *Plut. in Craſſ.*

[q] The eſtate of *Sextus Roſcius*, worth about 60000 l. was ſold for leſs than 70 l. to *Chryſogonus*, a favourite freedman of SYLLA.

Y. of R. 672. While SYLLA was thus employed in new-modelling the State, the war went on abroad againſt the remains

This *Roſcius*, one of the moſt conſiderable citizens of *Ameria* [now *Amelia* in the dutchy of *Spoleto*] was aſſaſſinated in *Rome*; and though it was ſeveral months after the ceſſation of *Proſcriptions*, his name, in order to ſcreen the murderers, was foiſted into the liſt of the proſcribed, by the contrivance of *Chryſogonus*; who for the trifling ſum, above mentioned, got the eſtate of the deceaſed adjudged to him: and the more effectually to ſecure his poſſeſſion of it, he engaged SYLLA to direct a proſecution againſt the ſon of *Roſcius*, as the murderer of his father [*Plut. in Syl.*] "and had provided evidence to convict him; ſo "that the young man was like to be deprived, not only of his fortune, "but, by a more villainous cruelty, of his honour alſo, and his life. "All the old advocates refuſed to defend him, fearing the power of "the proſecutor, and the reſentment of SYLLA; [*Cic. pro Roſc. Amer.* "p. 10, 11.] ſince *Roſcius*'s defence would neceſſarily lead them into "many complaints on the times and the oppreſſions of the great: but "CICERO (who was then but in his twenty-ſeventh year) readily undertook it. The popularity of his cauſe and the favour of the audience gave him ſuch ſpirits, that he expoſed the inſolence and villainy "of the favourite *Chryſogonus* with great gaiety; and ventured even to "mingle ſeveral bold ſtrokes at SYLLA himſelf; which he took care to "palliate, by obſerving, *that through the multiplicity of* SYLLA's *affairs*, "*who reigned as abſolute on earth as* JUPITER *did in heaven, it was not* "*poſſible for him to know, and neceſſary even to connive at many things*, "*which his favourites did againſt his will* [pro Roſc. 45.] *He would* "*not complain*, he ſays, *in times like thoſe, that an innocent man's eſtate* "*was expoſed to public ſale; for were it allowed to him to ſpeak freely on* "*that head*, Roſcius *was not a perſon of ſuch conſequence, that he ſhould* "*make a particular complaint on his account; but he muſt inſiſt upon it*, "*that by the Law of the Proſcription itſelf, whether it was* FLACCUS's "*the Inter-rex, or* SYLLA's *the Dictator, for he knew not which to call it*, "Roſcius's *eſtate was not forfeited, nor liable to be ſold* [ib. 43]. In the "concluſion he puts the Judges in mind, *that nothing was ſo much aimed at by the proſecutors in this trial, as, by the condemnation of* Roſcius, "*to gain a precedent for deſtroying the children of the proſcribed: he conjures them therefore by all the Gods, not to be the authors of reviving a* "*ſecond Proſcription, more barbarous and cruel than the firſt: that the Senate refuſed to bear any part in the firſt, leſt it ſhould be thought to be* "*authorized by the public council: that it was their buſineſs by this ſentence to put a ſtop to that ſpirit of cruelty, which then poſſeſſed the City*, "*ſo pernicious to the Republic, and ſo contrary to the character and temper* "*of their anceſtors*———*Roſcius* was acquitted, to the great honour of "CICERO." See *Midd. Life of Cicero*, Vol. I. p. 37—40.

of

of the *Marian* faction in all parts whitherſoever any of them had fled [r].

In *Italy*, *Nola* and *Volaterræ* made a brave defence for two years, but were at length reduced and levelled with the ground.

When POMPEY had eſtabliſhed the peace of *Sicily*, he received orders to go into *Africa*, where DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, CINNA's ſon-in-law, ſupported by *Hiarbas*, king of one part of *Numidia*, was aſſembling forces, POMPEY left the Iſland with ſix Legions, 120 ſhips of war and 800 tranſports, loaded with all kind of ſtores. Part of the fleet anchored at *Utica*, the reſt at *Carthage*. Plut. in Pomp.

His march was retarded a few days by a ridiculous adventure. Some ſoldiers having found a treaſure in the field, where the camp was pitched, the whole army became at once confidently perſuaded, that the field was full of gold and ſilver, hid under ground by the *Carthaginians* in the time of their calamities. Inſtantly every man furniſhed himſelf with a pick-ax, and to digging they went. POMPEY not being able to divert them from their purſuit, only laughed at the ſight of ſo many thouſand men turning up the earth to ſo little purpoſe. Weary at length of their fruitleſs labour, they ſignified to their general, that they had been juſtly puniſhed for their credulity, and were ready to march whitherſoever he pleaſed to lead them. A battle enſued; victory declared for POMPEY, whereupon his ſoldiers proclaimed him *Imperator*. He declined the honour, which he ſaid he could not deſerve, ſo long as the enemy's camp ſubſiſted. Hereupon they inſtantly marched to attack it, though the day was far ſpent. POMPEY, in the heat of the late battle, not giving a ready anſwer to one of his ſoldiers who aſked him the word, had like to have been killed by him; for which reaſon, he fought in the preſent action bare-headed.

[r] *Norbanus* (the collegue of *Scipio* in the Conſulſhip, Year of Rome, 670) who had taken refuge in *Rhodes*, upon the firſt news of a demand from SYLLA to deliver him up, killed himſelf in the Forum of the City.

A. U. C. 672. *Domitius* was killed, and his camp taken: Of 20,000 men, whereof his army had conſiſted, ſcarce 3000 eſcaped. The whole country preſently ſubmitted, and POMPEY entered *Numidia*; *Hiarbas* being killed, or taken priſoner, his dominions were given to *Hiempſal*, king of another part of *Numidia*. This expedition, ſo ſucceſsful and glorious for POMPEY, being finiſhed in forty days, he ſtraight returned to *Utica*.

On his arrival there, he received orders from SYLLA to ſend back his whole army, except one Legion, with which he was to remain in the province till a ſucceſſor came. POMPEY, though much diſpleaſed with theſe orders, reſolved to obey. His troops were not of that mind: They mutinied openly, and declared they would not ſuffer him to put himſelf defenceleſs into the hands of the DICTATOR, whom they made no ſcruple to call a tyrant. POMPEY did all he could to appeaſe them, but notwithſtanding his intreaties, and even tears, they replaced him ſeveral times upon his Tribunal, nor could he quiet them till he had proteſted, that, if they did not ceaſe their violence, he would inſtantly kill himſelf.

MAGNE. Plut.

This commotion, in the firſt accounts brought of it to *Rome*, was related ſo imperfectly, that SYLLA imputed it to POMPEY, and, on that occaſion, ſaid, *it was his deſtiny to be obliged in his old age to make war with children*, meaning the younger MARIUS and POMPEY. But when the matter came to be cleared up, and the public had declared in favour of the young conqueror, the DICTATOR reſolved to do him all kinds of honour; and, accordingly, went out to meet him on his arrival at *Rome*, and ſaluted him by the title of THE GREAT[a]. Nevertheleſs, when POMPEY demanded a triumph, the DICTATOR refuſed it, repreſenting to him, "That by "Law no one could have that honour who had not

[a] According to *Plutarch*, this was the origin of that ſurname given to POMPEY. But *Livy* l. xxx. in fine] makes it owing to the flattery of his friends. Be that as it will, he did not himſelf aſſume the title till ſome years after, when he made war againſt SERTORIUS in *Spain*. Plut.

been

" been Conſul or Prætor: For which reaſon, it had not " been granted to the firſt SCIPIO AFRICANUS, who " had done very great things in *Spain*: that if a man, " too young to have even a place in the Senate, ſhould " be allowed to *triumph*, it would render odious, not " only him, who contrary to Law received that honour, " but the ſupreme Magiſtrate who granted it." And he concluded with expreſly declaring to him, that he would not ſuffer him to *triumph*. POMPEY, in anſwer, deſired him to conſider, that the *riſing ſun* had more worſhippers than the *ſetting ſun*. SYLLA did not hear theſe words, but obſerving an air of aſtoniſhment upon every face, he aſked the meaning of it. Then ſomebody repeated what POMPEY had ſaid: and the DICTATOR, ſtruck with the boldneſs of the expreſſion, inſtantly cried out, *let him triumph, let him triumph.*

Accordingly, the young general, not even a Senator, a *Roman* Knight only, had a *triumph* [t] for his victories over *Hiarbas* and the *Numidians*: and the People were highly delighted to ſee him, after he had received that honour, continue ſtill in the Equeſtrian rank.

SYLLA, though he retained the *Dictatorſhip*, did not chuſe to aboliſh the *Conſulſhip*. At the uſual time for electing Conſuls, he cauſed himſelf, together with Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS, to be named to that magiſtracy. The DICTATOR had a particular kindneſs for METELLUS PIUS [u], as being the firſt *Roman* general, who with an army had joined him. U. C. 673. Bef. J. C. 79. Conſ. p. 373.

Though SYLLA, by the methods which have been

[t] We are told that POMPEY's ſoldiers, not being content with the money he had diſtributed among them, threatened to interrupt the ceremony of his triumphal proceſſion; and that he declared, he would rather renounce his *Triumph*, than humour them; which made *Servilius*, an eminent Senator, ſay of him, that he now deſerved the honour, and was truly GREAT. *Plut.*

[u] METELLUS NUMIDICUS, the Father of PIUS, had been baniſhed by SATURNINUS, and reſtored by the Tribune *Calidius*. This *Calidius*, ſtanding for the Prætorſhip, METELLUS PIUS not only ſolicited the People for him, in the moſt preſſing manner, but though actually Conſul, and of the firſt claſs of the Nobles, condeſcended to ſtile *Calidius* his patron, and the protector of his family. *Cic. pro Planc.*

Y. of R. 673. related, had ſecured to his intereſt the principal Nobles, and indeed the whole Senate, he would not neglect to make himſelf creatures, even among the loweſt order. Of the ſlaves belonging to the *proſcribed* he enfranchiſed 10,000 young men; who all became *Roman* Citizens, and from the name of their patron CORNELIUS were (according to cuſtom) called CORNELIANS. But the moſt powerful ſupport, which he provided for himſelf and his party, were the military colonies which he diſtributed throughout all *Italy*. Having confiſcated the lands of a great number of municipal cities, which had favoured his enemies, he divided thoſe lands amongſt the officers and ſoldiers of three and twenty Legions. Theſe amounted to above 100000 fighting men; who, owing their fortunes and eſtabliſhment to his decrees, would of courſe be ever ready to ſupport both him and them.

Y. of R. 674. Bef. J. C. 78. Conſ. p. 373. By all theſe murders, proſcriptions, confiſcations, grants, laws, and regulations, SYLLA became able, with ſafety, to abdicate the Dictatorſhip, and return to a private life; which he did ſoon after. His firſt ſtep towards the execution of this deſign, was a refuſal of the People's offer *to continue him in the Conſulſhip*. He cauſed his old friend, P. SERVILIUS VATIA (afterwards ſurnamed ISAURICUS) and APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER to be elected Conſuls.

Appian. And now, to the great aſtoniſhment of the public, SYLLA, in the higheſt fortune to which any mortal had ever attained, and in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive deſpotiſm, reſigned, of his own mere motion, and without the leaſt compulſion from any quarter, the reins of government to the new Conſuls, and retired from public life [x].

The ceremony of his abdication paſſed in the calmeſt manner poſſible. He came to the Forum with

[x] We are told, that SYLLA was the laſt of the *Roman* generals, who removed the bounds, and enlarged the circumference of the City. This was an honour and privilege permitted to thoſe only, who, by their exploits, had extended the empire of the Republic. *Tacit.* xii. 23. *Sen. de Benef.* v. 16.

his

his Lictors and Guards, mounted the Roſtra, and from thence declared to the people aſſembled, that *he abdicated the* DICTATORSHIP, *and was ready to give an account of his adminiſtration to any perſon who ſhould require it of him.* He then came down, diſmiſſed his Lictors and Guards, and, accompanied only with a ſmall number of his friends, walked ſerenely up and down the Forum, every body ſtruck with amazement, and ſcarce believing the teſtimony of their own eyes[y]. He received no affront, no mark of diſreſpect, but from one young man: This youth not only attacked him with injurious language, while in the Forum; but, with repeated inſults and reproaches, followed him quite to his houſe. SYLLA ſeemed undiſturbed; he only ſaid, as he entered the door, *The behaviour of this young fellow will hinder any man, who may hereafter be in the ſta-*

[y] SYLLA, after his abdication, made an offering of a tenth part of his effects to *Hercules*. On this occaſion he feaſted the People during ſeveral days, and ſuch profuſion there was in his banquets, that every day a great quantity of proviſions was thrown into the *Tiber*. During this feaſt, his wife *Metella* fell dangerouſly ſick. Religious rejoicings were not to be profaned by any melancholy circumſtances of death, or mourning. SYLLA therefore, exemplarily religious, did, by order of the Pontifices, ſend her a bill of divorce, and cauſe her to be carried, while yet living, into another houſe. In this particular he was a ſtrict obſerver of the Law; but, at his wife's funeral, he violated a Law, which he himſelf had made to limit the expence of funerals, as he did likewiſe that which he had enacted againſt too expenſive entertainments. To conſole himſelf for his loſs, he paſſed his days in luxurious feaſting and debauchery. Some months after, he entertained the public with a ſhew of gladiators; and, as on thoſe days men and women ſat promiſcuouſly together, *Valeria* (the daughter of *Meſſala*, and ſiſter of *Hortenſius* the famous orator) who had been, a few days before, divorced from her huſband, happened to ſit near SYLLA; ſhe was beautiful, gay and lively, but virtuous, and of an unblemiſhed reputation. She came behind him, and, reſting her hand gently upon his ſhoulder, took away a thread of his robe, and then returned to her ſeat. He, turning about, looked as if ſurprized at her familiarity; whereupon *Valeria* accoſted him thus, "It was not out of any want of reſpect, but from a deſire to partake "of your good fortune." [*Vid. ſupra*, p. 235.] Sylla was not diſpleaſed with this anſwer, and they immediately made love to each other by their eyes, and in a ſhort time after he married her. His marriage, however, with the beautiful *Valeria*, did not prove a charm ſufficient to reſtrain him from an infamous commerce with actreſſes and ſinging women.

tion

Y. of R. 674. *tion which I have held, from ever entertaining the thoughts of quitting it.*

Plut. in Sylla & Pomp. SYLLA, when he abdicated his ſovereign power, did not renounce all attention to public affairs; he endeavoured to hinder LEPIDUS from being choſen Conſul for the enſuing year, but failed of ſucceſs; becauſe POMPEY, with his whole credit, ſupported the candidate. Obſerving, that POMPEY was much elated with this victory, he ſaid to him, *You have great reaſon, indeed, to triumph; it is a glorious exploit to have cauſed* LEPIDUS, *the moſt ſeditious of men, to be named to the Conſulſhip, and even before* CATULUS, *the moſt virtuous Citizen of* Rome. *Be upon your guard, however; for you have been arming an enemy againſt yourſelf.*

Y. of R. 675. Bef. J. C. 77. Conſ-p. 374. The next year, when M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS and Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS had the Conſular Faſces, was the laſt of SYLLA's life.

Appian. Plut. He had retired to his country-houſe at *Cumæ*, where he abandoned himſelf to pleaſure. In the midſt of his banquetings and debaucheries, he was ſeized with an horrible diſtemper, called the *Louſy Diſeaſe*; his entrails were corrupted, and his fleſh was full of vermin, the multitude and rapid propagation of which rendered fruitleſs all the pains, that could be taken to make him clean, by bathing and rubbing him, and continually changing his linen. In this miſerable condition, to divert his thoughts as much as poſſible from it, he had recourſe to buſineſs. Ten days before his death, being informed that the people of *Puteoli*, in his neighbourhood, were at variance among themſelves, he drew them up a body of by-laws for their better government.

Appian. Plut. in Pomp. & Lucull. He amuſed himſelf likewiſe with reviſing, or enlarging, his Commentaries, which are frequently quoted by *Plutarch*. About three days before he died he made his will, in which he remembered all his friends, except POMPEY, to whom he left no legacy: nor did he name him among the guardians of his ſon, then an infant almoſt in the cradle; but he expreſſed great affection for LUCULLUS, to whom he inſcribed his Commentaries,

taries, and whom he appointed to be one of his ſon's guardians. And, it is ſaid, that this gave birth to the miſunderſtanding between LUCULLUS and POMPEY, which roſe afterwards to a very great height.

A few days before his death he compoſed his own epitaph, wherein we may read, not only his true character, but a ſatisfactory anſwer to that queſtion, *How could* SYLLA, *after ſo many murders, and other violences, relinquiſh with ſafety his ſovereign power?* The epitaph was in ſubſtance to this effect, that *no man had ever outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or in avenging himſelf on his enemies.*

Some think, that SYLLA's *abdicating the Dictatorſhip* infallibly proved, that *ambition* was not his predominant paſſion[z], and that he had ſeized the ſovereign power only to make ſure of his *revenge*. This vindictive ſpirit continued with him to the laſt, as appears by his treatment of *Granius*, the chief Magiſtrate of *Puteoli*. A certain tax had been impoſed on all the cities for the reparation of the Capitol. *Granius* had received the contributions of his fellow-citizens, but deferred paying in the money, imagining he ſhould be able to retain it for his own uſe, in caſe SYLLA died ſoon. SYLLA informed of this, and inraged at the inſolence of a man who built hopes upon the proſpect of his ſpeedy death, ſent for him, and cauſed him to be ſtrangled in his preſence. The anger and violent agitation he was in, on this occaſion, broke an impoſthume within him: He threw up a vaſt quantity of black and corrupted blood, and died the night following through extremity of pain, having concluded all the acts of his life with a ſtroke of dear revenge. Plut. in Sylla.

Such was the end of the famous CORNELIUS SYLLA. The Conſuls had a warm diſpute about his funeral. LEPIDUS was for having him privately interred in the Appian. Plut. in Sylla. & Pomp.

[z] Others are of opinion, that this is no proof of moderation in the ambition of SYLLA; but rather of his good ſenſe and prudence, being aware that he had made ſome of his creatures (POMPEY in particular) too powerful to remain ſubject to his deſpotiſm.

burying-

Y. of R. 675. burying-place of his anceſtors; but CATULUS, ſupported by POMPEY, prevailed to have his body carried in great pomp [a] through the ſtreets of *Rome*, and burnt in the *Campus Martius*; SYLLA being the firſt of the Patrician branch of the *Cornelian* family, whoſe corpſe was not interred. It was feared that his bones might one day be treated as he had treated thoſe of MARIUS, which he had cauſed to be dug up, and thrown into the river. The tomb, in which the aſhes of SYLLA were depoſited, was in *Plutarch*'s time ſtill to be ſeen in the *Campus Martius*, with that epitaph upon it which has been before mentioned.

[a] From his houſe at *Cumæ*, where he died, dis body dreſſed in a triumphal robe, was carried to *Rome* upon a bed of ſtate, glittering with gold; four and twenty Lictors walked before it with the rods and axes. Of thoſe perſons who had ſerved under him, and had partaken of his favours, ſo great a number came to pay their laſt duties to their general, that they formed rather the appearance of an army, than that of a funeral proceſſion. In the ceremony of his obſequies, the colleges of the prieſts, and the veſtals ſurrounded the corpſe, then marched the Senate, with the Magiſtrates habited in the robes of their reſpective dignities: after theſe came the *Roman* Knights; and the troops, with their golden eagles and arms reſplendent with ſilver, cloſed the march; the trumpets all the way ſounding mournful airs.

When they came to the Forum, they ſtopped; and there (SYLLA's ſon *Fauſtus* being too young for the office) the beſt orator of *Rome* (who is not named) made the funeral panegyric: after which (if we may believe *Appian*, whom *M. Crevier* thinks undeſerving of credit in this inſtance) ſome of the moſt vigorous of the younger Senators took the body upon their ſhoulders, and carried it to the *Campus Martius*, where the funeral pile was erected. The ladies ſignalized their reſpect for the deceaſed, by an almoſt incredible quantity of aromatic ſpices, furniſhed at their expence, to be conſumed on this occaſion. For beſide 210 great baſkets of perfumes, they had cauſed a ſtatue of SYLLA to be made to the life, and another of a Lictor bearing the Faſces before him, and both of cinnamon and other precious aromatics.

[Need we any other proof of the perfect ſecurity with which SYLLA could retire from public life, when we find he had thus gained the hearts of the *Roman* ladies?] The Knights and principal officers of the troops ſet fire to the pile.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

LEPIDUS *attempts, unſucceſsfully, an imitation of* SYLLA. *In* 676 POMPEY *is ſent into* Spain *againſt* SERTORIUS.

THE dangerous example of a private Citizen, who had found means to raiſe himſelf to ſovereignty, and maintain himſelf in it, made thoſe who came after him ſenſible that the *Romans* could bear a maſter, a diſcovery that proved the ſource of more revolutions. Scarce were the eyes of SYLLA cloſed, when LEPIDUS formed the project of aſcending to the ſame height of power.

We have frequently ſeen, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that the great men of *Rome*, to promote the views of their ambition, had made uſe of one of theſe two pretences, the intereſt of the PEOPLE, or that of the SENATE. LEPIDUS had indeed, to accommodate himſelf to the circumſtances of things at that time, declared for the SENATE: But as his collegue CATULUS, POMPEY, METELLUS, and CRASSUS, all men of more weight and intereſt than himſelf, were the chiefs of that faction, he thought he ſhould make a more conſiderable figure, if he eſpouſed the *Marian* cauſe; moſt of whoſe champions had been deſtroyed in the civil war. To give new life to this faction, at this time almoſt extinguiſhed, he propoſed to aboliſh ſome of the laws made by SYLLA. CATULUS, the other Conſul, oppoſed his deſign with a ſteady courage and reſolution. Hereupon the two factions ranged themſelves under their reſpective leaders. LEPIDUS had gained the populace. He raiſed forces in *Hetruria*, where the remains of MARIUS's faction had made a brave defence during two years. He drew together all the proſcribed who had eſcaped death: and when his partizans were ſufficiently numerous to form an army, he took off the maſk, and put himſelf at their head.

As

Y. of R. 675. As his ſtrength was not yet conſiderable, CATULUS was of opinion, that he ſhould be puſhed to the utmoſt; but the majority of the SENATE inclined to gentler meaſures, and to negotiation: they ſent deputies to LEPIDUS, and an accommodation was concluded; the principal conditions were, that the two Conſuls ſhould take an oath not to employ arms againſt each other, and that LEPIDUS ſhould have the government of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, with the command of an army.

This army he led into the Province aſſigned him, and there remained till the year of his Conſulſhip was expired, without returning to *Rome* to hold the Aſſembly for electing new Conſuls, which it was his function to do. We are told, that he thought his oath obliged him no longer than the year of his office; at the expiration of which he ſhould be at liberty to employ, againſt his adverſaries, thoſe forces which they had imprudently put into his hands. The year expiring without the election of new magiſtrates, an interregnum enſued: And LEPIDUS, leaving in *Gallia Ciſalpine* a body of troops under *M. Brutus*, to keep that country in his intereſt, advanced with the greater part of his forces to demand at *Rome* a ſecond Conſulſhip.

Among the fragments of *Salluſt* there is an harangue, ſpoken on this occaſion, by the orator *Philippus*. He reproached [b] the Senators with their indolence, whereby

[b] "When you entered into a treaty with LEPIDUS, he was only a "thief, ſupported by a ſmall number of cut-throats, always ready to "riſque their blood and their life for bread; he is now a *Proconſul* in"veſted with a command, which he did not buy, but which you gave "him. From all quarters he has gathered about him the moſt corrupt "in the different orders, men whoſe indigence and vices make them ca"pable of daring any thing, and who, tormented with the remembrance "of their paſt crimes, can find no repoſe but in ſeditions; to them peace "is a ſtate of violence. Theſe are the men who make inſurrection ſuc"ceed to inſurrection, and civil war to civil war; adherents formerly "to SATURNINUS, then to SULPICIUS, afterwards to MARIUS and "DAMASIPPUS, and laſtly to LEPIDUS—Are you moved by his pro"poſals? he demands, that to every man ſhould be reſtored what ap"pertains to him, and is himſelf rich only by poſſeſſing the fortunes of "others.

by they had given a ſeditious man an opportunity of *making himſelf formidable*: and he concluded his ſpeech in the following manner—" As LEPIDUS is marching " with an army againſt the City, and has aſſociated " himſelf with the vile enemies of the Republic, in con- " tempt of the authority of this Aſſembly, I am of opi- " nion, that APP. CLAUDIUS, now *Inter-rex*, with Q. " CATULUS the *Proconſul*, and the reſt who are in com- " mand, ſhould defend the City, and *take care the Com- " monwealth ſuffer no detriment.*"

The Senate made a decree conformable to the opinion of *Philippus*, whereby they gave an almoſt unlimited power to thoſe whom they appointed to withſtand the enterprizes of LEPIDUS. And whereas CATULUS excelled more in civil virtues than in military ſkill, they with him aſſociated POMPEY, who, though he had contributed to raiſe LEPIDUS to the Conſulſhip, did not decline the preſent commiſſion. A battle was fought under the walls of *Rome*, near the bridge *Milvius*. LEPIDUS, being defeated, retired into *Hetruria*, and was immediately declared an enemy to his country: CATULUS marched in purſuit of him, whilſt POMPEY went into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which, as was before mentioned, *M. Brutus* held for LEPIDUS.

In

" others. He is for having the Laws, founded upon the rights of war, " aboliſhed, and to this he would reduce us by force of arms: For the " ſake of peace and concord he would have you re-eſtabliſh the *Tribu- " nitian* power, from which all our civil diſſentions aroſe."

The orator then apoſtrophiſing LEPIDUS as if preſent—" O thou the " moſt vile and impudent of mankind, will you perſuade us that you " are moved by the indigence and tears of the Citizens, whilſt you poſ- " ſeſs nothing that you have not acquired by arms or injuſtice? You " aſk a ſecond Conſulſhip, as if you had reſigned the firſt to the Com- " monwealth. You deſire to reſtore union and concord, you, who are " the only diſturber of it. Traitor to the Nobles, whom you ought to " defend; perfidious even to thoſe whoſe intereſt you pretend to ſup- " port; an enemy to all perſons of worth; void of reſpect both to Gods " and men, whom you have made equally your adverſaries, by your per- " fidies and perjury. Go on then, perſiſt in thy enterprize. The Laws, " the Gods of our country raiſe their voice againſt thee, and cannot " ſuffer thee in the number of our Fellow-citizens. Continue what

" thou

Y. of R. 676. Bef. J. C. 76. Conſ. p. 375.

In the election of new Conſuls, which was probably made about this time, the People's choice fell upon DECIMUS BRUTUS and MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS [d].

POMPEY, without difficulty brought *Ciſalpine Gaul* to obedience; only he was ſtopt a conſiderable time before *Modena*, which *Marcus Brutus* defended againſt him: but *Brutus*, at length, ſurrendered himſelf *voluntarily*, (ſo POMPEY wrote to the Senate) nevertheleſs the victor, having ſent his priſoner under a guard to *Reggio*, diſpatched thither an officer, named *Geminius*, to kill him: And then, in a ſecond letter to the Senate, changed his ſtyle and calumniated *Brutus*. This was the father of the famous MARCUS BRUTUS, who never forgave POMPEY, till he was engaged to it by a regard to [what he called] the *public intereſt*.

Plut. in Brut.

CATULUS, having driven LEPIDUS into a corner of *Hetruria*, reduced him to the neceſſity of fighting; and POMPEY arriving opportunely from *Ciſalpine Gaul*, determined the victory in favour of the Conſul. LEPIDUS, with what remained of his troops, eſcaped into *Sardinia*. He had no ſucceſs, the *Prætor Triarius* prevented his ſeizing any place. A domeſtic grief completed his diſtreſs. He learnt that his wife *Apuleja* was falſe to him. He divorced her, but, as he continued to love her, grief and vexation threw him into a diſorder, of which he died. PERPERNA drew together the wreck of the army, and went with it into *Spain*; where SERTORIUS ſupported the remains of MARIUS's faction.

Plut. in Pomp. Plin. vii. 46.

Thus ended the commotions raiſed by LEPIDUS. The Senate, contented with having re-eſtabliſhed peace, granted an amneſty to thoſe who had been concerned in the laſt diſturbances; and their decree was ſupport-

" thou haſt begun, that thou mayeſt quickly feel the puniſhment thou " haſt deſerved."

[d] ÆMILIUS was very rich, but very frugal; and, to ſpare himſelf the expence of the games, which was indeed exceſſive, he had declined the office of ÆDILE. The People remembered this, and the firſt time he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, rejected him; and were now very far from being unanimous for his promotion.

ed

ed by a decree of the People, of which CÆSAR was conſidered as the author: not only the general intereſt of the *Marian* faction, which he favoured, might induce him to this, but the private intereſt of his brother-in-law, *L. Cinna*, who had been engaged in the cauſe of LEPIDUS, and who obtained, by this amneſty, leave to return to *Rome*. The Senate's view, in their lenity on the preſent occaſion, was to hinder the fugitives from going (through deſpair) to augment the forces of SERTORIUS, already too formidable. Suet. in Cæſ.

Againſt this general, under whoſe command were gathered all that now remained of MARIUS's faction, METELLUS PIUS conducted the war in *Spain*, with little ſucceſs; for he was naturally ſlow in his motions, and by no means a match for SERTORIUS in military ſkill. His high birth, and his reputation of eminent virtue, ſecured him from the affront of being recalled; but it was thought expedient to ſend him a collegue to be his aſſiſtant. POMPEY, ambitious of the employment, had, for this reaſon, under various pretexts, kept his troops together at a ſmall diſtance from *Rome*, though CATULUS had ordered him to diſmiſs them. The Senate having more confidence in the abilities of POMPEY, than of any other of their generals, determined to ſend him into *Spain* with the title of Proconſul, notwithſtanding the objection made by ſome of the Senators: That it would be a ſtrange thing to ſee a Citizen, and of no higher rank than that of a *Roman* Knight, inveſted with *Proconſular* authority [d].

[d] To this objection *L. Philippus* is reported to have anſwered: *In my opinion, it is not to ſupply the place of one Conſul, but of both Conſuls, that* Pompey *ought to be ſent into* Spain. L. Philippus dixiſſe dicitur, non ſe illum ſuâ ſententiâ *pro Conſule*, ſed *pro Conſulibus* mittere. Cic. pro Lege Manil. lxii.

CHAP. III.

The War of SERTORIUS *in* Spain.

Y. of R. 676. Vid. ſupr. p. 222. [Y. 670.]

IT has been already mentioned, that after SYLLA had, by his wonted arts of corruption, gained over to him the army of the Conſul SCIPIO, SERTORIUS[e] retired into *Spain*; which province had fallen to him by lot, after his Prætorſhip. He found the paſſes of the *Pyrenees* in the poſſeſſion of the Barbarians, whom only money could render tractable. Some of his officers thought it would be diſgraceful for a *Roman* Proconſul to pay a kind of toll to the mountaineers for leave to paſs: but SERTORIUS laughed at this unſeaſonable delicacy, telling them he ſhould never make a ſcruple to buy TIME, which of all things is the moſt precious to thoſe who have engaged in important enterprizes. He purchaſed his paſſage, entered *Spain*, armed with all expedition what *Romans* he found there (of an age to ſerve,) and provided himſelf with engines of war, and with *triremes* [gallies of three benches of oars.]

The oppreſſive rapaciouſneſs of the laſt Prætors had created in the minds of the *Spaniards* an averſion to the *Roman* government. SERTORIUS ſpared no pains to conciliate their good-will; he gained the principal perſons of the ſeveral Cantons by his affability and kindneſs, and the multitude by leſſening the taxes: But what more particularly obliged the *Spaniards* was, that inſtead of taking up his quarters within the cities, he erected tents without the walls of them, and there made his whole army paſs the winter.

[e] According to *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. xxv. SERTORIUS, after the army had abandoned the Conſul SCIPIO, under whom he ſerved, fell into SYLLA's hands, who diſmiſſed him with life; as he did SCIPIO, and many others.——*Conſulem, ut prædiximus, exarmatumque Sertorium (prob quanti mox belli facem!) & multos alios, potitus eorum, dimiſit incolumes.* But *Plutarch* ſpeaks of SERTORIUS, as immediately retiring to his government of *Spain*, upon SCIPIO's refuſing to liſten to his advice, when he warned him to be upon his guard againſt the wiles of SYLLA, who pretended to be deſirous of peace.

No

No ſooner had SYLLA poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power, but he ordered *Annius* with an army into *Spain*. SERTORIUS, to hinder his entrance, ſhut up the paſſes of the *Pyrenees*, with 6000 foot, under the command of *Livius Salinator*. The aſſaſſination of *Livius*, by one *Calpurnius Lanarius*, opened the way to SYLLA's general; and SERTORIUS, not being in a condition to keep the field againſt him, retired with 3000 men into *Carthagena*; where he ſtaid no longer, than till he could get veſſels, whereon to embark his troops. He cruiſed ſome time upon the coaſts of *Spain* and *Africa*; and in vain attempted to make deſcents in different places. At length, having added a few ſmall ſhips of *Cilician* pirates to his fleet, he paſſed the Streights, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the *Bætis*, now called the *Guadalquivir*.

While he was there, ſome mariners, newly arrived from the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate Iſlands*, gave ſo charming a deſcription of them, as made him ſeriouſly entertain the thought of retiring thither, to paſs the remainder of his life in an innocent tranquillity, far from the din of war and the horrours of tyranny. He propoſed this to his followers; but the ſcheme was not ſuited to the diſpoſition of pirates. They quitted him, and ſailed to *Mauritania*, where, having found two parties at war with each other, they offered their aſſiſtance to one of them. SERTORIUS, apprehenſive of being abandoned by his remaining friends and troops, paſſed thither likewiſe, and joined the other party, which he eaſily rendered victorious; and when, by the taking of *Tingis*, he was become maſter of the country, he did not deceive thoſe who had repoſed confidence in him, but, reſtoring all that belonged to them, accepted only of a reaſonable recompence: and this enabled him to ſubſiſt for ſome time the ſmall body of troops, that was then his ſole ſupport.

The Canaries.

Tangier.

[f] ——— ——— *arva beata.*
Petamus arva, divites & inſulas,
&c. &c. Hor. Epod. xvi.

Y. of R. 676. His thoughts were full of anxiety about the event of things, when he very opportunely received an embaſſy from the *Luſitanians*, earneſtly inviting him to put himſelf at their head. This people ſtill defended their liberty againſt the *Romans*, and finding themſelves hard preſſed at that time, had recourſe to SERTORIUS, as to the only general that could protect them; ſo great a reputation had he acquired in *Spain*, during his ſhort appearance there. Nor were they miſtaken in their opinion of him. No captain of his time ſurpaſſed him in perſonal bravery, boldneſs of enterprize, and execution, nor equalled him in ſtratagem: On which account the *Spaniards* called him HANNIBAL. He underſtood likewiſe perfectly well, how to gain the confidence and affection of his ſoldiers, liberally rewarding merit, and puniſhing faults with reluctance. Naturally full of ſtrength and agility, he preſerved thoſe advantages by temperate meals, a plain diet, and a perfect ſobriety, and was able chearfully to ſupport the fatigue of long watchings, long marches, and all thoſe other hardſhips to which an enterpriſing warrior muſt unavoidably be expoſed. He never drank to exceſs, even in his moſt vacant hours; if he had leiſure, his diverſion was hunting; which in time of war had its uſe, becauſe he thereby acquired a perfect knowledge of the country.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. i. p. 421.

Plut. in Sertor.

SERTORIUS left *Africa* with 2600 men, whom he called *Romans*, and 700 *Africans* collected from different nations. The *Luſitanians* ſupplied him with 4000 light-armed foot and 700 horſe. With theſe forces, he maintained the war againſt four *Roman* generals, who had under them 120000 foot, 6000 horſe, and 2000 bowmen and ſlingers. They were maſters likewiſe of innumerable cities, whereas SERTORIUS, at his arrival, had ſcarce twenty, that recognized his authority. Of the *Roman* commanders who were ſent againſt him, he vanquiſhed *Cotta* in a ſea-fight, routed *Tidius*, governor of *Hiſpania Bætica*, in a battle, wherein he ſlew 2000 *Romans*, near the banks of the river *Bætis*. By his Quæſtor he defeated *Domitius* and *Lucius*, and *Manilius*, Proconſul of the other province of *Spain*; and he cut

in

in pieces the whole army of *Thoranius*, together with their leader, whom METELLUS had detached againſt him. As for METELLUS himſelf, he was at a loſs what conduct to obſerve with an enemy, that avoided a general action, attacked him when he leaſt expected it, then retreated with expedition, returned preſently after to the charge, gave him no repoſe, nor any opportunity of making advantage of his ſuperior ſtrength. Without fighting, METELLUS ſuffered all the evils that attend a defeat; and SERTORIUS, by flying, had all the advantages of thoſe who purſue. He hindered his enemies from getting water and haraſſed them in foraging: If they advanced, they found SERTORIUS in their way: if they halted any where, he preſently attacked them: if they beſieged a city, they were themſelves, in a ſhort time, beſieged by famine. Theſe things made the ſoldiers of METELLUS weary of the war; and SERTORIUS having challenged him to ſingle combat, and he declining it, they turned him into ridicule. To retrieve his credit with them, he laid ſiege to the [g] city of the *Lacobriges*, an important enterprize, becauſe SERTORIUS received great aſſiſtance from that place. As there was but one well in the city, and the other waters, uſed by the inhabitants, were in the ſuburbs, and fell immediately into the poſſeſſion of the beſiegers, the conqueſt ſeemed eaſy. Fully perſuaded, that it would be an affair but of two days, METELLUS made his ſoldiers carry with them no more than five days proviſions.

SERTORIUS, conjecturing his deſign and his hope, contrived to convey two thouſand ſkins (*Borachios*) filled with water into the place. The conſiderable reward, he promiſed to each bearer of a ſkin, made the ſoldiers, both *Spaniards* and *Moors*, all competitors for the employment. They had orders to turn out of the town all the uſeleſs mouths, ſo ſoon as the water was delivered. METELLUS, thus diſappointed, and beginning to want proviſions, detached 6000 men to collect what

[g] This city was in the country now called *Old-Caſtile* on the north of the *Douro*.

A. of R. 676. they could find in the adjacent country. SERTORIUS laid an ambuſh for them, ſurprized them in their return, killed a great number of them, and ſeized the convoy; ſo that METELLUS was conſtrained diſgracefully to raiſe the ſiege, and to call in to his aid *L. Manilius*, who commanded in *Gallia Narbonenſis*. This general, with the three Legions he had brought with him, was driven out of the field, and reduced, almoſt alone, to take refuge in * *Ilerda*. By this laſt victory SERTORIUS opened himſelf a way into *Gaul*, and he puſhed on quite to the *Alps*; in the paſſes of which he poſted guards to ſtop the troops that might be ſent againſt him.

* Now *Lerida*.

Epiſt. Pomp. ad Sen. l. iii. Hiſt. Salluſt. Plut. in Sertor.

Theſe ſucceſſes could not fail to make him much admired by the *Spaniards*; and to his real merit he added artifice, the better to ſecure their reſpect and confidence.

A milk white hind, which had been given him ſoon after it was yeaned, he tamed ſo well, that it knew his voice, came to him when he called it, and followed him every where. He had no other view at firſt in careſſing this animal, than to amuſe himſelf; but when he ſaw it ſo tractable, he conceived the deſign of making it uſeful to him. He gave out, that his hind was a preſent from *Diana*, and often revealed to him the moſt ſecret things. To gain the public belief of this, he uſed, when he had privately received intelligence of any of the enemies motions, to conceal the bearer of it, and feign that the hind had whiſpered it to him. The intelligence, pretended to be thus received, always proving true, the *Spaniards* regarded him as a favourite of the Gods, and hearkened to him, as to a man inſpired: and that he might profit the more by their zeal to ſerve him, he armed them after the *Roman* manner, taught them diſcipline, and made them ſenſible of the advantage of it.

But nothing contributed more towards his gaining the hearts of the principal men of the nation, than the care he took of the education of their children: for he drew together all thoſe of the higheſt birth, and placed them

them in † *Oſca*, a conſiderable city in thoſe days; and he gave them maſters to inſtruct them in the arts of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The children were in reality hoſtages; but his profeſſed deſign, in this meaſure, was only to qualify them to hold employments in the government, ſo ſoon as their years would permit. Their parents with delight beheld them, in robes bordered with purple, walking regularly every day to the public ſchools: where SERTORIUS himſelf (who paid for their ſchooling) frequently examined into the progreſs they made; giving rewards to ſuch as deſerved well, with permiſſion to wear hanging at their breaſts the golden *Bulla*, the ornament worn by the children of the better ſort at *Rome* [a].

† *Hueſca* in *Arragon*.

SERTORIUS, notwithſtanding the extraordinary affection and reſpect which the *Spaniards* expreſſed for him, preſerved to the *Romans* all the ſuperiority to which they had been accuſtomed. Of the proſcribed Senators who had retired to him, and of the principal perſons among his other partiſans, he had formed a Senate, conſiſting of three hundred: affirming, that this was the real *Roman* Senate, and that the other at *Rome* was only an Aſſembly of SYLLA's ſlaves. Out of his own Senate he choſe Quæſtors, Lieutenants, and other commanders, imitating as much as poſſible the government of the Commonwealth. No *Spaniard* therefore had any command in his army; for he did not propoſe to ſtrengthen the Barbarians againſt *Rome*, but to make uſe of their aſſiſtance to deliver her from the tyranny of the uſurper. He is ſaid to have been a moſt ſincere

App. & Plut.

[a] It was cuſtomary with the *Spaniards*, as with the *Gauls* and *Germans*, for every lord to have clients or vaſſals, who devoted their lives to his ſervice, and took an oath not to ſurvive him. Other chiefs had a ſmall number of men, who adhered to them under theſe conditions; but as to SERTORIUS, his adherents of this kind were computed by thouſands, and we are told that after ſome engagement, wherein he had been defeated and was hard preſſed by the enemy, the *Spaniards*, ſolely intent upon ſaving him, took him upon their ſhoulders, and paſſing him from one to another conveyed him within the city walls, (near which they then were) not giving a thought to their own preſervation, till they had ſeen him ſafe. *Plut. in Sertor.*

Y. of R. 676. lover of his country, and ſo paſſionately deſirous of returning to it, that frequently when his affairs were moſt proſperous (*never* when in a declining ſtate) he offered to lay down his arms, on condition he might be ſuffered to live, as a private ſubject, at home; declaring, that he ſhould chuſe rather to be the moſt obſcure Citizen of *Rome*, than, in baniſhment from thence, to command all the reſt of the univerſe.

With a heart ſo truly *Roman*, SERTORIUS muſt neceſſarily be eſteemed and beloved by the *Romans* who were in *Spain*: and of this we have a notable proof in the conduct of *Perperna*'s ſoldiers. This general was very rich and of noble birth, and had been Prætor of *Rome*; where he took up arms with the Conſul LEPIDUS to reverſe the acts of SYLLA, and recal the proſcribed *Marians*; and after their defeat he carried off the beſt part of their troops into *Sardinia*; and thence into *Spain*. Though embarked in the ſame cauſe with SERTORIUS, yet being envious of his glory, he was very unwilling to contribute to its increaſe by joining him, wiſhing rather to uſurp his power. And with fifty-three Cohorts (about 25000 men) which he had under his command, he did actually continue ſeparate from him, till advice came that POMPEY was ordered into *Spain*. His troops then declaring to him, that if he did not lead them to SERTORIUS, they would go without him, he reluctantly complied: but his bad diſpoſition was in the end more detrimental to the common cauſe, than the ſtrong reinforcement he brought with him was beneficial.

Plutarch, to ſhew the ability of SERTORIUS, relates two particulars of his conduct, before the arrival of POMPEY.

The *Spaniards*, under his command, fluſhed with their ſucceſſes, were for marching, at all events, to battle, impatient of their general's delays, who waited for a favourable opportunity. He at firſt endeavoured to diſſuade them by mild remonſtrances, but finding that theſe had no effect, and that they were eagerly bent on fighting, he determined to let them receive from the enemy

enemy a leſſon that might teach them prudence, and render them more tractable. The *Spaniards*, as he had foreſeen, were worſted in the engagement, and would have been entirely cut to pieces, if with great ſkill he had not contrived their retreat.

Diſcouragement, as it uſually happens, was juſt going to ſucceed to preſumption, when SERTORIUS, to avert this evil, and to give the *Spaniſh* ſoldiers a juſt ſenſe of the reaſons of his conduct, made uſe of the following device. He cauſed to be placed in the midſt of them two horſes, the one lean and old, the other fat and full of vigour, and which had a tail abounding with fine long hairs. By the lean horſe ſtood a ſtrong robuſt man; near the other a little puny fellow. Upon a ſignal given, theſe two men, who were each to pluck off all the hairs of his reſpective horſe's tail, fell to work in the following manner. The ſtrong man graſpt the tail of his horſe, and pulled with all his might, to bring all off at once. The weak man ſet himſelf to pluck off the hairs of his horſe's tail one by one. Fatigue to himſelf, and much laughter from the ſpectators, were the only effects of the labour of the firſt: the other finiſhed his enterprize in a reaſonable time; not a ſingle hair remained on the tail of his horſe. SERTORIUS then broke ſilence; "You ſee, my good allies, how much more "efficacious, than force, is perſeverance. A numerous "and potent army may in ſeparate parts be overcome, "though we can make no impreſſion on it while it re"mains one undivided body. Perſeverance can do "any thing: time deſtroys the mightieſt powers, and "ſhews itſelf the good ally of thoſe who are not pre"cipitate in their meaſures, but prudently wait the pro"per ſeaſons for action."

POMPEY, in his way to *Spain*, finding the paſſes of the *Alps* ſhut up by the troops which SERTORIUS had poſted there, made himſelf a new road over thoſe mountains, and a more commodious one than that of *Hannibal*: After which continuing his march through *Gallia Narbonenſis*, he retook all the places poſſeſſed there by the enemy; then paſſed the *Pyrenees*, and filled all

Epiſt. Pomp. apud Fragment. Sall. Hiſt. l. iii.

Spain

Y. of R. 676. Put in Pomp. & Sertor.

Spain with great expectation. Though young, many victories had made his name famous, and prepoſſeſſed the public in his favour; inſomuch, that the fidelity of thoſe who had hitherto adhered to SERTORIUS began to waver. But, when the two generals came to blows, the ſucceſs did not anſwer the public opinion: SERTORIUS re-eſtabliſhed his intereſt with the *Spaniards*, and acquired new reputation, not only in *Spain*, but even at *Rome*.

While SERTORIUS was beſieging [b] *Laurona*, POMPEY drew near in order to ſuccour the place; and once imagining, that he had ſhut up the enemy between the city and his army, vainly boaſted, that the *Laurônites* would have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing from their walls the beſiegers beſieged. SERTORIUS, when informed of this, only laughed and ſaid, he would teach SYLLA's ſcholar, that a general ought to look more *behind* than *before* him: And, accordingly, by means of a body of 6000 men, which he had left in his camp, he kept POMPEY in awe, who could not attack him, without expoſing himſelf to be attacked at the ſame time, both in front and rear. The young general perceiving he had been too haſty in his boaſt, was mortified, aſhamed, and perplexed: And what completely diſconcerted him, his foragers fell into an ambuſh laid for them by SERTORIUS; and a whole Legion, that came to their aid, was itſelf ſurrounded, and periſhed almoſt entirely with its commander. The beſieged having now loſt all hope of ſuccour, ſurrendered at diſcretion. SERTORIUS ſpared the lives of the inhabitants, but burnt their city; not out of cruelty to them, but to cover with ſhame both POMPEY and his admirers, when it ſhould be reported throughout *Spain*, that a [c] city, which he had undertaken

Frontin. xi. 4. Plut. in Sertor.

[b] This city is thought not to have been far from *Valence*.

[c] *Appian* reports, that, at the taking of *Laurona*, SERTORIUS being informed, that one of his ſoldiers had, in a brutal manner, abuſed a woman his priſoner, who to revenge herſelf had even torn out his eyes, he not only ordered the criminal to be executed; but knowing that the whole

taken to relieve, had been burnt before his eyes, and ſo near him, that he might almoſt have warmed himſelf by the fire that conſumed it.

Thus ended this campaign: both armies went into winter-quarters. POMPEY and METELLUS paſſed the ſeaſon under tents in the *Pyrenees*, and in the midſt of numerous enemies, that haraſſed them. SERTORIUS, accompanied by *Perperna*, retired into *Luſitania*.

It would ſeem, that when the operations of war were renewed (in the Conſulſhip of CN. OCTAVIUS and C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO) the two armies were each of them divided, ſo that *Hirtuleius*, the brave Quæſtor of SERTORIUS, remained in *Bætica* * to oppoſe METELLUS; and SERTORIUS marched toward the country, now called the kingdom of *Valencia*, to make head againſt POMPEY. A. of R. 677. Bef. J. C. 75. Conſ-p. 376.

* *Andaluſia.*

Hirtuleius came to an engagement with METELLUS, near the city *Italica*[a], and the conflict proved very hot and bloody; both generals expoſed their perſons; METELLUS's armour was pierced by a dart; *Hirtuleius* received a wound in his arm, and was at length conſtrained to quit the field, leaving 20000 of his men upon the ſpot. The conqueror owed his victory to his able conduct, in not bringing his men to engage with their enemies till theſe, who had left their intrenchments at ſunriſe, were quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, having, without any refreſhments, ſuſtained all the heat of the day. Not long after *Hirtuleius*, attempting probably to retrieve his honour, fell in battle, together with his brother. We are told that SERTORIUS, with his own hand, killed the man who brought him the news of this great loſs; for, as he was upon the point of giving battle, he feared, that the report, if ſpread at that critical time, would diſhearten his ſoldiers. That his own courage was not abated, he well demonſtrated, when POM-

Oroſ. v. 23. Frontin. xi. 1. & 3.

Frontin. xi. 7.

whole cohort was infamous for theſe exceſſes, he put them all to death, without ſparing one, though they were Citizens of *Rome*. *Appian*, l. i. p. 419.

[a] *Sevilla Veia* upon the *Guadalquivir*.

PEY,

Y. of R. 677. Plut. in Sert. & in Pomp.

PEY, having defeated *Herennius* and *Perperna* near *Valentia*, came in queſt of him in the neighbourhood of *Sucro* [e]. Both commanders were deſirous of coming to a battle before METELLUS, who was marching from *Bætica*, ſhould arrive; SERTORIUS, that he might have fewer enemies upon his hands; POMPEY, that he might have no partner in the glory of the ſucceſs he promiſed himſelf. The action did not begin till the evening, SERTORIUS waiting till then, becauſe he knew, that to his enemies, not well acquainted with the country, the night would be diſadvantageous, whether they ſhould be obliged to fly, or have occaſion to purſue.

In the beginning of the engagement, SERTORIUS was at the head of his right wing, and fought with ſucceſs; but receiving advice that his left had given ground before POMPEY, he repaired thither; and his preſence changed the face of things in a very ſhort time. Even POMPEY's perſon was twice in the greateſt danger; the ſecond time he ſaved his life by quitting his horſe; for it being richly capariſoned, and the Barbarians falling into contention for the ſpoil, this gave him opportunity to eſcape.

SERTORIUS's right wing, after his leaving it, was totally defeated by *Afranius*, who commanded the left of the enemy: The victorious troops puſhed on to the very camp of the vanquiſhed, and began to plunder it. SERTORIUS in that inſtant arrived, cut off a great number of the plunderers, and forced the reſt to retire in diſorder.

He prepared for another engagement the next day; but, upon receiving intelligence, that METELLUS had joined POMPEY, thought it prudent to retire; affecting however, at the ſame time, to expreſs an utter contempt for the latter; "If the old woman had not come [f], I would have ſent the boy back to *Rome* well chaſtiſed."

[e] A city ruined many ages ago which ſtood at the mouth of the river *Sucro*, now the *Xucar*.

[f] Why *old?* he was but *fifty-two*; for when he ſerved under his father, in *Numidia*, in the year 645, he was only *twenty* years of age (*vid. ſupra*, p. 63.) yet *Plutarch* always ſpeaks of him as, at this time, weighed down with years, almoſt ſuperannuated.

Not

Not thinking that even the flight of his troops, in one body, would be ſafe, he commanded them to diſperſe themſelves; but aſſigned them a rendezvous: for this was his method, and what the Barbarians were accuſtomed to; ſo that ſometimes he was in the mountains almoſt alone; and preſently after, ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army. This ſudden re-aſſembling of the diſperſed ſoldiers into one great body *Plutarch* compares to the flowing and concentring of the melted ſnows, ſo as to form one mighty torrent. Frontin. ii. xiii. Plut. in Pomp.

What, at this time, gave SERTORIUS no ſmall concern, his hind, during the tumult of the laſt battle, and the plundering of his camp, was loſt; and he now wanted her ſervice more than ever for keeping the Barbarians in reſpect. Fortunately ſome of his ſoldiers met her in a wood, and knowing her, brought her to him. He promiſed them a great reward, if they would keep the thing ſecret; and, having cauſed her to be hid for ſome days, one morning he put on an air of gaiety, and told the *Spaniſh* chiefs, who were with him, that he had, the night before, had a dream, which foretold him ſome happy event by the favour of the Gods. After this, he, according to cuſtom, gave audience to thoſe who had buſineſs with him. The hind was on a ſudden let go, and, ſeeing SERTORIUS, came ſkipping to him, laid her head upon his knees, and licked his right hand, which he held out to her. SERTORIUS careſſed her with an extreme tenderneſs, even to ſhedding ſome tears. The Barbarians were at firſt ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, but then, recovering themſelves, ſhouted loudly for joy, regarding him as a favourite of heaven, and as a perſon above the rank of mortal men. Plut. in Sertor.

At the arrival of METELLUS, POMPEY would have lowered his Faſces before him, as before his ſenior and ſuperior; but METELLUS would not ſuffer it; indeed he always treated POMPEY as his collegue and equal (with this exception only, that, when they encamped together, METELLUS alone gave the word) and to METELLUS's opinion POMPEY conſtantly paid a reſpectful deference. Plut. in Pomp.

The

Y. of R. 677. Plut. in Sert.

The two generals, in this perfect concert, marched in queſt of SERTORIUS, and, at length, forced him to a battle. The armies met near *Segontia*[g]; the action continued from noon till after ſun-ſet. SERTORIUS faced POMPEY, who in this engagement loſt his Quæſtor *Memmius*, the braveſt officer in his army, together with a great number of men: but SERTORIUS could not improve the advantage, which this gave him, being neceſſitated to go to the aſſiſtance of his left wing, which, under the conduct of *Perperna*, was almoſt entirely defeated by METELLUS. A terrible ſlaughter of this general's troops was now made, and he himſelf wounded, having expoſed his perſon with great bravery and intrepidity: but this very wound gained him the day; for his ſoldiers who both loved and honoured him, ſeeing the hurt he had received, and the conſequent danger he was in of falling into the hands of his enemies, grief and rage augmented their ſtrength, and animated them to ſuch vigorous efforts, as the *Spaniards* were utterly unable to withſtand; and SERTORIUS failed of victory, when he imagined himſelf ſure of it.

Urged by neceſſity, he had now recourſe to his uſual expedient in like caſes: He diſbanded his army, and, with a ſmall number of brave ſoldiers, retired into a ſtrong place in the mountains; and there he began to improve and increaſe the fortifications, as if he intended to ſuſtain a ſiege. By this he effectually baffled the enemy; who hoping to reduce the place in a ſhort time, ſat down before it, ceaſed their purſuit of the ſcattered flying *Spaniards* and thereby allowed them opportunity to re-aſſemble themſelves, ſtrengthened with conſiderable recruits. He had ordered them to give him notice ſo ſoon as they were collected into a body ſufficiently ſtrong to keep the field. The expected notice received, he, without delay, ſallied out, and, having eaſily forced a paſſage through the enemy, put himſelf at the head of the army, that was waiting for him. And now by marches, and counter-marches, he haraſſed and

[g] *Siguença* in *Old Caſtile.*

quite

quite tired out the armies of METELLUS and POMPEY; kept them, by frequent ambuſhes, in conſtant perplexity: cut off the proviſions that were coming to them by land; prevented, by his cruiſers, their receiving any ſupplies by ſea; and at length reduced, both the one and the other, to abandon all that part of *Spain* which had ſubmitted to him. METELLUS retired into farther *Spain*; POMPEY into *Gallia Narbonenſis*. Plut. in Sertor. Liv. Epit. l. xciii.

[Great commotions are ſaid to have been at *Rome* during the preſent year, on occaſion of SYLLA's innovations with regard to the Tribuneſhip. He had very much abridged (as we have ſeen) the powers belonging to that Magiſtracy: but he was no ſooner dead, than the Tribunes exerted their utmoſt efforts to recover their ancient rights: an attempt which produced perpetual war between them and the Conſuls: and the conflict was more ſharp than ever this year, when the Conſul CURIO[h] maintained againſt the Tribune *Sicinius* the changes made by SYLLA. Nor was the diſputes between theſe terminated by ſpeeches, but by the aſſaſſination of *Sicinius*, CURIO being ſuſpected of the crime. Vide ſupr. p. 239, 240. Salluſt. Hiſt. iii. in Orat. Macri.

In the ſame Conſulſhip was a deputation from the SENATE to collect from every quarter, all that could be found of the *Sibylline* oracles. The books which Freinſhem.

[h] CICERO (in *Brut.* 213, *& ſeq.*) tells us, that CURIO was an orator of a ſingular caſt; that he was extremely ignorant, and had nothing to intitle him to the name of Orator, but an abundant flow of words, and a florid diction: That his memory ſometimes failed him entirely, inſomuch, that one day, in a cauſe, where they were on oppoſite ſides, CURIO riſing up to ſpeak, forgot, that moment, all he had intended to ſay, and was reduced to complain, that the adverſe party had deprived him of his memory by inchantments. As to his action, it was perfectly ridiculous; his arms, while he ſpoke, moving like the pendulum of a clock, which gave occaſion to *Sicinius*, who had a good deal of humour, and more impudence, to make a ſmart jeſt upon him. The two Conſuls being on the Roſtra in an Aſſembly of the People, and OCTAVIUS being forced to keep ſitting, wrapt up in cloths with cataplaſms and fomentations, CURIO ſpoke in the name of both. When he had done, *Sicinius*, addreſſing himſelf to OCTAVIUS,——you can never ſufficiently acknowledge the obligations you have to your collegue: for if he had not ſwung his arms about as uſual, the flies would have eat you up before this time.

contained

Y. of R. 677. contained them had ſeven years before been conſumed in the burning of the Capitol. From *Erythræ* (a city of *Æolis*, the ſuppoſed country of the *Sibyl*) *Ilium*, *Samos*, *Sicily*, and ſeveral cities of *Italy*, the deputies made a collection of verſes which went under the name of the *Sibyl*; but in which *Varro*, by the acroſtics (or initial letters) diſcovered numerous interpolations.]

Y. of R. 678. Bef. J. C. 74. Conſ-p. 377. The affairs of SERTORIUS were probably in the ſituation above mentioned, when [during the Conſulſhip of L. OCTAVIUS and C. AURELIUS COTTA] he received an embaſſy from MITHRIDATES, king of *Pontus*, offering him the aid of money and ſhips, and demanding, in return, the ceſſion of *Aſia*, which he had been obliged to abandon by his treaty with SYLLA.

App. Mith. Plut. in Sertor. This prince was meditating a renewal of the war with the *Romans*. He had at his court two *Roman* fugitives, *L. Fannius*, and *L. Magius*, formerly companions and friends of *Fimbria*. Their hatred of SYLLA recommended them to MITHRIDATES, and they ſupported themſelves in his favour by flattery. As they had formerly adhered to the party, of which SERTORIUS now protected the remains, they ſuggeſted to the king the thought of making an alliance with him: they compared the KING to PYRRHUS, and SERTORIUS to HANNIBAL, and nothing was to ſtand before two ſuch great generals.

SERTORIUS, at the head of his Senate, gave audience to the king's Ambaſſadors; and when they were withdrawn, he brought the affair under deliberation. The Senators were unanimouſly for accepting the king's offers; for they wanted both money and ſhips; and they conſidered what the king aſked in return, as only an empty title. SERTORIUS, however, differed from them in opinion. He ſaid he ſhould not object to the king's ſeizing *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, countries always governed by kings, and to which the *Romans* had no ancient title: but that as to *Aſia Minor*, of which they were lawfully poſſeſſed, at the time when that prince endeavoured to deprive them of it, and which, after he had been driven out of it by *Fimbria*, he had renounced

nounced by a ſolemn treaty, he would never conſent that it ſhould fall under the power of MITHRIDATES. He added, "I ought to make my power ſubſervient "to the aggrandizing of the Commonwealth, and not "aggrandize myſelf by its loſſes and decreaſe. A "brave man, undoubtedly, deſires to conquer with "glory; but he will think life itſelf too dearly pur-"chaſed, if at the price of baſe proceedings."

When this anſwer was brought to MITHRIDATES by his Ambaſſadors, it aſtoniſhed him extremely. *What orders then*, ſaid he, *would* SERTORIUS *ſend, did he preſide in the Senate at* Rome, *he, who while baniſhed, proſcribed, and driven to the coaſts of the* Atlantic *ſea, ſets bounds to my dominions, and threatens me with war, if I make any attempts upon* Aſia? The treaty was concluded, upon the conditions preſcribed by SERTORIUS: it imported, that MITHRIDATES ſhould have *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia:* that SERTORIUS ſhould ſend him a general and ſome troops, and ſhould receive from the king 3000 talents, and 40 ſhips. SERTORIUS diſpatched one of his Senators, named *M Marius*, into *Aſia*; and to this Proconſul of SERTORIUS's creating, were all the honours of that office paid in the army of MITHRIDATES. If any city of *Aſia* was taken, *Marius* entered it in pomp, preceded by his Lictors with their rods and axes, and followed by the king of *Pontus*, who condeſcended to take the ſecond place. The Proconſul granted liberty to ſome of the *Aſiatic* cities; to others immunities and exemptions, all in the name of SERTORIUS, without permitting MITHRIDATES to perform any act of ſovereignty.

To return to the war in *Spain*. POMPEY, as was before mentioned, being reduced by SERTORIUS to take up his winter quarters in *Gallia Narbonenſis*, wrote thence a letter to the Senate, in very high and menacing terms, complaining that they ſuffered him to want every thing; that during the three years of his command in *Spain*, he had ſcarce received the money neceſſary for the expence of one; and he concluded with this

Salluſt. Hiſt. l. iii.

Y. of R. 678. declaration: "I have not only exhauſted my eſtate, "but my credit: I have no reſource but in you: if you "fail me, I give you notice, that my army, and the "war itſelf, will ſoon be in *Italy*."

Y. of R. 679. Bef. J. C. 73. Conſ-p. 378. Plut. in Pomp. & Lucull.

When this letter arrived at *Rome*, L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS and M. AURELIUS COTTA were in the Conſulſhip. As LUCULLUS ardently deſired to have the conduct of the war againſt MITHRIDATES, and was apprehenſive that POMPEY only ſought a pretext for quitting the war in *Spain*, that he might come to *Rome*, and diſpute with him the other employment, which was far more eaſy and more lucrative, he ſpared no pains to keep him at a diſtance, and with that view cauſed all the money he demanded to be ſent to him. This ſupply put POMPEY into a condition to return out of *Gaul* into *Spain*.

Plut. in Sert.

METELLUS, to get the better of SERTORIUS, took meaſures of another ſort. He ſet a price upon his head, promiſing by proclamation, to any *Roman* who ſhould kill him, 100 talents and 20,000 acres of land; and, in caſe the aſſaſſin were an exile, liberty to return home. *Plutarch* obſerves, that this did not ſuit well with that contempt of SERTORIUS which METELLUS always affected in his diſcourſes, ſtyling him SYLLA's fugitive, and calling his followers the fragments of *Carbo's ſhipwreck*. How ſincere and extreme a dread he had of the ſuperior abilities of SERTORIUS he manifeſted yet more fully (as the ſame hiſtorian remarks) by his frantic joy, on occaſion of ſome ſmall advantage he imagined he had obtained over him. He cauſed himſelf to be ſaluted EMPEROR [Imperator] by his ſoldiers: altars were erected, and ſacrifices offered to him in the cities through which he paſſed: choirs of young men and maidens ſang hymns to his praiſe: and little figures of Victory were made to deſcend (as in puppet-ſhews) and, in the midſt of artificial thunder and lightening, put crowns upon his head. All this was followed by the moſt magnificent and coſtly entertainments, which he gave in celebration of his mighty atchievement; and, at theſe feaſtings, the ridiculous oaf, drinking and ſtaring,

Plut. in Sert. & Salluſt. apud Macrob. Sat. III. 13.

ing, ſat in ſtate, his auguſt perſon being clothed in the proper *robe of Triumph*.

SERTORIUS had little to fear from the proweſs of ſuch an enemy, but much from a ſpirit of ſedition which proſperity had given birth to, among the *Romans* of his own army. Whilſt the danger was great and imminent, fear kept all ſubmiſſive to the only man who could protect them: but *when that fear was removed*, envy and jealouſy took place. *Perperna*, who, from the beginning (as formerly mentioned) aſpired to the chief command, was the moſt active in ſpreading whiſpers. "What evil genius has made us quit one unhappy ſtate, "to precipitate ourſelves into a worſe? Our own coun- "try, where we might have lived in peace and quiet, "we forſook, becauſe we diſdained to obey SYLLA, "whom the whole univerſe obeyed; and we came hi- "ther to live in liberty. And here we are become the "moſt abject ſlaves; nay, have voluntarily ſubjected "ourſelves to be the guards and ſatellites of a baniſhed "fugitive. He calls us the SENATE: a vain title that "expoſes us to ridicule. Noble Senators indeed are "we, who ſuffer from him the ſame imperious and in- "ſolent treatment, as the Barbarians of *Spain* and *Lu- "ſitania!*"

App. p. 421. Plut. in Sert.

Diſcourſes of this kind had their effect[a]; and though the diſcontented feared the power of SERTORIUS too

[a] *Appian* tells us, that when METELLUS and POMPEY returned into *Spain*, after paſſing a winter in the *Pyrenees*, and when their armies approached that of SERTORIUS, many of his *Roman* ſoldiers deſerted to them, which put him into ſuch wrath, that he cruelly treated others who were innocent, and that this produced a general diſcontent among his *Romans*: but what moſt of all alienated their minds from him was, that he placed all his confidence in the *Spaniards*, forming of them the guard of his perſon: and that the *Spaniards*, proud of the preference, contemptuouſly reproached the *Romans* with want of fidelity. The hiſtorian adds, that SERTORIUS would have been entirely abandoned by them, but for *the need they knew they had of ſo great a captain.*

M. *Crevier* has inſerted theſe facts into his text; though *Plutarch* gives not the leaſt hint of them; and they are neither probable nor very conſiſtent with the *removal* of that *fear of the enemy*, which, *Plutarch* tells us, had kept them ſubmiſſive, while under its influence; nor with other particulars of *Plutarch*'s relation, as the reader may obſerve.

Y. of R. 679. much to hazard an open revolt, yet they contrived to ruin him with the *Spaniards*, by treating them harſhly, and loading them with taxes, as if by his order. From hence aroſe commotions and revolts among thoſe nations; and the perſons, whom he ſent to remedy theſe evils, deſignedly made them more difficult to be cured. That SERTORIUS, under theſe diſadvantages, loſt ground before METELLUS and POMPEY will eaſily be ſuppoſed; and we are told, that exaſperated by bad ſucceſs, and reduced to extremities by revolts, he forſook his former character to ſuch a degree, as to let the weight of his wrath againſt the parents fall upon the children whom he had cauſed to be educated at *Oſca*, of whom he killed ſome, and ſold the reſt [b].

Plut. in Sert. Among thoſe whom *Perperna* drew into his conſpiracy, was *Manius*, an officer in the army, who, at that time, loved a certain youth; to whom, in order to engage his affections, he diſcovered the ſecret; boaſting, that in a few days he ſhould be a perſon of great power and authority: but the youth having more inclina-

[b] May it not be reaſonably queſtioned, whether *Plutarch* had any better authority for this ſtory, concerning the children, than ſome Ariſtocratic-party-writer? Would the *Spaniards* ſo ſoon have forgot theſe murders? *Vid. infr.* p. 278.

He adds, that, on account of this cruel proceeding of SERTORIUS, in the latter part of his life, ſome believed his former mildneſs and clemency to have been mere diſguiſe and art, the dictate of reflection, and what the neceſſity of his affairs prompted him to. The hiſtorian-moraliſt declares himſelf of a different opinion: for though he holds that real ſolid virtue, confirmed by reaſon and habit, will ever be uniform, whatever adverſity may happen; yet he thinks, that a man of the gentleſt and moſt virtuous diſpoſition may be ſo provoked by inſolent and injurious treatment, and eſpecially by ingratitude, as to become wicked and cruel towards thoſe, who have injured and betrayed him; and this he ſuppoſes to have been the caſe with SERTORIUS.

The ſame Moraliſt leaves it problematical, whether SYLLA (the moſt cruel of all monſters) was not once a good-natured man, and afterwards ſpoilt by proſperity and elevation.

But as for MARIUS, he was, it ſeems, without queſtion, always wicked and always cruel, cruel by nature; his riſing to power made no change in him in that reſpect. [*Plut. in Syll.*] And this is ſufficiently manifeſt (though there be no other evidence of it, nor ſhadow of evidence) from his deſpiſing the *Greek* language and literature. *Vid. ſupra.* p. 77.

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tion for *Aufidius*, diſcloſed all to him, who was likewiſe one in the conſpiracy, but knew not that *Manius* was engaged therein. Upon the youth's naming *Perperna*, *Græcinus*, and others, whom *Aufidius* knew to be conſpirators, he was much ſurpriſed and terrified. He made ſlight of the matter to the youth, and bid him not regard what *Manius*, a vain boaſting fellow, had ſaid; and then going immediately to *Perperna*, gave him notice of the danger they were in of a diſcovery, urging him to the execution of their deſign without delay. To this all the conſpirators having agreed, they provided a meſſenger, who brought to SERTORIUS counterfeit letters, importing notice of a victory gained by one of his lieutenants with great ſlaughter of the enemy. SERTORIUS, highly pleaſed with the news, performed a ſacrifice of thankſgiving to the Gods; at the cloſe of which, *Perperna* invited him, and thoſe who aſſiſted at the ſacrifice (who were alſo of the conſpiracy) to an entertainment; and, being very importunate, prevailed with him to come. At all ſuppers and entertainments where SERTORIUS was preſent, great decency uſed to be obſerved: for he would not endure to hear or ſee any thing contrary to the moſt perfect modeſty. But at this entertainment the conſpirators, pretending to be drunk, began to hold the moſt diſſolute diſcourſes, proceeding to actions of obſcenity, with deſign to make SERTORIUS angry. He, whether becauſe he had a natural abhorrence of ſuch licentious deportment, or becauſe he perceived, by certain ſigns they made to each other, and their unwonted failure of reſpect for him, ſomething of their deſign, changed his poſture, turning upon his bed, as if to avoid ſeeing any thing more of what paſſed. *Perperna* ſeized that moment for the execution of his purpoſe. He took a cup full of wine, and, in drinking, let the cup fall. This was the ſignal agreed upon; *Antonius*, inſtantly drew his ſword, and being on the ſame bed with SERTORIUS, gave him the firſt wound; then throwing himſelf upon his ſtomach, ſeized his hands, and while he thus deprived him of all power

Y. of R. 679. to make reſiſtance, the other conſpirators with many ſtabs diſpatched him [c].

App. Plut. *Perperna*, ſo ſoon as he had perpetrated his crime, was for reaping the fruit of it, by taking poſſeſſion of the command, but found ſome difficulties in the way. The death of SERTORIUS, ſo treacherouſly and cruelly murdered, had put an end to all hatred conceived againſt him by the multitude; compaſſion ſucceeded, they forgot the cauſes he had given them of complaint, and remembered only his virtues: the *Spaniards*, eſpecially, regretted the loſs of him, and looked upon the Aſſaſſins with horror: many ſtates revolted on the firſt news of his death, and made their ſubmiſſion either to POMPEY or to METELLUS. Nevertheleſs *Perperna*, by the means of money, promiſes, threats, and even puniſhments, aptly employed, managed ſo artfully as not only to hinder the army from diſbanding itſelf, but engage the greater part of it to accept him for their general: with what ſucceſs we ſhall ſee hereafter.

CHAP. IV.

WAR *of* SPARTACUS *the Gladiator.*

Y. of R. 680. Bef. J. C. 72. Conſ. p. 379. Plut. in Craſſ. App. in Civ. l. i. p. 423. Flor. l. iii. c. xx. Oroſ. l. v. c.

IT was during the next year (680), M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS and C. CASSIUS being Conſuls, that the war of SPARTACUS broke out in *Italy*.

In the city of *Capua*, one *Lentulus* cauſed a conſiderable number of ſlaves, moſt of them by birth *Gauls* or *Thracians*, to be trained to the ſcience of gladiators, not on account of any crimes by them committed, but for his own profit. Of theſe wretches 200 entered into a plot to run away; but their deſign having been diſcovered, only ſeventy-eight of them could put it in execution, and theſe fled with no other arms than kitchen-knives and ſpits. Nothing in appearance could be

[c] It would ſeem, that this murder was committed in the year 680; for SERTORIUS was in the eighth year of his command, having been called in by the *Luſitanians* in the ſecond Conſulſhip of SYLLA.

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more contemptible, or leſs likely to make the capital of the univerſe tremble: but in a government, where great numbers are diſcontented with their condition, the leaſt commotions are to be feared: and it happened, that thoſe fugitive ſlaves had a man at their head who was alone worth an army; a man of ability and courage, ſkilful to employ ſtratagem, or force, intrepid in dangers, fruitful of expedients in adverſity, prudent and moderate in proſperity: In a word, a Hero reduced to the condition of a ſlave. Such was SPARTACUS. He had too great a ſpirit to reconcile himſelf to ſo infamous a profeſſion, as that of fighting for the amuſement of ſpectators; and he perſuaded the companions of his fortune to hazard their lives rather in attempting to recover their liberty. However, he was not the only leader of the band: *Crixus* and *OEnomaus* were aſſociated with him in the command: And the difficulties occaſioned by this diviſion of authority, was not among the leaſt of thoſe which SPARTACUS experienced in the execution of his enterprize.

They had ſcarcely quitted *Capua*, when they met and ſeized a carriage loaded with the arms of gladiators, arms not fit for war, but better than thoſe with which they had furniſhed themſelves; and theſe they ſoon after exchanged for the proper arms of ſoldiers; for a body of the *Capuans* coming out in purſuit of them, SPARTACUS defeated theſe purſuers, killed the greater number of them, and armed his little band with their ſpoils.

This firſt ſucceſs augmented their number, but not ſufficiently to imbolden them to keep the field. *Claudius Pulcher*, who was ſent from *Rome* againſt them, found them poſted upon mount *Veſuvius*. He encamped at the foot of that mountain, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the only practicable way leading to the ſummit (all the reſt being ſteep rock and precipice) he ſuppoſed that he had ſo effectually ſhut up the rebels, as to leave them no poſſibility of eſcaping. Nevertheleſs, the ſlaves, by means of ladders made of vine branches, of which they found abundance upon the ſpot, got down

Y. of R. 680. the rock: one only remained above till he had thrown down to his comrades their arms; and then he likewiſe deſcended and re-joined them. And now SPARTACUS, not content with eſcaping from the enemy, attacked them, when they leaſt expected it, defeated them, and took their camp.

This ſecond victory made the ſlaves of all the neighbouring country flock to him, inſomuch that his followers ſoon encreaſed to 10000; and becauſe he wanted arms for ſo great a number, he forged, as well as he could, all the iron he could get into ſwords and other offenſive weapons, and made ſhields of baſket-work, covered with ſkins of beaſts newly killed. Thus armed, they ravaged all *Campania*, and, in ſome conſiderable cities, which they took and plundered, committed a thouſand cruelties and outrages upon ſuch as fell into their hands, though SPARTACUS did his utmoſt, by remonſtrances and intreaties, to reſtrain his followers from theſe exceſſes. Grown inſolent by ſucceſs, they indulged themſelves in the pleaſure of gratifying their revenge by all poſſible indignities toward thoſe they had formerly feared.

From *Rome*, it being now perceived that the affair was ſerious, they ſent the Prætor *P. Varinius* againſt the rebels. SPARTACUS very ſoon defeated *Furius*, one of the Prætor's lieutenants, who commanded a detachment of 2000 men; and, ſome time after, *Coſſinius*, whom *Plutarch* calls the counſellor and collegue of *Varinius*, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized in *Lucania*: The enemy were very near taking him in the bath, his troops were defeated, his camp forced, and he himſelf killed. After theſe ſucceſſes, SPARTACUS vanquiſhed the Prætor in ſeveral actions, and at length took his Faſces, which from thenceforward he cauſed to be borne before his own Perſon.

Plut. in Craſſ. Nevertheleſs, this glare of proſperity did not ſo dazzle his eyes, as to hinder him from ſeeing, that it was impoſſible for him to triumph finally over the *Roman Power*, and that ſooner, or later, he muſt unavoidably ſink under it. He reſolved therefore to march his forces towards

wards the *Alps*, and paſs thoſe mountains as ſoon as he could, to the end that the *Gallic* and *Thracian* ſoldiers, who made the far greater part of his army, might retire to their reſpective homes, there to enjoy in peace a liberty that had coſt them ſo much labour, and ſo many perils to recover. Wiſe as this council was, the ſlaves, becauſe hitherto conſtantly victorious, rejected it: They ſaw themſelves 40000 ſtrong, and being full of a frantic confidence, and allured with the hope of becoming rich, by plundering *Italy*, had no inclination to look forward to more diſtant conſequences.

When the conſular Faſces were transferred to L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA and CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS, the troops of SPARTACUS had increaſed to 70000 men. Three armies were ſent againſt them, two commanded by the two Conſuls, and a third under the Prætor *Q. Arrius*. The diſſenſion and diviſion, which aroſe among the enemy, gave thoſe armies an advantage. SPARTACUS could not keep the *Gauls* of his army in obedience: they ſeparated from him, and under the command of their countryman *Crixus*, threw themſelves into *Apulia*, and pillaged the country; but the Conſul GELLIUS and the Prætor *Arrius* fell upon them near mount *Garganus* *, and of 30000 men, of which their body conſiſted, killed 20000, *Crixus* himſelf falling in the action. A. Y. of R. 681. Bef. J. C. 71. Conſ-p. 380. * Mount St. Angelo.

SPARTACUS, not diſcouraged nor diſconcerted by this diſaſter, directed his march thro' the *Appennines*, ſtill purſuing his deſign of gaining the *Alps*, and quitting *Italy*. To oppoſe his progreſs, the Conſul LENTULUS advanced; a general of whom *Salluſt* doubts, whether his vanity or his folly were the greater. SPARTACUS put his army to the rout, and then, turning back, met GELLIUS, the other Conſul, who was coming from *Apulia* to incloſe him between himſelf and his collegue; and though GELLIUS was joined by the Prætor *Arrius*, SPARTACUS defeated them both in a pitched battle. Salluſt. Hiſt. l iv.

It was a cuſtom at *Rome* to honour the funerals of illuſtrious perſons with combats of gladiators. SPARTACUS, on occaſion of this victory, cauſed the like honours App. p. 424.

Y. of R. 681. nours to be paid to the manes of his late companion, *Crixus*. Having picked out 300 of the ſtouteſt men among his priſoners, he compelled them to fight round the funeral pile which he had erected; thus retaliating upon the *Romans* the inſult, which he and his companions had ſuffered from them. The reſt of the priſoners, and ſuch of the carriage horſes as were unfit for ſervice, he cauſed to be killed. And now ſeeing the number of his ſoldiers increaſed, by reaſon of theſe ſucceſſes to 120000, he entertained the bold deſign of marching to *Rome*: however, as the two Conſuls, with all the forces they could aſſemble, poſted themſelves in *Picenum* †, in his way, he dropped that project; but turning againſt the Proconſul *C. Caſſius* and the Prætor *Cn. Manlius*, defeated them, and put them to flight.

† *Marca di Ancona.*

The Senate were greatly diſſatisfied with all their generals of this year, who had ſuffered luxury to reign in their camps; ſo that diſcipline had loſt its vigour [d]. New Conſuls were choſen, CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES, and P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS [e] SURA. But the chief dependance of the Republic was upon CRASSUS, then Prætor; and who, in SYLLA's war, had given proof, both of his courage, and of his ability. He received orders to march againſt SPARTACUS, and his reputation induced many perſons of the firſt rank to accompany him in this war. CRASSUS, who knew that no ſucceſs was to be expected, unleſs ſtrict diſcipline were obſerved by the troops, quickly ſhewed that he reſolved to re-eſtabliſh it. He had detached *Mummius* with two Legions to obſerve the motions of the enemy, but with orders not to hazard a battle, or even a ſkirmiſh. *Mummius* nevertheleſs, imagining he had found a favourable opportunity of gaining ſome advantage, came to an engagement with the enemy. The *Roman* ſoldiers fled in a cowardly

Y. of R. 682. Bef. J. C. 70. Conſ-p. 381. Plut. in Craſſ.

[d] Military rewards were laviſhed (ſays *Plutarch*) without waiting till they were deſerved. CATO refuſed, as not being his due, thoſe that were offered him by the Conſul GELLIUS, under whom he ſerved at this time. *Plut. in Cat.*

[e] This was the *Lentulus* concerned afterwards in *Catiline*'s conſpiracy.

manner,

manner, and many of them returned to the camp without their arms, which they had thrown away to run the faſter. Of theſe runaways, CRASSUS decimated 500 of the moſt faulty. The fifty criminals were executed ignominiouſly in the ſight of the whole army; and nothing of the like nature having been practiſed, during a great length of time, this example made the deeper impreſſion. Beſide this ſeverity, *Craſſus* obliged thoſe who had thrown away their arms to find ſureties for the new arms he furniſhed them with; by which proceeding the *Roman* ſoldiers being brought to fear the ſeverity of their general more than the ſwords of their enemies, they ſoon retrieved their honour. Of a body of 10000 ſlaves, CRASSUS cut in pieces two thirds, and ſoon after gained an advantage over SPARTACUS himſelf, whom he drove into *Lucania*.

SPARTACUS continued retiring towards *Rhegium*, having formed the deſign of paſſing into *Sicily*, in which iſland, as it had already been the theatre of two wars with ſlaves, he hoped to re-kindle a fire that was hardly yet extinguiſhed: and, at firſt, fortune ſeemed to favour his hopes; for there happened to be in the Streight ſome ſhips belonging to pirates, with whom he treated for tranſporting 2000 of his men into *Sicily*; but the pirates, having received his money, ſteered a different courſe. And when after this, he made an attempt to croſs the Streight upon floats and rafts, the rapid current of the ſea, which preſently deſtroyed thoſe weak tranſports, convinced him of the impoſſibility of ſucceeding that way. CRASSUS in the mean time having followed him in his march, he found himſelf ſhut up within the peninſula of *Bruttium*. The *Iſthmus* between the two ſeas is about thirty miles over: acroſs this *Iſthmus*, CRASSUS cauſed a trench to be cut fifteen feet in depth, and as many in breadth, and fortified it with a ſtrong and high wall. While this work was carried on, SPARTACUS made no attempt to diſturb the workmen: his thoughts were wholly intent on arming his followers: he was near the ſea on three ſides, and invited merchants to bring to his camp, not gold

Flor. iii. 20.

Y. of R. 682. gold and ſilver, but iron. Of this he amaſſed a great quantity, and, having cauſed arms to be forged, ſupplied all his troops abundantly. And now his great affair was to force the barrier, which the *Romans* had formed to ſhut him up. His firſt attempts were not ſucceſsful. To make his troops reſolute through deſpair, he cauſed a priſoner to be crucified at the head of his camp, that they might ſee with their own eyes the puniſhment which they muſt undergo, if, failing of victory, they ſhould fall into the hands of the Prætor. At length, in a tempeſtuous night, when there fell abundance of ſnow, he found means to fill up a part of the trench with earth and faſcines, and paſſed his whole army over it.

CRASSUS, who had expected to conquer without ſtriking a blow, was in ſuch conſternation at the eſcape of his prey, that, in the firſt emotion of his fear, he wrote to the Senate, that it was neceſſary to call to his aid both VARRO LUCULLUS, then returning from the war of *Thrace*, and POMPEY, who, having entirely reeſtabliſhed the tranquillity of *Spain*, was on his way home. However, he ſoon repented his invitation of thoſe generals to join him: for having learnt that the *Gallic* ſlaves, not inſtructed by the misfortune and death of *Crixus*, had again ſeparated themſelves from SPARTACUS, he fell upon them, put them into diſorder, and would have intirely cut them off, if SPARTACUS had not come with expedition to their ſuccour.

Frontin. II. 5. 34. The *Gauls* ſtill encamped ſeparate from SPARTACUS, under the command of two generals of their own nation, *Gannicius* and *Caſtus*. CRASSUS found means to deceive SPARTACUS, ſo as to make him think, that the greater part of the *Roman* forces were fronting him, while they were really marching againſt the other commander. By this ſtratagem, he gained a ſignal victory, which almoſt effaced the ſhame of the preceding defeats ſuſtained by the *Romans*. He recovered five *Roman* eagles, twenty-ſix enſigns, and five Faſces with their axes. Thirty-five thouſand of the enemy, according to

to the Epitome of *Livy*, remained upon the ſpot. *Plutarch* makes the number of the killed amount to only twelve thouſand three hundred. And he obſerves, that thoſe ſlaves fought with ſo much reſolution, that of ſo great a number, only two received their wounds behind. Lib. 97. Plut. in Craſſ.

SPARTACUS, after ſo conſiderable a loſs, found it neceſſary to retire farther from the Prætor; and he marched towards *Apulia*. CRASSUS detached one of his Lieutenants, and his Quæſtor, to purſue him. Theſe officers, deſpiſing an enemy that fled, followed him ſo cloſe and ſo incautiouſly, that they gave him a favourable opportunity of turning upon them, and fighting them with advantage. The *Romans* fled in great diſorder, and the Quæſtor, being wounded, did not eſcape without much difficulty. Plut. ibid.

This ſucceſs occaſioned the ruin of SPARTACUS; his ſoldiers becoming ſo preſumptuous thereupon, that they would not purſue the route he had directed them to take, but would have him turn back in queſt of CRASSUS. There was another reaſon which determined SPARTACUS ſo to do: he had received advice that VARRO LUCULLUS was arrived at *Brunduſium*, and this made him apprehend being incloſed between two armies. CRASSUS no leſs deſired a deciſive battle, becauſe POMPEY approached; and the friends of this general, who was very popular, ſaid publickly at *Rome*, that it was neceſſary to ſend him againſt SPARTACUS; for that he alone was born to put an end to the wars that were ſhameful to the *Roman* name. CRASSUS therefore being no leſs deſirous of fighting than SPARTACUS, they ſoon came to a general action.

On this occaſion SPARTACUS, being determined either to conquer or die, killed his horſe at the head of his army, ſaying to his ſoldiers, that *if he proved victorious, he ſhould have horſes enough, if vanquiſhed, he ſhould have no want of them.* Fighting like a man in deſpair, he broke through the thickeſt battalions, killed two Centurions with his own hand, in endeavouring to come at the perſon of CRASSUS: his efforts were vain,

and

and he fell dead, covered with a multitude of wounds. Upon his fall, his ſoldiers all fled, and the conquerors gave no quarter: 40000 ſlaves remained on the field of battle.

Neverthelefs, a conſiderable number eſcaped the ſlaughter, and formed themſelves into different bands. One of theſe, conſiſting of about 5000, who were making their way to the *Alps*, fell into the hands of POMPEY.

Plut. in Craſſ. & Pomp.

He happened, at this time, to be on his return from *Spain*; where he had, without much difficulty, put an end to the war. For though *Perperna* had prevailed with the army (as was before mentioned) to ſubmit to his command, yet not having the military talents of SERTORIUS, it was but ſport to POMPEY to ſubdue him. Stupidly running into a ſnare which POMPEY had laid for him, he was entirely defeated, his army diſperſed, his principal officers killed on the ſpot, and he himſelf taken priſoner.

Perperna, to ſave his life, ſignified to POMPEY, that in SERTORIUS's papers he had found proof of ſecret correſpondence held with him by many perſons at *Rome*, even ſome Conſulars and other principal Senators; that he had in his hands their original letters, by which they invited SERTORIUS to bring his army into *Italy*. POMPEY is much praiſed for his prudence and generoſity on this occaſion. He knew that the beſt way of quieting the diſcontents of the City, was to free the *Marians* from thoſe fears, which a conſciouſneſs of guilt would ſuggeſt, rather than puſh them to the neceſſity of ſeeking their ſecurity in a change of affairs, and the overthrow of the State. He cauſed therefore all SERTORIUS's papers to be brought to him; and he burnt them without reading them himſelf, or ſuffering any other perſon to read them. And, leſt *Perperna* ſhould divulge ſomething of what he knew, and mention names, he would not once ſee him, but cauſed him to be inſtantly put to death. Of the other perſons concerned in the murder of SERTORIUS, ſeveral were taken by POMPEY's ſoldiers, and killed by his order: ſome fled into

Plut. in Sert.

into *Africa*, where the Moors ſhot them to death with arrows. One only eſcaped; a wretch, who, hated by all that knew him, ſpent the remainder of his life in beggary.

After the defeat and death of *Perperna*, the remainder of the party had no reſource, but in the victor's clemency. The towns of *Spain* eagerly made their ſubmiſſion; two only ventured to ſtand out, and both theſe were taken and deſtroyed. Thus ended the war in the Conſulſhip of CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES and P. CORN. LENTULUS SURA (year of *Rome* 682) after it had laſted ten years: and thus expired the laſt remains of MARIUS's faction.

POMPEY erected, in the *Pyrenees*, many monuments to perpetuate the memory of his exploits. On theſe monuments were inſcriptions, importing, that, in the country between the *Alps* and the extremities of further *Spain*, he had ſubjected eight hundred and ſeventy-ſix cities. Plin. vii. 26.

In his return home he accidentally fell in with that band of fugitive ſlaves before mentioned, a remnant of the army of SPARTACUS. He put them all to the ſword; and on this foundation, and on this alone, was for aſcribing to himſelf the glory of having terminated that war. He wrote to the Senate, that CRASSUS had indeed put the ſlaves to flight, but that he had plucked up the war by the roots. CICERO too, from a particular diſlike of CRASSUS, affected, in his public ſpeeches, to give POMPEY the honour of finiſhing that war, declaring, that the very fame of his coming had broke the force of it, and his preſence extinguiſhed it. Hiſtory, however, has done CRASSUS juſtice, and has tranſmitted his name to us with this praiſe, that by his vigilance, ability, and courage, he, in the ſpace of ſix months, happily terminated a war, which had alarmed the *Romans*, not much leſs than even that of *Hannibal*. Six thouſand of the runaways, who fell alive into the hands of the *Romans*, were crucified along the road from *Capua* to *Rome*. Cic. in Verr. v. 5. & pro Leg. Manil. 30 pro Sext 31. Oroſ. l. v. 24. Appian.

As

Y. of R. 682. As to quelling the revolt in *Spain*, no body at *Rome* durſt venture, either in earneſt, or in jeſt, to aſcribe the leaſt portion of the merit to any other than POMPEY: ſo great a favourite he was the multitude. And for this atchievement he was decreed a *ſecond* TRIUMPH, though ſtill a private Citizen, and of the equeſtrian rank.

Plin. xv. 29. Cic. in Piſ. 24. CRASSUS, on account of the mean condition of the enemies he had vanquiſhed, obtained only the *leſſer triumph* or *ovation*. Permiſſion, however, was given him by the Senate, at his requeſt, to wear, in the triumphal proceſſion, inſtead of the crown of Myrtle, the crown of Laurel, which had hitherto been appropriated to the *greater triumph* [a].

[a] This year [682] abounded with triumphs at *Rome*. For beſides thoſe of CRASSUS and POMPEY, and METELLUS (for he too had the like honour) M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS had a triumph for his conqueſt of *Thrace*. In the year 679, he had ſucceeded his elder brother, L. LUCULLUS, in the Conſulſhip; and after the expiration of his Magiſtracy had *Macedonia* for his province. [*Plut. in Lucull.*] According to *Florus* [iii. 4.] he had puſhed on his conqueſts as far as the *Tanais*, and the *Palus Mæotis*: he ſubdued likewiſe the whole coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, from the mouths of the *Danube* to the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, and from *Apolonia*, a city upon that coaſt, brought away a coloſſus of *Apollo*, thirty cubits high, which he placed in the Capitol. He ſpent only two campaigns in theſe expeditions. CICERO gives the epithet of TRIUMPHAL to *Macedonia*, becauſe it furniſhed ſo many occaſions of *triumphing* to the *Roman* generals. *Provincia ex omnibus una maximè triumphalis.* Cic. in Piſ. xliv.

Cornelius Dolabella (Conſul in the year 672) had obtained a triumph for his ſucceſſes in that country. And *Scribonius Curio* (Conſul in the year 677) being ſent thither the next year after his Conſulſhip, had ſubdued the *Dardanians* to the North, and had likewiſe conquered *Mæſia*, and penetrated as far as *Dacia*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

CRASSUS *and* POMPEY *are choſen Conſuls for the year* 683. POMPEY *makes his court to the* PEOPLE, *by repealing ſome of* SYLLA's *Laws.*

THE time for the great elections drew nigh: both the victorious generals aſpired to the Conſulſhip, and neither of them had diſbanded his army. Many perſons at *Rome* were apprehenſive leſt POMPEY, after the example of SYLLA, ſhould make himſelf maſter of the Commonwealth: and CRASSUS declared, that he would not diſband his troops, unleſs thoſe of POMPEY were likewiſe diſmiſſed. The apprehenſions, which theſe things occaſioned, POMPEY removed at once, by promiſing to diſmiſs his ſoldiers ſo ſoon as his Triumph ſhould be over. Plut. in Pomp. & in Craſſ.

As to the *Conſulſhip* there were ſome difficulties to be ſurmounted with regard to POMPEY. He was born in the 647th year of *Rome*, and therefore was not at this time full *thirty-ſix* years old, and, to be elected Conſul, *forty-three* was the legal age. It would be ſtrange to ſee a man *placed in the higheſt Magiſtracy, before he was capable by Law of pretending even to the loweſt*[b]! But ſo great and ſo univerſal was the admiration of him, that the Senate diſpenſed with the Laws in his favour; and CRASSUS (who needed no ſuch diſpenſation) found it not prudent to ſtand candidate without aſking his conſent. POMPEY, highly flattered by an

[b] *Quid tam ſingulare, quam ut legibus ſolutus ex S. conſulto conſul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magiſtratum per leges capere licuiſſet.* Cic. pro lege Manil. xxi. The *Ædileſhip* was the *firſt* office that was properly called a Magiſtracy, and what could not regularly be obtained till after an interval of *five years* from the *Quæſtorſhip*; and the *Quæſtorian* age (in the latter times of the Republic) was the ſame with the *Senatorian*, *thirty years* complete: For CICERO, who declares in ſome of his ſpeeches, that he had acquired all the honours of the City, without repulſe in any, and each in its proper year, or as ſoon as he could pretend to it, yet did not obtain the *Quæſtorſhip* till he had paſſed through his thirtieth year. See *Midd.* Treat. on the *Roman* Senate, p. 93, 94.

Y. of R. 682. Plut. in Pomp. & in Craſſ. application of that ſort from ſo conſiderable a man, and having long wiſhed for an occaſion to do him a friendly office, went ſo far as to declare to an Aſſembly of the People, "That he ſhould be no leſs obliged to them "for giving him CRASSUS to be his collegue, than for "their beſtowing the Conſulſhip upon himſelf." Both were unanimouſly elected: after which, both *triumphed* for their victories in the wars they had reſpectively conducted; and POMPEY, the very next day after his triumph, took poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip. As if he had been born to command, he made his firſt entry into the Senate in the proper poſt to preſide in it.

Vell. Pat. l. ii. 30.

Y. of R. 683. Bef. J. C. 69. Conſ. p. 382.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS [c], } Conſuls.
CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS [d], }

The

[c] "CRASSUS's father and elder brother loſt their lives in the maſſacres of MARIUS and CINNA; but he himſelf eſcaped into *Spain*, "where he had contracted a numerous acquaintance, while his Father "was Prætor of that country; and he lay there concealed till SYLLA's "return to *Italy*, whither he preſently reſorted to him, in hopes to re-"venge the ruin of his fortune and family on the oppoſite faction. As "he was attached to SYLLA's cauſe both by intereſt and inclination, "ſo he was much conſidered in it; and being extremely greedy and "rapacious, made uſe of all his credit to enrich himſelf by the plun-"der of the enemy, and *the purchaſe of confiſcated eſtates*; which CI-"CERO calls his *harveſt*. By theſe methods he raiſed an immenſe "wealth, computed at many millions, gathered from the ſpoils and "calamities of his country. He uſed to ſay, *that no man could be reckoned rich, who was not able to maintain an army out of his own rents*; "and if the accounts of antiquity be true, the number of his ſlaves was "ſcarce inferior to that of a full army; which, inſtead of being a bur-"den, made one part of his revenue; being all trained to ſome uſeful "art or profeſſion, which enabled them not only to ſupport themſelves, "but to bring a ſhare of profit to their maſter. Among the other trades "in his family, he is ſaid to have had above five hundred maſons and "architects conſtantly employed in building or repairing the houſes of "the City. He had contracted an early envy to POMPEY, for his ſu-"perior credit both with SYLLA and the People; which was ſtill ag-"gravated by POMPEY's late attempt to rob him of the honour of end-"ing the Servile War: But finding himſelf wholly unequal to his rival "in military fame, he applied himſelf to the arts of peace and elo-"quence; in which he obtained the character of a good ſpeaker; and "by his eaſy and familiar addreſs, and a readineſs to aſſiſt all, who "wanted either his protection, or his money, acquired a great authority "in all the public affairs." *Middleton's* Life of *Cicero*, Vol. I. p. 73.

Plut. in Craſſ.

Cic. Parad. vi. 2. ib. 1.

Plut. in Craſſ.

[d] As POMPEY had never been a *Senator* before he was *Conſul*, and was

The miſunderſtanding between CRASSUS and POMPEY revived very ſoon after their taking poſſeſſion of the Conſular Faſces, and they did nothing memorable in their Magiſtracy, beſide making their court to the People.

CRASSUS, having conſecrated the *tenth* of his eſtate to *Hercules*, gave a feaſt to the whole City, and to each Citizen corn for three months. Plut. in Craſſ.

POMPEY took various meaſures to eſtabliſh[c] himſelf in Plut. in Pomp.

was therefore wholly unacquainted with the rules of the Houſe, the learned VARRO furniſhed him, at his requeſt, with a manual of inſtruction in relation thereto. *A. Gell.* xiv.

[c] From the time of POMPEY's firſt coming into public life, the People of *Rome* (ſays *Plutarch*) ſeem to have entertained a ſingular affection for him: which is the more extraordinary, as he was the ſon of a moſt deteſtable and moſt deteſted father, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, (Conſul in the year 664) a man infamous for rapaciouſneſs, for murder, and for treachery to both the contending factions. Never did the *Romans* expreſs ſo implacable a hatred to any of their generals, as to this man; who being ſtruck dead by lightening (the year of *Rome* 666) his body was not ſuffered to be carried with the uſual ſolemnity to funeral: The populace tore it from off the bier, dragged it by a hook along the ſtreets, and inſulted it with all manner of outrages. Plut. in Pomp. Vid. ſupr. p. 190. App. de Bell. Civ. Jul. Obſeq. 54.

The ſon, on the contrary, had rendered himſelf ſo dear to the ſoldiery, that, at nineteen years of age, he, by his ſole influence, prevailed with the army, in which he then ſerved under his father (the very year in which his father was ſtruck dead) not to execute the reſolution they had taken of deſerting their general; whom he had juſt before, in the ſame hour, preſerved from being treacherouſly aſſaſſinated in his tent. Plut. in Pomp.

The next year an attack was made upon his fortune; and he himſelf perſonally accuſed: the charge imported, that, after the taking of *Aſculum*, his father *Pompeius Strabo* had appropriated the ſpoil to his own uſe, inſtead of accounting for the produce of it to the treaſury; and that the ſon had been a ſharer in this Robbery. He was called upon therefore to make ſatisfaction to the Public out of the effects to which he had ſucceeded. In his defence he ſet forth, that he had already made ſatisfaction to the Public, for his father's peculation; and that he had likewiſe given information to the Prætor of certain robberies committed by his father's ſecretary, who had thereupon been tried and condemned. As to his own ſhare in the accuſation, it appeared, that he had reſerved nothing out of the ſpoils of *Aſculum*, but ſome curious books, and ſome hunting nets; and theſe being of little value, the proſecution was judged malicious. The moſt eminent orators of *Rome*, *Philippus*, *Carbo*,

Y. of R. 683. in the affection of the multitude. By ancient inſtitution, the *Roman* Knights when they had completed their time of ſervice, which was ten years, preſented themſelves before the CENSORS, to whom they gave an ac-

(who was Conſul the next year) and *Hortenſius*, defended POMPEY in this cauſe. He himſelf ſpoke ſeveral times, and in ſuch a manner, as to acquire great reputation. The Prætor *Antiſtius*, who preſided in the court, was ſo taken with his behaviour, that he reſolved to make him an offer of his daughter, *Antiſtia*, in marriage, and, even during the proſecution, they concluded the contract. [This bargain between the judge and the defendant, pending the cauſe, may, perhaps, be thought not to redound much to the honour of either.] POMPEY was acquitted; the marriage preſently followed: yet, about four years after; he divorced this lady, at the command, or perſuaſion of SYLLA, who, from political views, and with the approbation of his wife *Metella*, engaged him to marry *Æmilia*, (the daughter of *Metella*, by her former huſband *Æmilius Scaurus*) ſhe being the wife of *Acilius Glabrio*, by whom ſhe was then actually with child. *Plutarch* obſerves, that POMPEY's divorcing *Antiſtia*, was the more cruel, as upon *his* account (he being deemed a favourer of SYLLA's cauſe) her father *Antiſtius* had been murdered in the Senate-Houſe [by order of the younger *Marius*]. Her mother *Calpurnia* was ſo affected with theſe tragic events, that ſhe put an end to her own life: *Æmilia* too ſoon after died in child-bed.

What chiefly gained to POMPEY, in early life, the public favour, was his habitual temperance, his martial diſpoſition, his genius for war, and his ſtrict diſcipline in military ſervice; add to this, that he was generous, and, though naturally grave, affable, and agreeable in ſpeech, and had ſuch an appearance of candour in his air and manner, as engaged confidence.

Vid ſupra. p. 220. We have already ſeen, That, at twenty-three years of age, he, by his own credit and intereſt, raiſed three Legions, with which he joined SYLLA, againſt the faction of MARIUS and CINNA;

That the next year (671) SYLLA ſent him into *Sicily* againſt *Perperna* and *Carbo*;

That from *Sicily* he paſſed into *Africa* to conduct the war againſt *Domitius* and *Hiarbas*; and that, for having vanquiſhed them, he extorted, at his return to *Rome*, the grant of a triumph, contrary to the inclination of the Dictator, and contrary to cuſtom, the victor being only a *Roman* Knight: That he afterwards vanquiſhed *Lepidus*, and totally cruſhed his faction: That he was afterwards ſent into *Spain* againſt SERTORIUS, but had little ſucceſs there, during the life of that able general: That, after the murder of SERTORIUS, he brought the war to a happy iſſue, without much difficulty; and that in his return home (Year of *Rome* 682) he met with, and put to the ſword, a body of fugitive ſlaves, part of the army which CRASSUS had routed. His election ſoon after to the Conſulſhip has juſt been related.

count

count of the campaigns they had made, and under what generals. The CENSORS[f] *L. Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus*, ſitting in their curule chairs, at the gate of the temple of *Caſtor*, making the review, POMPEY appeared. He entered the Forum in all the ſtate belonging to his conſular dignity, but he himſelf leading his horſe by the bridle. When he came in ſight of the CENSORS, he made the Lictors, who were walking before him, ſtand aſide, while he led his horſe up to the Tribunal of thoſe Magiſtrates. The People, ſtruck with ſo ſingular a ſpectacle, remained in ſilence and admiration. The elder of the Cenſors put this queſtion to him, POMPEY, *have you completed all the years of ſervice which you owed the Commonwealth?* He anſwered, (ſpeaking with a loud voice) *Yes, I have completed them all; and in all, have been myſelf the General.* At theſe words the whole Forum reſounded with ſhouts of applauſe; the CENSORS roſe up, and conducted POMPEY back to his houſe: well knowing they ſhould thereby pleaſe the multitude, who, tranſported with delight, continued clapping their hands all the way.

ANOTHER thing by which POMPEY greatly endeared himſelf to the People, was the change he made with regard to the *Judicature*; which SYLLA had transferred wholly to the SENATORS. Corruption in the courts of juſtice had riſen to a moſt prodigious height. The Judges ſold their votes, without hiding their ſhame; and it was grown (ſays CICERO) to be an eſtabliſhed Cic. in Verr. Act. i. 1. & 15.

[f] There had been no CENSORS in the State for fifteen years paſt, when *Lentulus* and *Gellius* were honoured this year with that high office. They expelled out of the Senate ſixty-four members; among whom were *C. Antonius* (ſecond ſon of *M. Antonius* the orator) and *P. Lentulus Sura*, who had been Conſul the year before; and whom we ſhall find hereafter engaged in *Catiline*'s conſpiracy. *Q. Curius*, another of the conſpirators, was likewiſe one of the ſixty-four. Liv. Epit. l. xcviii.

At the cloſing of the Luſtrum, the number of the Citizens (which had been greatly augmented by admitting the allies to the freedom of *Rome*) amounted to 950000, according to *Freinſhemius*, who, in this particular, forſakes his text, or principal author, the Epitome of Livy, where we read 450000.

Y. of R. 683. Aſcon. in Divin.

maxim, that *a wealthy man, how criminal ſoever, could not be condemned.* On occaſion of CICERO's proſecution of VERRES, a celebrated modern, partial enough to the Ariſtocratical faction, writes thus.

Midd. Life of Cic. V. I, p. 79.

"The public adminiſtration was at this time, in every branch of it, moſt infamouſly corrupt: the great, exhauſted by their luxury and vices, made no other uſe of their governments, than to enrich themſelves by the ſpoils of the foreign provinces; their buſineſs was to extort money abroad, that they might purchaſe offices at home, and to plunder the allies, in order to corrupt the Citizens. The oppreſſed, in the mean while, found it in vain to ſeek relief at *Rome*, where there was none who cared either to impeach, or to condemn a *noble criminal*; the deciſion of all trials being in the hands of men of the ſame condition, who were uſually involved in the ſame crimes, and openly proſtituted their Judgment on theſe occaſions for favour, or a bribe. This had raiſed a general diſcontent through the empire, with a particular diſguſt to that change made by SYLLA of *transferring the right of Judicature from the Equeſtrian*[z] *to the Senatorian order*, which the people were now impatient to get reverſed: the proſecution therefore of *Verres* was both ſeaſonable and popular, as it was likely to give ſome check to *the oppreſſions of the* NOBILITY, as well as comfort and relief to the diſtreſſed ſubjects.

82. "—CICERO, in his ſpeech, after opening the reaſons why, contrary to his former practice, and the rule which he had laid down to himſelf *of dedicating his labours to the defence of the diſtreſſed*, he now appeared as *an Accuſer*, adds, *the provinces are utterly undone; the allies and tributaries ſo miſerably oppreſſed, that they have loſt even the hopes of redreſs, and ſeek only ſome comfort in their ruin: Thoſe who would have the trials*

[z] This is a miſtake. SYLLA transferred to the Senators the right of judicature, not from the Equeſtrian order, but from the perſons elected by the tribes out of the three orders. See above, p. 165.

"*remain*

" *remain in the hands of the Senate, complain, that there*
" *are no men of reputation to undertake impeachments, no*
" *ſeverity in the Judges: The People of* Rome, *in the mean*
" *while, though labouring under many other grievances, yet*
" *deſire nothing ſo ardently, as the ancient diſcipline, and*
" *gravity of trials. For the* want *of trials, the Tribuni-*
" *cian power is called for again; for the* abuſe *of trials, a*
" *new order of Judges is demanded; for* the ſcandalous
" behaviour of Judges, *the authority of the* CENSORS,
" *hated before as too rigid, is now deſired and grown popu-*
" *lar. In this licence of profligate criminals, in the daily*
" *complaints of the* Roman *People, the infamy of trials* [h],
" the diſgrace of the whole Senatorian order, *as I thought*
" *it the only remedy to theſe miſchiefs, for men of abilities*
" *and*

[h] M. *Crevier* has ſelected, from a great number, two or three ſtriking inſtances of the infamy here ſpoken of: and I chuſe to borrow them from him, not only to avoid trouble, but becauſe he is ſo warm a partizan of the *Ariſtocracy*, as to ſay, ſpeaking of LUCULLUS (tom. xi. p. 13.) His *fidelity to* SYLLA *and the* ARISTOCRATICAL PARTY *proves him to have been a ſolid man, a man of ſound underſtanding and noble ſentiments.* [ſa fidelité pour Sylla et pour le parti de l' Ariſtocratie prouve un Caractere ſolide et ilevé.]

P. LENTULUS SURA had been Prætor in *Spain*, and was accuſed at his return home of Mal-adminiſtration. He bribed the Judges (according to the common practice at that time) and was acquitted; but finding that of thirty-two voices, he had ſeventeen in his favour, he complained heavily of bad management, and the unneceſſary expence he had been put to by his agent's purchaſing one voice more than was neceſſary. *Q. Celidius* having been condemned (doubtleſs becauſe not ſo rich as his accuſer] of miſconduct when Prætor in *Spain*, reproached his Judges, not for having given ſentence againſt him, but for having done it at too low a price. *You ought to have been better paid for ruining a man, who has been honoured with the office of Prætor. You have ſold me for a morſel of bread.*

Oppianicus, a *Roman* Knight (before mentioned as a murderer, in ſpeaking of SYLLA's Proſcriptions) [Vid. ſupr. p. 230.] was now proſecuted by his ſon-in-law, *Cluentius*, for an attempt to poiſon him. The two accomplices of the accuſed had been tried and convicted, which made his caſe almoſt deſperate. In this extreme peril he applied himſelf to *Stalenus*, one of his Judges. This man undertook to buy, for about 3200l. ſixteen voices, the number neceſſary and ſufficient to acquit him, the bench conſiſting of thirty-two Judges. *Stalenus* having received the

Y. of R. 683. " *and integrity to undertake the cauſe of the Republic, and* " *the Laws, ſo I was induced the more readily, out of re-* " *gard*

money, wiſely conſidered, that it would be better for himſelf to retain the whole for his own uſe; and that certainly no one would call upon him to refund it, in caſe *Oppianicus* were condemned. The prudent part therefore would be to get him condemned. In order to this, he promiſed, on the part of the accuſed, to ſome of the Judges about 200l. each, to acquit him; and then, a few days before the trial, told thoſe Judges, that *Oppianicus* had broke his word, and had not lodged the money with him. The conſequence was, that one part of the Judges condemned *Oppianicus*, becauſe he was manifeſtly guilty; the other part, becauſe they thought he had deceived them. CICERO tells us, that *Staienus* had likewiſe received money from the accuſer.

BUT the inſtance of VERRES, who had been three years Prætor of *Sicily*, is, of all, the moſt aſtoniſhing proof of the corruption which prevailed among the Great. His trial was in this year, 683, (CRASSUS and POMPEY being Conſuls) which was the year before the Conſulſhip of HORTENSIUS. The crimes of VERRES, both for weight and number, are almoſt incredible. " All the cities of *Sicily* concurred in the " impeachment, excepting *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*; for theſe two being " the moſt conſiderable of the province, VERRES had taken care to " keep up a fair correſpondence with them. *Syracuſe* was the place of " his reſidence, and *Meſſana* the repoſitory of his plunder, whence " he exported it all to *Italy*: and though he would treat even theſe on " certain occaſions very arbitrarily, yet, in ſome flagrant inſtances of his " rapine, that he might eaſe himſelf of a part of the envy, he uſed to " oblige them with a ſhare of the ſpoil: ſo that partly by fear, and partly by favour, he held them generally at his devotion; and, at the expiration of his government, procured ample teſtimonials from them " both, in praiſe of his adminiſtration: All the other towns were zealous and active in the proſecution, and by a common petition to CICERO implored him to undertake the management of it; to which " he conſented, out of regard to the relation which he had born to " them as Quæſtor, and his promiſe made at parting, of his protection " in all their affairs. VERRES, on the other hand, was ſupported by " the moſt powerful families of *Rome*, the SCIPIO's and the METELLI, " and defended by HORTENSIUS, who was the reigning orator at the " bar, and uſually ſtiled *the king of the Forum*.

Midd. Life of Cic. V. I. p. 80.

In Verr. 2. 18. & 3. 8. it. 11.

Aſcon. Argum. in Divinat.

" CICERO had no ſooner agreed to undertake the cauſe, than an unexpected rival ſtarted up, one *Q. Cæcilius*, a *Sicilian* by birth, who " had been Quæſtor to VERRES, and by a pretence of perſonal injuries " received from him, and a particular knowledge of his crimes, claimed a preference to CICERO in the taſk of accuſing him, or, at leaſt, " to bear a joint ſhare in it. But this pretended enemy was in reality a " ſecret friend, employed by VERRES himſelf to get the cauſe into his " hands

" *gard to our common ſafety, to come to the relief of that*
" *part of the adminiſtration, which ſeem'd the moſt to ſtand*
" *in need of it.*"

HORTENSIUS

" hands in order to betray it. His pretenſions, however, were to be
" previouſly decided by a kind of proceſs called *Divination*, on account
" of its being wholly conjectural; in which the Judges, without the
" help of witneſſes, were to *divine*, as it were, what was fit to be
" done; but in the firſt hearing CICERO eaſily ſhook off this weak
" antagoniſt, rallying his character and pretenſions with a great deal
" of wit and humour."

But as to VERRES's advocate HORTENSIUS, who had received preſents from VERRES, (a thing conſidered at that time as below the dignity of an orator) CICERO reproached him in very ſharp terms.
" CRASSUS and ANTONIUS *would not have undertaken the defence of*
" *ſuch a man as* VERRES, *a man loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame: they* would
" have feared leſt, for ſo doing, they ſhould be thought as ſhameleſs
" as he. They did not care *to bring themſelves into the dilemma of be-*
" *ing neceſſitated to appear* without delicacy in the article of probity,
" *by defending a cauſe notoriouſly wicked, or* without gratitude, *by de-*
" *ſerting a perſon whoſe liberality they had experienced.*" Cic. in Verr. 2.

Quintilian mentions a ſmart ſaying of CICERO on this occaſion. As he had attacked his adverſary in an indirect ironical manner, HORTENSIUS, pretending not to underſtand him, ſaid, *He was not good at expounding riddles*; *That's ſtrange* (replied CICERO) *as you have the Sphinx at home*; (an ivory Sphinx, which VERRES had given him). Quintil. vi. 3.

VERRES, before he left his province, had openly ſaid, that thoſe ought to fear, who had robbed for themſelves only; but as for him he had taken enough to ſatisfy the greedineſs of many; that he had a powerful friend (meaning HORTENSIUS) under whoſe protection he could pillage the people with impunity; that he had been three years Prætor, and ſhould be very well content with retaining one year's gains for himſelf; that he intended another for his advocates and defenders; and reſerved the third, which was the richeſt, for the Judges.

Nevertheleſs, he was deceived in his expectations. " The previous
" point being ſettled in favour of CICERO, 110 days were granted to
" him by Law, for preparing the evidence; in which he was obliged
" to make a voyage to *Sicily*.——On his return to *Rome*, he found,
" what he ſuſpected, a ſtrong cabal formed to prolong the affair by
" all arts of delay, which intereſt or money could procure, with de-
" ſign to throw it off, at leaſt till next year, when HORTENSIUS
" and METELLUS were to be Conſuls, and METELLUS's brother a
" Prætor, by whoſe united authority the proſecution might eaſily be
" baffled: and they had already carried the matter ſo far, that there
" was not time enough left within the current year to go through the
" cauſe in the ordinary forms. This put CICERO upon a new project
" of ſhortening the method of proceeding, ſo as to bring it to an iſſue,
" at any rate, before the preſent Prætor *M. Glabrio*, and his aſſeſſors,
" who

Middl. Life of Cic. p. 83. 85. In Verr. Act. i. 9. Quintil. 6. 5.

Y. of R. 683. HORTENSIUS [that diſtinguiſhed, illuſtrious patriot, ever ſteady to the intereſt of the Republic] had a great hand

" who were like to be equal judges. Inſtead therefore of ſpending
" any time in ſpeaking, or employing his eloquence, as uſual, in en-
" forcing and aggravating the ſeveral articles of the charge, he reſolved
" to do nothing more than to produce his witneſſes, and offer them to
" be interrogated: where the novelty of the thing, and the notoriety of
" the guilt, which appeared at once from the very recital of the depo-
Argum. " ſitions, ſo confounded HORTENSIUS, that he had nothing to ſay for
Aſc. in " his client; who, deſpairing of all defence, ſubmitted, without expect-
Aet. i. " ing the ſentence, to a voluntary exile.

" From this account it appears, that of the ſeven excellent orations,
" which now remain on the ſubject of his trial, the two firſt only were
" ſpoken; the one called *The Divination*, the other *The firſt Action*,
" which is nothing more than a general preface to the whole cauſe;
" the other five were publiſhed afterwards, as they were prepared and
" intended to be ſpoken, if VERRES had made a regular defence; for
" as this was the only cauſe, in which CICERO had yet been engaged,
" or ever deſigned to be engaged as an accuſer, ſo he was willing to
" leave theſe orations, as a ſpecimen of his abilities in that way; and
" the pattern of a juſt and diligent impeachment of a great and cor-
" rupt Magiſtrate.

" The accuſation was divided into four heads: 1. *Of corruption*
" *in judging cauſes.* 2. *Of extortion in collecting the revenues and tithes of*
" *the Republic.* 3. *Of plundering the ſubjects of their ſtatues, and wrought*
" *plate* (which was his peculiar taſte). 4. *Of illegal and tyrannical*
" *puniſhments.*"

Of all the facts that Dr. *Middleton* has collected from CICERO's orations againſt VERRES, I ſhall inſert here the moſt curious only; that is, the moſt aſtoniſhingly wicked: they are under the laſt head of accuſation.

Midd. Life of Cic. p. 102. " WHEN any veſſel, richly laden, happened to arrive in the ports of
" *Sicily*, it was generally ſeized by his ſpies and informers, on pretence
" of its coming from *Spain*, and being filled with SERTORIUS's ſoldiers:
Cic. in Verr. l. 5. 56. " and when the commanders exhibited their bills of lading, with a
" ſample of their goods, to prove themſelves to be fair traders, who
" came from different quarters of the world, ſome producing *Tyrian*
" *purple*, others *Arabian ſpices*, ſome *jewels and precious ſtones*, others
" *Greek wines and Aſiatic ſlaves*; the very proof, by which they hoped
" to ſave themſelves, was their certain ruin: VERRES declared their
" goods *to have been acquired by piracy*, and ſeizing the ſhips with their
" cargoes to his own uſe, committed the whole crew to priſon, though
" the greateſt part of them perhaps were *Roman Citizens*. There was a
" famous dungeon at *Syracuſe*, called the *Latomiæ*, of a vaſt and hor-
" rible depth, dug out of a ſolid rock, which having originally been
Ibid. 27. " a quarry of ſtone was converted to a priſon by *Dionyſius* the Tyrant.
Ibid. 55. " Here VERRES kept great numbers of *Roman Citizens* in chains, whom
" he had firſt injured to a degree that made it neceſſary to deſtroy
" them;

hand in this miſchief of corrupting the courts of Juſtice. He governed with ſo kingly a ſway in all trials, that the ſentences

" them; whence few or none ever ſaw the light again, but were commonly ſtrangled by his orders.

" One *Gavius*, however, a *Roman* Citizen of the town of *Coſa*, happened to eſcape from this dreadful place, and run away to *Meſſana*; where he fancying himſelf out of danger, and being ready to embark for *Italy*, he began to talk of the injuries which he had received, and of going ſtraight to *Rome*, where VERRES ſhould be ſure to hear of him. But he might as well have ſaid the words in the Prætor's palace, as at *Meſſana*; for he was preſently ſeized and ſecured till VERRES's arrival, who, coming thither ſoon after, condemned him for a ſpy of the Fugitives, firſt to be ſcourged in the market-place, and then nailed to a croſs, erected for that purpoſe on a conſpicuous part of the ſhore, and looking towards *Italy*, that the poor wretch might have the additional miſery of ſuffering that cruel death in ſight as it were of his home. Ibid. 61. Ibid.

" The coaſts of *Sicily* being much infeſted by pirates, it was the cuſtom of all *Prætors* to fit out a fleet every year for the protection of its trade and navigation. This fleet was provided by a contribution of the maritime towns, each of which uſually furniſhed a ſhip, with a certain number of men and proviſions: But VERRES, for a valuable conſideration, ſometimes remitted the ſhip, and always diſcharged as many of the men as were able to pay for it. A fleet, however, was equipped of *ſeven ſhips*; but for ſhew rather than ſervice, without their compliment either of men or ſtores, and wholly unfit to act againſt an enemy; and the command of it was given by him, not to his *Quæſtor*, or one of his Lieutenants, as it was uſual, but to *Cleomenes*, a *Syracuſian*, whoſe wife was his miſtreſs, that he might enjoy her company the more freely at home, while the huſband was employed abroad. For inſtead of ſpending the ſummer as other governors uſed to do, in a progreſs through his province, he quitted the palace of *Syracuſe*, and retired to a little iſland adjoining to the City, to lodge in tents, or rich pavilions pitched cloſe by the fountain of *Arethuſa*; where forbidding the approach of men, or buſineſs, to diſturb him, he paſſed two of the hot months in the company of his favourite women, and all the delicacy of pleaſure that art and luxury could invent. Cic. in Verr. 5. 31.

" The fleet in the mean time ſailed out of *Syracuſe* in great pomp, and ſaluted VERRES and his company, as it paſſed; when the *Roman Prætor*, (ſays CICERO) who had not been ſeen before for many days, ſhewed himſelf at laſt to the ſailors, ſtanding on the ſhore in ſlippers, with a purple cloak and veſt flowing down to his heels, and leaning on the ſhoulder of a girl, to view this formidable ſquadron; which inſtead of ſcouring the ſeas, ſailed no farther after ſeveral days, than into the port of *Pachynus*. Here, as they lay peaceably at anchor, they were ſurprized with an account of a number of *pirate frigates*, lying in another harbour very near to them; upon which, Cic. in Verr. 5. 33.

" *the*

Y. of R. 683. ſentences given were generally ſuch as he pleaſed. For in defending his client, he did not confine himſelf to exerting

" *the admiral Cleomenes* cut his cables in a great fright, and, with all " the ſail that he could make, fled away towards *Pelorus*, and eſcaped " to land: the reſt of the ſhips followed him as faſt as they could; " but two of them, which ſailed the ſloweſt, were taken by the pirates, " and one of the captains killed: the other captains quitted their ſhips, " as *Cleomenes* had done, and got ſafe to land. The pirates, finding " the ſhips deſerted, ſet fire to them all that evening, and the next " day ſailed boldly into the port of *Syracuſe*, which reached into the " very heart of the town; where after they had ſatisfied their curio-
Cic. in Verr. 35. 36. " ſity, and filled the city with a general terror, they ſailed out again " at leiſure, and in good order, in a kind of triumph over *Verres* and " the authority of *Rome*.

" The news of the *Roman fleet* burnt, and *Syracuſe* inſulted by pi- " rates, made a great noiſe through all *Sicily*. The captains, in excuſe " of themſelves, were forced to tell the truth; that their ſhips were " ſcandalouſly unprovided both with men and ſtores, and in no condi- " tion to face an enemy; each of them relating how many of their " ſailors had been diſcharged by VERRES's particular orders, on whom " the whole blame was juſtly laid. When this came to his ears, he " ſent for the captains, and, after threatening them very ſeverely for " talking in that manner, forced them to declare, and teſtify it alſo " in writing, that every one of their ſhips had its full compliment of " things neceſſary: but finding, after all, that there was no way of " ſtifling the clamour, and that it would neceſſarily reach to *Rome*,
Cic. in Verr. 5. 39, 40, &c. " he reſolved, for the extenuation of his own crime, to ſacrifice the " poor captains, and put them all to death, except *the admiral Cleome-* " *nes*, the moſt criminal of them all, and, at his requeſt, the com- " mander alſo of his ſhip. In conſequence of this reſolution, the four " remaining captains, after fourteen days from the action, when they " ſuſpected no danger, were arreſted and clapt into irons. They were " all young men, of the principal families of *Sicily*, ſome of them " the only ſons of aged parents, who came preſently in great conſter- " nation to *Syracuſe*, to ſolicit the Prætor for their pardon. But VER-
Cic. in Verr. 5. " RES was inexorable; and having thrown them into his dungeon, " where no body was ſuffered to ſpeak with them, condemned them to " loſe their heads." The fathers and mothers of theſe innocent unfortunate young men, paſſed whole days and nights at the door of the priſon, begging only to be allowed to embrace their children, and receive their dying breath. At the gate ſtood the gaoler, the Prætor's Lictor, raiſing taxes upon diſtreſs and miſery. *You muſt give me ſo much for leave to go in; and ſo much for permiſſion to carry in victuals.——But, how much will you give me to kill your ſon at one ſtroke, and not back him, ſo as to make him die a painful death?* The price exacted for this favour being paid,—*Well, but there is another article to be ſettled.—Your*

ſon's

exerting the power of his wit and eloquence: Solicitations, careſſes, menaces, money, every means of gaining his point he diligently employed. The method of paſſing ſentence was by balloting. To each of the Judges were given three waxed tablets [little pieces of wood;] on one of which was the letter A, for *Abſolvo*; on another the letter C, for *Condemno*; and on the third N. L. for *non liquet* [the thing is not clear, the cauſe muſt be reheard.] Each Judge, after hearing the

ſon's carcaſe muſt be thrown to the wild beaſts, unleſs you purchaſe leave to bury it. This laſt bargain concluded, the priſoners were brought forth and publickly executed; to the great ſatisfaction of VERRES, who thereby got rid of ſo many witneſſes of his miſconduct.

" It happened, however, before this loſs of the fleet, that a ſingle " pirate-ſhip was taken by VERRES's Lieutenants, and brought into " *Syracuſe*; which proved to be a very rich prize, and had on board a " great number of handſome young fellows. There was a band of " muſicians among them, whom VERRES ſent away to *Rome* a preſent " to a friend; and the reſt, who had either youth or beauty, or ſkill " in any art, were diſtributed to his clerks and dependents, to be kept " for his uſe; but the few, who were old and deformed, were com- " mitted to the dungeon, and reſerved for puniſhment. The captain of " theſe pirates had long been a terror to the *Sicilians*, ſo that they were " all eager to ſee his perſon, and to feed their eyes with his execution: " but being rich he found means to redeem his head, and was carefully " kept out of ſight, and conveyed to ſome private cuſtody, till VER- " RES could make the beſt market of him. The people in the mean " time grew impatient and clamorous for the death of the pirates, " whom all Prætors uſed to execute as ſoon as taken; and knowing " the number of them to be great, could not be ſatisfied with the few " old and decripid, whom VERRES willingly ſacrificed to their reſent- " ment. He took this opportunity therefore to clear the dungeon of " thoſe *Roman Citizens*, whom he had reſerved for ſuch an occaſion, " and now brought out to execution, as a part of *the piratical crew:* " but to prevent the imprecations and cries which Citizens uſed " to make of their being *Free Romans*, and to hinder their being " known alſo to any other Citizens there preſent, he produced them " all with their heads and faces ſo muffled up, that they could neither " be heard nor ſeen, and in that cruel manner deſtroyed great numbers " of innocent men! But to finiſh at laſt the whole ſtory of VERRES: " after he had lived many years in a miſerable exile, forgotten and " deſerted by all his friends, he is ſaid to have been relieved by the " generoſity of CICERO; yet was proſcribed and murdered after all " by MARC ANTONY, for the ſake of his fine ſtatues and *Corinthian* " veſſels, which he refuſed to part with: Happy only, (as *Lactantius* " ſays) before his death, to have ſeen the moſt deplorable end of his " old enemy and accuſer, CICERO."

Midd. p. 107.

Cic. in Verr. 5. 25, &c.

Cic. in Verr. 5. 28.

Ib. 60.

Senec. l. 6. Suaſor. 6. Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 34. 2. Lactan. 2. 4.

cauſe,

Y. of R. 683. cauſe, was to put one of theſe tablets into a box, or urn, [called *Sitella*.] HORTENSIUS not only engaged ſome one among the Judges to be a ſpy upon the reſt; but, when he had an affair much at heart, contrived to furniſh the Judges with tablets of different colours, that ſo, when theſe were taken out of the box, he might ſee with his own eyes, whether the Judges, by him bribed, had kept faith with him, or not.

POMPEY, in a ſpeech which he made to the People before his Conſulſhip, had promiſed to put a ſtop to this ſcandalous and miſchievous corruption. It may therefore reaſonably be conjectured, that *Aure'ius Cotta*, now Prætor, who paſſed a Law for that purpoſe, acted in concert with him. The Law imported, that the Judges ſhould no longer be choſen out of the Senate alone, but out of the three orders of the Commonwealth; that is to ſay, the SENATORS, the KNIGHTS, and the TRIBUNES or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; which laſt were of the order of the PEOPLE: [their buſineſs was to remit the public money to the Quæſtors for the payment of the troops.] This Law was obſerved, till the Dictatorſhip of CÆSAR.

BUT what more than any thing rooted POMPEY in the affections of the PEOPLE, was his ſacrificing to them, in one important point, the intereſts of the *Ariſtocracy*. The attempt of *Sicinius*, in the year 677, to reſtore to the TRIBUNES their ancient privileges; and the deſtruction, he thereby drew upon himſelf, have been already mentioned. Notwithſtanding his unfortunate end, the cauſe he had eſpouſed was ſtill ſupported: for, the year following, the Conſul COTTA found himſelf obliged to conſent that the clauſe which, in SYLLA'S *Law concerning the Tribuneſhip*, excluded the Tribunes from the ſuperior offices, ſhould be repealed. And ſeveral Tribunes afterwards ſucceſſively purſued the deſign of a total re-eſtabliſhment of the tribunician power. Nevertheleſs ſix years had paſſed, and the thing was not effected. POMPEY, whoſe ambition carried him to aim at a perpetuity of command, a deſign which he could no other way compaſs but by

Cic. pro Corn. 1. & ibi Aſcon.

by the favour of the People, took the preſent opportunity of gaining them entirely to his intereſt; and, by exerting his conſular power, brought about that change [i], which the multitude ſo paſſionately deſired: and to which CRASSUS made no oppoſition.

The two Conſuls, however, had diſagreed very much during their whole adminiſtration. POMPEY, notwithſtanding his promiſe *, had kept his troops on foot near the City; and CRASSUS had not diſbanded his army, ſo that *Rome* apprehended a new civil war like that of MARIUS and SYLLA. Towards the cloſe of *December*, when the People, being aſſembled, had ineffectually entreated the Conſuls to put an end to their differences, a *Roman* Knight named *C. Aurelius*, who had never intermeddled with public affairs, preſented himſelf before them, and told them "That in a dream he "had ſeen *Jupiter*, who commanded him to declare to "the People in his name, that they ſhould not ſuffer "the Conſuls to quit their office, till they were become "friends." The multitude, much affected with this dream, preſſed the Conſuls moſt earneſtly to a reconciliation. POMPEY, nevertheleſs, ſtirred not from his curule chair; but CRASSUS roſe up, and approaching his collegue, ſaid: "*Romans*, I think it not below me "to make the firſt advances towards a man whom "you honoured with the ſurname of THE GREAT, "when he was yet very young; and with two triumphs "before he was a Senator." At the ſame time, he held out his hand to POMPEY, who could not reject ſo obliging an invitation. Thus was the reconciliation made between them: but the People would not depart till the Conſuls had cauſed edicts to be poſted up for diſbanding their armies.

* Vid. ſupr. p. 289.

Plut. in Craſſ. & Pomp. App. de Bell. Civ. p. 427.

POMPEY, who had begun to apprehend leſt ſuch a perpetuity of power, as he wiſhed, ſhould draw envy

Vell. Pat. ii. 31.

[i] CICERO, in juſtification of POMPEY, affirms, that it was not poſſible to avoid this repeal of SYLLA's Law, the *People* were ſo eagerly bent upon it: And that it was better POMPEY ſhould have the merit of it with the *People*, than that ſome pernicious Citizen ſhould thereby make himſelf popular. *De Leg.* iii 26.

to

Y. of R. 683. to a dangerous degree upon him, took an oath, that on quitting the conſulſhip (which was to expire the laſt of *December*) he would not accept of any government: he kept his word; and his example was followed by his collegue.

This year VIRGIL was born.

CHAP. VI.

The Capitol conſecrated. War declared againſt the CRETANS. *The* GABINIAN *Law in favour of* POMPEY (*Year of* Rome 686). *The war with the pirates. The* MANILIAN *Law in favour of* POMPEY, *Year of* Rome 687.

Y. of R. 684. Bef. J. C. 68. Conſ-p. 383. IN the following Conſulſhip of Q. HORTENSIUS and Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS (afterwards ſurnamed *Creticus*) the rebuilding of the Capitol was finiſhed, fourteen years after its being burnt. CATULUS, who had ſuperintended the rebuilding of it, had the honour of performing the conſecration [k].

The ſame year the war againſt the *Cretans*, whom the Prætor *Marcus Antonius* had attacked (as will be hereafter related) without commiſſion ſo to do, was undertaken by public authority; and METELLUS had the conduct of it, by the voluntary ceſſion of his collegue: who, having been accuſtomed to a kind of dominion in juridical affairs [l], choſe to reſide in the City, though

Val. Max. II. 4. [k] In the games which CATULUS exhibited on this occaſion, he covered with fine linen of various colours the theatres, which till then were open to the heaven. *Plin.* l. xix. c. 1.

Cic. in Brut. 228. Midd. Life of Cic. p. 52. V. II. [l] HORTENSIUS had been a volunteer in the firſt year of the *Italic* war, commanded a regiment in the ſecond; but, when that war was over, ſtuck cloſe to the bar. He had begun very early to make a figure there, being but nineteen when he pleaded his firſt cauſe, to the admiration of all preſent. *Like a ſtatue of* Phidias, (ſays CICERO) the inſtant *he was ſeen, the ſame inſtant he was admired.* He charmed the eye no leſs by his *action*, than the ear by his voice, and the muſic of his periods. " He reigned abſolute in the Forum when CICERO firſt " entered it, and as his ſuperior fame was the chief ſpur of CICERO's " induſtry, ſo the ſhining ſpecimen which CICERO ſoon gave of him-" ſelf,

though the *Cretan* war had fallen to him by lot, and he had been at firſt ambitious of that province. This war Diod. Appian. & Dio, apud Fulv. Urſin.

" ſelf, made HORTENSIUS likewiſe the brighter for it, by obliging " him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground againſt " his young rival. They paſſed a great part of their lives in a kind of " equal conteſt and emulation: But HORTENSIUS, by the ſuperiori- " ty of his years, having firſt paſſed through the uſual gradation of " public honours, and ſatisfied his ambition by obtaining the higheſt, " *began to relax ſomewhat of his old contention, and give way to the* " *charms of eaſe and luxury*, to which his nature ſtrongly inclined him, " till he was forced at laſt, by the general voice of the City, to yield " the poſt of honour to CICERO.—HORTENSIUS publiſhed ſeveral " orations, which were extant long after his death.—They are ſaid " to have owed great part of their credit to his ACTION, which yet Brut. 425. " was thought *to have more of art than was neceſſary to an orator*, Orator. p. " ſo that his compoſitions *were not admired ſo much by the reader, as* 261. " *they had been by the hearer*; while CICERO's more valued produc- Quintil. xi. " tions made all others of that kind leſs ſought for, and conſequently 3. " the leſs carefully preſerved. HORTENSIUS, however, was general- " ly allowed by the ancients, and by CICERO himſelf, to have poſſeſſed " every accompliſhment, which could adorn an orator; *elegance of* " *ſtile*; *art of compoſition*; *fertility of invention*; *ſweetneſs of elocution*; " *gracefulneſs of action*. Theſe two rivals lived, however, always with " great civility and reſpect towards each other, and were uſually in Cic. in " the ſame way of thinking, and acting, in the affairs of the Republic; Brut. 425. " till CICERO, in the caſe of his exile, diſcovered the plain marks" [marks viſible to himſelf only, as ſome think] " of a lurking envy and " infidelity in HORTENSIUS: yet his reſentment carried him no farther, " than to ſome free complaints of it to their common friend ATTICUS, " who made it his buſineſs to mitigate this diſguſt, and hinder it from " proceeding to an open breach; ſo that CICERO, who was naturally " placable, lived again with him, after his return, on the ſame eaſy " terms as before, and lamented his death [which was in 703] with " great tenderneſs, not only as the *private loſs* of a FRIEND, but a *pub-* " *lic misfortune* to his COUNTRY, in being deprived of the ſervice and Brut. init. " authority of ſo experienced a ſtateſman at ſo critical a conjunc- " ture."

It would be hard to forbear being a little more particular in this place, concerning the *worthineſs* of the perſon with whom CICERO lived in ſuch conſtant friendſhip, and concerning *the grievous weight of that misfortune* which the PUBLIC ſuſtained by loſing ſo eminent a *patriot*, as HORTENSIUS.

How able and aſſiduous a practitioner this *patriot* was, in corrupting the courts of juſtice, has been already taken notice of. This was before his Conſulſhip. After his ambition had been ſatisfied by the attainment of that higheſt honour; he, who had ever been a ſop *, and inclined to luxury, became wholly a voluptuary and a trifler. * Macrob. ii. 9.

Y. of R. 685. war will be ſpoken of more at large, when we come to POMPEY's expedition againſt the Pirates.

The next year L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS (brother of *Quintus*, one of the laſt year's Conſuls) and L. MARCIUS REX, took poſſeſſion of the Conſular faſces: But Bef. J. C. 67. METELLUS died in the beginning of *January*. Another, Conſ. p. 384. whoſe name is not tranſmitted to us, was choſen in his place; but he likewiſe dying ſoon after, and before he could enter upon his office, MARCIUS governed, ſole Conſul, the remainder of the year, the *Romans* not thinking it proper to proceed to a new election: He did nothing memorable during his Conſulſhip: After the expiration of it, he went into *Cilicia*, the government of which had fallen to him.

Tome xi. p. 204. I ſhall tranſcribe ſome part of what M. *Crevier* has given us on this head.

" If (as SENECA thinks) it be true, that there is *an infallible and* " *neceſſary relation between the manners and eloquence of a ſpeaker* [talis " hominibus oratio qualis vita, *Ep.* 114.] what we know of the luxu- " ry and finical delicacy of HORTENSIUS, and his fondneſs for trifles, " will give us an idea of his ſpeeches very conformable to the judg- " ment paſſed on them by *Quintilian*; who thought them extremely " below the reputation he had acquired as an orator.

" He was ſo nice with regard to his perſon, that he dreſſed himſelf " before a looking-glaſs, adjuſting the plaits of his gown after the moſt " graceful faſhion, and then, to keep them in that ſtate, moſt ſkilful- " ly binding them with his girdle, the knot of which he contrived to " hide in one of the lappets of his gown, which ſeemed to fall negli- " gently.

" Fooliſhly fond of his trees, he *watered* (if one may here uſe that " word) his Plane trees with *wine*. And it is reported, that being to " plead in a cauſe, where CICERO was likewiſe engaged, he begged his " conſent to changing the hour; becauſe he was under a neceſſity of " going, without delay, to his *Tuſculan* villa, to irrigate with wine a " Plane-tree, which he had there planted.

" His paſſion for the fiſh in his ponds was no leſs extravagant. CI- " CERO had jeſted upon this folly, more than once, in his letters to " ATTICUS. And *Varro* enters into particulars: He tells us, that " HORTENSIUS, with regard to his fiſh, was like miſers with re- " gard to their money; he durſt not uſe them. And he not only for- " bore eating them, but fed them with his own hands; and, when " they were ſick, took as much care of them as of his ſlaves [proba- " bly more]. He warmed their water, leſt they ſhould ſuffer from the " coldneſs of it; and it is added, that (like the orator CRASSUS) he " wept for the death of a Lamprey."

The

The following year, when M. ACILIUS GLABRIO and C. CALPURNIUS PISO were Conſuls, was memorable for the GABINIAN Law, which gave to POMPEY the command of the war againſt the pirates. Y. of R. 686. Bef. J. C. 66. Conſ-p. 385.

The pirates were originally of *Cilicia*; they owed their beginning to the civil diſcords in the kingdom of *Syria* between the branches of the family of the *Seleucidæ*. The *Cilicians*, favoured by thoſe wars, and the conſequent diminutions of the royal authority, carried off a prodigious number of ſlaves from *Syria*. It was a very advantageous branch of commerce; becauſe the *Romans*, grown rich ſince the taking of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, bought ſlaves without number. The mart for this trade was the iſland of *Delos*; and very often 10000 ſlaves, brought thither at once, were ſold the ſame day. The kings of *Cyprus* and *Egypt*, ever at war with thoſe of *Syria*, favoured the pirates, becauſe they diſtreſſed that country. Of theſe robbers the *Romans* took little notice, being diverted by more important and more urgent cares from giving attention to them, and from attempting to ſuppreſs a power which at firſt appeared contemptible. The war of MITHRIDATES, to whoſe ſervice the pirates attached themſelves, furniſhed them with opportunities of increaſing their ſtrength. Ever ſince the time when SYLLA beſieged *Athens*, their cruiſing about had made navigation difficult and dangerous. They very much diſtreſſed LUCULLUS, and put him under a neceſſity of being upon his guard againſt a ſurprize from them, when, by SYLLA's order, he was labouring to aſſemble a fleet from all the maritime countries ſubject to the *Romans*, or in alliance with them. The pirates, however, had not then begun to extend themſelves far: they confined their courſes to the ſea between *Crete* and *Cyrene*, and between the *Pyræus* and the promontory of *Malæa*, now *Cape Malio*. But within this ſpace, though not very large, they got ſuch rich prizes, that they themſelves gave it the name of the Golden Sea. And they confined themſelves to it the rather, becauſe they were not yet ſtrong enough to inſult *Sicily* and *Italy*: And

Plut. in Pomp. Strab. l. xiv.

Oroſ. l. v. c. 23. Florus, l. iii. c. 6.

App. Mithrid. p. 234.

Y. of R. 686. MITHRIDATES, with whom they acted in concert, was then maſter of *Aſia*, and would not have permitted them to infeſt its coaſts. But when that prince was conſtrained to abandon his conqueſts, and had no longer any intereſt in *Aſia*, he gave full ſcope to the pirates: and the civil wars at *Rome* not permitting SYLLA to check their progreſs, their power increaſed prodigiouſly. Enriched by the plunder of the coaſts of *Aſia*, they were ſoon in a condition to fit out triremes and other large veſſels. A multitude of people, ruined by the war between MITHRIDATES and the *Romans*, greatly increaſed the piratic crew; to whom they repaired, that among them they might find meaſs of ſubſiſtence, which they were deprived of at land: And now the pirates began to form armies, and the captains of the ſhips became generals. They made deſcents, ſurprized cities that were not fortified, and by aſſault, or by ſieges in form, took others that were in a condition of defence: and by theſe military exploits they pretended to have ennobled their profeſſion. And this notion ſo far prevaled, that many perſons, conſiderable by birth and fortune, aſſociated with them, and were far from thinking they diſhonoured themſelves by ſo doing.

At length they formed a kind of commonwealth, of which *Cilicia* was the center; a country difficult to approach, becauſe of the rocks and ſhoals that lined the coaſts. Hence, though an aſſemblage from almoſt all the nations of the eaſt, they were called *Cilicians*. They had magazines, or ſtaples, upon the coaſts where they cruized, for depoſiting their booty, and had even naval arſenals well ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for building and equipping ſhips. They likewiſe erected high towers, from whence they might perceive their prey at a vaſt diſtance; and, at length, they ſucceeded ſo well, as to engage in their intereſt great and powerful cities, *Phaſelis*, *Olympia*, and ſeveral others, which the commodouſneſs of a trade, carried on at the ſole riſque and expence of the pirates, induced to become their confederates.

Muræna,

Muræna, whom SYLLA had left in *Aſia*, made ſome efforts to ſtop the rapid progreſs of their power, but ineffectually: ſo that, in the year 675, *P. Servilius* (who had been Conſul the year before) was ſent from *Rome* with both land and ſea forces againſt them. Theſe robbers, nevertheleſs, had the boldneſs to venture a battle with the *Roman* fleet; and tho' the Pro conſul obtained the victory, it was not without the loſs of a great number of his men. After his victory, he purſued them into their retreats, took and demoliſhed ſeveral of their fortreſſes, and even thoſe two conſiderable cities, *Phaſelis* and *Olympia*, which had entered into an alliance with them. Making an incurſion into the country, he likewiſe forced the city of *Iſaura*, and ſubdued the nation of the *Iſauri*. The fruit, however, of all theſe conqueſts was little more than the honour to himſelf of a triumph, with the ſurname of *Iſauricus*. His triumph was probably in the Conſulſhip of LUCULLUS and COTTA, in the year of *Rome* 679; in which year the Prætor *Marcus Antonius*[a] was charged with the war againſt the pirates, and had a more extenſive commiſſion, than had ever before been given to a *Roman* general: for he had the ſuperintendence of all the ſea coaſts ſubject to the *Roman* empire. The maritime countries, which he was commiſſioned to defend, were made ſenſible of his authority, no otherwiſe, than by the rapines he there committed: and though his power extended over all the ſeas, he confined his operations to the attacking *Crete*, which had furniſhed ſome troops to the king of *Pontus*, and a retreat to the pirates. *Florus* tells us, that believing himſelf ſure of victory, he carried more chains than arms in his ſhips. The *Cretans*, who, notwithſtanding the reduction of ſo many kingdoms and ſtates under the *Roman* yoke, had hitherto preſerved their liberty, were not intimidated. They put to ſea, met him, defeated him, and took many of his ſhips. To inſult the vanquiſhed, they tied the

Cic. in Verr. ii. 4. & ibi Aſcon.

Flor. l. iii. c. vii.

[a] This Prætor was ſon of *Marcus Antonius*, the famous Orator, and father of MARC ANTONY, the Triumvir.

Y. of R. 686. priſoners to the ſails and rigging of their veſſels, and in that manner returned triumphantly into their ports. *Antonius*, as meanly diſcouraged now, as he had been preſumptuouſly confident before, completed his infamy by clapping up a peace with the *Cretans*. He felt his diſgrace; and, having already a bad habit of body, ſhame and grief quickly brought him to his end. He died (in 682) bearing the ſurname of *Creticus*, that had been given him in deriſion.

Vide ſupra, p. 304.

In the year 684, the war againſt the *Cretans* was undertaken by public authority, and the conduct of it given to the Conſul METELLUS (collegue of HORTENSIUS) as has been before mentioned. He acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion with ſucceſs: he defeated *Laſthenes*, one of their principal generals, reduced the ſtrongeſt cities of *Crete*, (*Cydonia*, *Gnoſſus*, and *Lyctus*) and obliged *Panares*, the author of the war, and even *Laſthines*, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners. Nevertheleſs, as the Conſul treated the conquered with rigour, and they were naturally obſtinate, and were ſupported by a great number of pirates, who had long had correſpondence in the iſland, and places of retreat there, they ſtill made a vigorous reſiſtance.

Flor. l. iii. c. vii.

Things were in this ſituation, with regard to *Crete*, when the Tribune GABINIUS (in the Conſulſhip of ACILIUS GLABRIO and CALPURNIUS PISO) moved, that the conduct of the war againſt the pirates might be given to POMPEY.

Plut. in Pomp. App. Mithrid. p. 235. Dio, l. xxxvi.

The power of the pirates was arrived to ſuch a height, that they had above a thouſand good ſhips, well manned and furniſhed with ſkilful pilots. They affected magnificence, and their ſhips glittered with gold and ſilver; their oars were ſilvered over; and the curtains of the cabins were of purple. If they went on ſhore, it was to feaſt themſelves in the moſt ſumptuous and coſtly manner; and theſe entertainments were accompanied with concerts of muſick; their inſolence and depredations had riſen to an exceſs beyond all imagination. They had taken above 400 cities, and had plundered thirteen of the moſt famous temples

temples in the world of all their riches: but their principal employment and delight, was to inſult the *Romans*[b] and humble the pride of *Italy*. They landed there, infeſted the main roads, and rifled the country houſes that were not far from the ſea.

But of all the miſchiefs done by the pirates, that which occaſioned moſt complaints at *Rome*, was the ſcarcity and dearneſs of proviſions, a matter that always greatly affects the People. The multitude therefore were overjoyed at the propoſal made by GABINIUS to commiſſion POMPEY to clear the ſeas of thoſe vermin. But the Tribune is ſaid not to have been actuated by any zeal for the public welfare, but to have formed his project with the ſole view of gaining POMPEY's favour, and thereby mending his own fortune. He did not indeed name POMPEY in the Law, but the public voice ſufficiently declared him to be the man intended, and the Law was ſo worded, as to conſtitute, not a general, but a monarch, throughout the whole extent of the *Roman* empire. GABINIUS propoſed, that, out of the Conſulars, the People ſhould chuſe one, to whom the command ſhould be given for three years over the whole *Mediterranean*, from the pillars of *Hercules*, and over all the provinces bordering on that ſea, as far as fifty miles within land. The perſon elected was to have power to chuſe out of the Senators fifteen Lieutenants, and to take money at diſcretion, both out of the public treaſury, and from the farmers of the revenue: and he was to have a fleet of 200 ſail, with power to Plut. in Pomp.

[b] When any one who was taken by them declared himſelf a *Roman*, they pretended to be frightened, and to tremble: they ſtruck their thighs, and fell at his feet, to aſk him pardon. And when they had obtained forgiveneſs, they placed themſelves about him, put on his ſhoes, clothed him in his proper habit, that (as they ſaid) they might never miſtake him any more; and when in this manner they had a long while made him their ſport, they placed a ladder on the ſide of their ſhip, next the water, intimating to their priſoner, that he was now in full liberty to leave the veſſel, and go whitherſoever he pleaſed; and, upon his declining the favour, they threw him overboard.

The daughter of that very *Marcus Antonius*, who had been appointed to clear the ſeas of them, was carried by them from his houſe at *Miſenum*. Plut. in Pomp.

Y. of R. 686. raiſe both ſoldiers and ſeamen, in what numbers he ſhould judge neceſſary.

Vell. Pat. ii. 32. Plut. in Pomp. Dio. The Senators, who in general were very much alarmed at the Tribune's motion, which manifeſtly tended to give the Republic a ſovereign, exclaimed loudly againſt it: they fell upon GABINIUS with ſuch rage, that, if we may believe *Dio*, he was near being killed upon the ſpot. The People, informed of the violence offered to their Tribune, turned their fury againſt the Senators, inſomuch, that they were forced to ſeek their ſafety by flight. The Conſul PISO diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion, telling POMPEY, that as he trod in the ſteps of ROMULUS, he ought to expect the like end: words, which brought PISO into the ſame danger with which he had threatened POMPEY. For the multitude gathered about him, and his life would have been in great hazard, if GABINIUS, who feared the odium that would be brought upon himſelf, by the murder of the Conſul, had not controuled their fury. *Oppoſition* to the Tribune's bill, from ſome of his collegues, was now the Senate's reſource; but of the whole number two only, *L. Trebellius* and *L. Roſcius Otho*, had the courage to brave out the danger.

The day came for the tribes to give their ſuffrages upon the Law in queſtion. POMPEY acted his part to perfection. He aſcended the Roſtra, and addreſſed the People *to ſpare him*; [he was then but in his 39th year: and every body ſaw him in perfect health, and full of vigour; yet] *he was quite ſpent with his paſt fatigues;—and—indeed—he was afraid of envy:—He deſired nothing ſo much as the tranquillity of a private life:—Beſides,—the Commonwealth had many other perſons more capable of ſerving it: Of which capable perſons, however, he would name none; becauſe he would not give offence to any worthy man, whom, poſſibly, he might chance not to mention.*

GABINIUS likewiſe played his part in this comedy, undertaking to anſwer POMPEY's reaſons. He ſaid, it were to be wiſhed that the ſtate abounded with men of ſuperior merit, but that theſe were rare; and, when a ſtate was ſo happy as to poſſeſs ONE, it ought to reap ad-

advantage from his abilities. *For* (turning to POMPEY) *you were not born for yourſelf only, you were born for your country.*

The Tribune *Trebellius* roſe up to ſpeak, but obſerving that no body was diſpoſed to hear him, he only pronounced his VETO. GABINIUS thinking himſelf authoriſed by the example of TIBERIUS GRACCHUS (in the caſe of his collegue OCTAVIUS) moved to have *Trebellius* depoſed from his office: And ſeventeen of the thirty-five tribes had already voted for depoſing him, when he deſiſted from his *oppoſition*. Vid. Vol. IV. p. 348.

Roſcius Otho, intimidated by the danger which his collegue had juſt eſcaped, and not being able, by any exertion of his voice, to make himſelf heard, amidſt the noiſe of a multitude in ſo violent an agitation, only lifted up two fingers in the air, to ſignify, that he would have the power, which was propoſed to be given to POMPEY, divided between two. The People underſtood his meaning perfectly well, and raiſed a cry of indignation ſo loud, that a raven, it is ſaid, flying over the Aſſembly, was ſtruck with the noiſe, as with a thunder clap, and fell dead in the midſt of the Forum. Plut. & Dio.

Nevertheleſs, the grant of a power ſo exorbitant, and unknown to the Laws, was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by CATULUS, HORTENSIUS, and all the chief men of the Senate (CÆSAR excepted) as dangerous to the public liberty, nor fit to be intruſted to any ſingle perſon. They alledged, that theſe unuſual grants were the cauſe of all the miſery the Republic had ſuffered from the Proſcriptions of MARIUS and SYLLA, who, by a perpetual ſucceſſion of extraordinary commands, were made too great to be controuled by the authority of the Laws; that though the ſame abuſe of power was not to be apprehended from POMPEY, yet the thing itſelf was pernicious, and contrary to the CONSTITUTION of *Rome*; that the equality of a DEMOCRACY required, that the public honours ſhould be ſhared alike by all who were worthy of them; that there was no other way to make men worthy, and to furniſh the City with a number and choice of experienced commanders: CA- Midd. p. 118. Plut. in Pomp. & Dio.

TULUS

Y. of R. 686. TULUS thus concluded his ſpeech—"You love POMPEY, and you have reaſon ſo to do. But your affection for him tranſports you too far; you charge him with all the moſt dangerous commiſſions, you expoſe him to the greateſt dangers. Should you unfortunately happen to loſe him, in whom would you place your confidence?" Upon which, as CICERO ſays, *he reaped the juſt fruit of his virtue, when they all cried out with one voice,* In YOU CATULUS.

Pro Leg. Man. 20.

The greater part of the day being ſpent in theſe diſputes and harangues, it was neceſſary to put off the deciſion of the affair to another Aſſembly. POMPEY retired into the country, to ſhew his modeſty, and to have the honour of being named in his abſence to ſo important an employment. As there had been a precedent for the Law a few years before in favour of M. ANTONIUS, a man much inferior both in merit and intereſt, it was carried againſt the united authority of all the Magiſtrates, but with the general inclination of the People. POMPEY returned by night to *Rome*, in order to ſhun the concourſe of the multitude, and the congratulations of his friends, who, coming to meet him, would have made his entry a kind of triumphal proceſſion. At break of day he came abroad, and offered a ſacrifice; and the People being again aſſembled, granted him ſeveral things, which had not been granted him by GABINIUS's Law: for they decreed him 500 ſhips, 120000 foot, 5000 horſe, twenty-four Lieutenants to be choſen out of the Senate, two Quæſtors, and 6000 talents. From the greateſt ſcarcity of proviſions, which had been known for a long time in *Rome*, the credit of POMPEY's name ſunk the price of them at once, as if plenty had been actually reſtored.

1162500l.

But though the Senate could not hinder the Law, yet they had their revenge on GABINIUS, the author of it, by preventing his being choſen one of POMPEY's Lieutenants, which was what he chiefly aimed at, and what POMPEY himſelf ſolicited: tho' POMPEY probably made him amends for it ſome other way. Since, as CICERO* ſays, he was ſo neceſſitous at this time, and ſo profli-

*Poſt. red. in Senat. 5.

gate,

gate, that, if he had not carried his Law, he muſt have turned pirate himſelf.

As POMPEY's firſt view was to reſtore plenty to the City, and this by delivering *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the coaſts of *Africa*, the three granaries of *Rome*, from the fear of the pirates, he ſo diſtributed his fleet, that in forty days all the ſeas, from the Streights to *Greece*, were perfectly cleared: proviſions came in great abundance to the *Roman* markets, and POMPEY was extolled to the ſkies. Only the Conſul PISO, through an inflexible obſtinacy, prevented, or retarded, the levies of ſoldiers and ſeamen which had been granted; which obliged POMPEY to return to *Rome*. He was received with the loudeſt applauſes; and the indignation of the People againſt PISO roſe to ſuch a height, that they were diſpoſed to deprive him of the Conſulſhip: GABINIUS had already drawn up a Law for that purpoſe; but POMPEY would not ſuffer things to be carried to that extremity. On the other hand, the Senate would not ſupport the Conſul in his laſt meaſures; ſo that POMPEY obtained full ſatisfaction. He preſently left *Rome*, and at *Brunduſium* embarked again, in order to finiſh his enterprize. Cic. pro Leg. Man. Plut. in Pomp.

The pirates, as faſt as they were driven out of their lurking places, bent their courſe towards *Cilicia*, which was their moſt ſecure retreat. POMPEY, in purſuing them to that coaſt, met ſeveral of their ſmall fleets, which ſurrendered to him: he treated his priſoners with great humanity, and this conduct very much facilitated the completion of his enterprize: for thoſe of the pirates, who had avoided his Lieutenants, becauſe more ſevere, came in from all parts to ſubmit to him, and gave him intelligence of the retreats of the moſt reſolute, and the moſt guilty of their aſſociates. On the coaſt of *Cilicia*, near *Coraceſium*, the whole remaining ſtrength of the pirates, collected into one fleet, waited for him, to give him battle. POMPEY, with a fleet of ſixty ſhips, defeated them without much difficulty. They ſhut themſelves up in *Coraceſium*, and ſuſtained a ſiege; but at length, thinking it moſt prudent to ſubmit, they ſurrendered Plut. in Pomp.

Y. of R. 686. rendered to the victor their cities, the islands they had fortified, and, in a word, all their possessions and themselves.

And thus terminated the war with the pirates, the forty-ninth day after the departure of POMPEY from *Brundusium*.

POMPEY, in this expedition, had taken above 20000 prisoners, and the question was how to dispose of them. He could not entertain the thought of putting them to death; and on the other hand, it was not safe to leave it in their power to renew the late mischiefs. He reflected (says *Plutarch*) that man is neither brutal, nor unsociable; that violence is a vice contrary to his nature, and may be changed by a change of habitation, and manner of living, as even the fiercest wild beasts are by such methods made tame. He resolved therefore to remove his prisoners far from the sea-coast into the inland parts, and there disperse them. He settled many in certain cities of *Cilicia*, which were almost deserted; and especially in *Soli*, which had been lately ruined by *Tigranes*. It was afterwards called *Pompeiopolis*, from the name of its restorer. He likewise transplanted a considerable number of them into *Achaia*, and even into *Italy*.

POMPEY made a great figure in this war with the pirates; but his conduct towards Q. METELLUS, who had been commissioned to reduce the island of *Crete*, dishonoured him. The success of METELLUS in that enterprize, and the obstinate resistance of the *Cretans*, aided by the pirates, have been already mentioned. As they had heard much of POMPEY's lenity and clemency, they sent deputies to him in *Pamphilia*, where he then was, having reduced *Cilicia*, declaring by them, that they surrendered themselves to him, and were ready to submit to all that he should command. Ambitious of ruling alone, POMPEY, contrary to all reason and decency, received the deputies of the *Cretans*, and their associate pirates: and pretending, that his commission included all *Crete*, because no part of that island was fifty miles from the sea, he, by letter, ordered METELLUS

Vid. supr. p. 310.

Cic. pro Leg. Man. c. xii.

Plut. in Pomp.

LUS to ceaſe the war: and he afterwards ſent thither *Octavius*, one of his Lieutenants, to receive the ſubmiſſion of the people; and in his name, and his authority, to eſtabliſh a peace. METELLUS paid no regard to theſe orders, but preſſed the ſiege of the place he had inveſted; ſo that *Octavius*, a *Roman* commander, was ſhut up in a town with pirates, to ſuſtain a ſiege againſt a *Roman* army. When METELLUS had forced the place, he cauſed the pirates to be executed, and treated *Octavius* himſelf with the utmoſt contempt: repreſenting to him the unworthineſs of his general's conduct, who, to gratify a mean jealouſy, had taken under his protection the enemies of Gods and men.

This affair continued in ſuſpence till the next year, when the command of the war againſt MITHRIDATES was given to POMPEY; who then being employed in more important cares, left METELLUS to complete the conqueſt of *Crete* without interfering any more. For this conqueſt, METELLUS acquired the ſurname of CRETICUS; but his triumph was poſtponed, through the intrigues of POMPEY, and the Tribunes of his faction.

In the following Conſulſhip of M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, and L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS, MANILIUS, one of the Tribunes, no ſooner entered on his office, than he raiſed a freſh diſturbance in the City, by the promulgation of a Law, *for granting to ſlaves ſet free a right of voting among the tribes*; which gave ſo much ſcandal to all, and was ſo vigorouſly oppoſed by the SENATE, that he was preſently obliged to drop it: but *being always venal*, as *Velleius* ſays, *and the tool of other men's power*, that he might recover his credit with the People, and engage the favour of POMPEY, he propoſed a ſecond Law, that POMPEY, *who was then in* Cilicia, *extinguiſhing the remains of the piratic war, ſhould have the government of* Aſia *added to his commiſſion, with the command of the* Mithridatic *war* [c] *and of all the* Roman *armies in thoſe parts*. Y. of R. 687. Bef. J. C. 65. Conſ. p. 386. Vell. Pat. ii. 33.

[c] It was about eight years ſince LUCULLUS was firſt ſent to that war, in which, by a ſeries of ſo many great and glorious acts, he had acquired a reputation both of courage and conduct equal to that of the greateſt generals.

This

Y. of R. 687. Plut. in Pomp. Ap. Mithrid. p. 238. Dio, l. xxxvi.

This was, as *Plutarch* obſerves, putting the whole *Roman* empire into the hands of a ſingle man. The Senate therefore were more alarmed by this propoſal, than they had been by that of GABINIUS: But the People, who at that time idolized POMPEY, appeared ſo eagerly bent to exalt him, that of all the Fathers, not one, except HORTENSIUS and CATULUS (*who had both been Conſuls*) ventured to ſpeak in favour of the ancient maxims. *Servilius Iſauricus*, a conſular perſon; CÆSAR, (with a view, perhaps, to commiſſions for himſelf of the like irregular kind) and even CICERO, then Prætor, CICERO, the conſummate patriot, ſupported the Tribune's propoſal, though (as an ingenious and elegant writer obſerves) "They had not the leaſt pre-

Obſervations on the Life and Writings of CICERO, p. 11.

"tence of public neceſſity to juſtify it, as they ſeem-
"ed to have had in the commiſſion they gave him a-
"gainſt the pirates, who were, at that time, very for-
"midable enemies: But LUCULLUS, who commanded
"in *Aſia*, had overcome MITHRIDATES in ſeveral bat-
"tles, and was as capable of finiſhing the war, as he
"whom they appointed to be his ſucceſſor. With an
"eloquence worthy of a better cauſe, he moſt art-
"fully reflected on LUCULLUS, whoſe reputation, as
"well as his authority, was to be made a ſacrifice to
"the envy of POMPEY: Then he proceeded to deſcant
"upon POMPEY's character, which he ſet off with all
"the ornaments of rhetoric; attributing to him the
"whole ſucceſs, not only of the *African*, *Spaniſh*, and
"*Piratic* wars, but even of that againſt the *Slaves*, the
"honour of which was ſolely due to CRASSUS. Thus
"by cruelly injuring two of the greateſt generals that
"were in the Commonwealth, by a moſt ſervile flat-
"tery of the man who was manifeſtly overturning all
"its LIBERTIES[a], he brought the people to conſent

[a] i. e. *All thoſe remains of* ROMAN LIBERTY, that could ſubſiſt under an *uſurped*, *Anticonſtitutional*, *Infamous* ARISTOCRACY, or OLIGARCHY; where not only *Offices of Truſt*, and even the *higheſt Magiſtracies*, but *Judiciary Decrees*, were openly bought and ſold. *Vid. ſupr.* p. 293, 294, 295.

to

" to [or rather made the People more ardently desirous " to pass] the MANILIAN *Law:* which, had a [e] regard " to the interest of his country been his constant prin- " ciple, he ought to have opposed as violently, as he " did afterwards the *Agrarian* Law, or any other at- " tempt against the safety and freedom of the state.

MANILIUS's bill, passing into a Law, placed POMPEY at the utmost height of his wishes; he saw himself raised, by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, to a power almost equal to that which SYLLA had forcibly usurped. But his natural disposition, and a long habit of profound dissimulation, made him pretend great affliction, when he received the news of the honour done him His Plut. Dio, Appian.

[e] " We have, says M. *Crevier*, the discourse which CICERO pro- " nounced on this occasion. It is more to his honour as an orator, " than as a patriot, or commonwealth's-man. *Dio* censures him for " it, with a severity which I shall not imitate. This historian is al- " most always unjust in his judgment of those who distinguished them- " selves by their VIRTUE [*i. e.* their *zeal* for the *Aristocracy*] in the " times we are speaking of. In truth, it is very hard to clear CICERO " from the charge of *not being faithful enough to the maxims of the* " ARISTOCRACY" [as if it was a proof of *Virtue* to adhere to those " maxims in the *Roman* DEMOCRACY.] " But *he had the Consulship* " *nearly in view*, and it behoved him therefore to gain the People's " favour, and make sure of the friendship of POMPEY. I am, ne- " vertheless, persuaded, that if CICERO had looked upon MANI- " LIUS's project, as a measure Pernicious to the *Commonwealth*, he " would never have promoted it, for the sake of any personal ad- " vantage to himself." Vid. supr. p. 313, 314

This is surely having a faith absolutely implicit in the virtue and integrity of CICERO, such a faith as CICERO, in excuse of himself, pretends to have had in the virtue of POMPEY. How far this faith is defensible, I shall leave to the reader's consideration. Most persons, who are members of a FREE state, will, I imagine, judge, that if POMPEY aspired to the commission in question, or discovered a willingness to accept it, he was by no means fit to be trusted with it; unless it were intended by his constituents as a thing eligible and desirable, to reduce the government to a *Monarchy*.

I have observed, that this ingenious French writer seems frequently to make the ARISTOCRACY, and the COMMONWEALTH, or FREE STATE, synonymous terms; whereas the *Freedom* of the *Roman People*, from the time of SYLLA, who, by Laws of his own, established the ARISTOCRACY, was surely, at best, no better than the freedom of outlaws and banditti, who are under the guidance of suitable leaders; and the SENATE itself was notoriously a *Spelunca Latronum*.

friends

Y. of R. 687. friends vied with each other in expreſſing their joy; but he, frowning and ſtriking his thigh, cried out, *O Gods! am I then condemned to endleſs labour? How much better would it have been for me to have lived without glory and unknown, than to be thus for ever armed, for ever making war! Muſt I then be always expoſed to that envy which perſecutes me? Muſt I never be ſuffered to enjoy, in the tranquillity of a country life, the dear company of my wife and children?* This diſſimulation, this hypocriſy (ſays *Plutarch*) was intolerable even to his moſt familiar friends, who well knew, that, beſide the pleaſure of having his ambition ſatisfied, he had another exquiſite joy, from the mortification of his hated rival LUCULLUS, to whom nothing could be more offenſive, than to be ſupplanted in his command by POMPEY. But before we enter on POMPEY's exploits, in the war againſt MITHRIDATES, it will be proper to take a view of what had paſſed in *Aſia* and the Eaſt, ſince the PEACE which that prince concluded with SYLLA, in the year 668 of *Rome*; and of the preſent ſituation of things in that country.

[a] N. B. This hiſtorian, in the beginning of his hiſtory of POMPEY's Life, makes *ſincerity* and *veracity* parts of his character.

CHAP. VII.

The occaſion and commencement (in 669 or 670) of the SECOND MITHRIDATIC WAR, *under the conduct of* MURÆNA. *He concludes a peace with the king in 672, by order of* SYLLA, *then* DICTATOR. *The* THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR *commences in 679, under the conduct of* L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, *then Conſul: and is carried on by him to the year 687, when he is ſucceeded in the command by* POMPEY.

THE king of *Pontus* had no ſooner made peace with the *Romans*, than he turned his arms againſt the people of *Colchis*, who had thrown off his government: but they requeſting him to give them his ſon *Mithri-*

Mithridates to be their king, and he granting their request, they immediately ſubmitted. The father, nevertheleſs, ſuſpecting that the late rebellion might be the effect of his ſon's intrigues to obtain for himſelf a kingdom, ſent for him, bound him with chains of gold, and then put him to death. App. Mithrid p. 214.

After this he undertook the reduction of the *Boſphorani*, who had rebelled at the ſame time with the people of *Colchis*: and for this enterprize he made ſuch great preparations both of men and ſhips, as gave reaſon to think he had the *Romans* more in view, than his rebellious ſubjects. And this ſeemed the more probable, as he retained ſeveral fortreſſes in *Cappadocia*, notwithſtanding his engagement by treaty to yield that country to *Ariobarzanes*.

MURÆNA, who had been left by SYLLA in *Aſia* with *Fimbria*'s Legions, and who with much ardency aſpired to the honour of a *triumph*, was glad of theſe pretexts for renewing the war. While this project engaged all his thoughts, ARCHELAUS, with his wife and children, took refuge with him. This general had been ſuſpected by MITHRIDATES, ever ſince the battle of *Chæronea*, and the ſubſequent negotiation with SYLLA; in which the king thought his intereſt had been ſacrificed by his general to that of the *Romans*. ARCHELAUS, who knew his maſter's temper, and therefore his own danger, put himſelf for ſafety into MURÆNA's hands, and then urged him to renew the war: an advice which he readily liſtened to; it being ſo agreeable to his own predetermination. He entered *Cappadocia*, ſeized the city of *Comana*, and there plundered the rich temple of *Bellona*. On theſe hoſtilities, the king of *Pontus*, by an embaſſy[b] remonſtrated to MURÆNA, that he acted contrary to the treaty lately concluded. As the treaty between SYLLA and MITHRIDATES had not been put in writing, the parties having been contented with the exe-

[b] The Ambaſſadors are ſaid to have been ſome *Greek* philoſophers, who endeavoured, inſtead of ſerving the king, to render him more odious to the *Romans*.

Y. of R. 687. cution of the conditions, MURÆNA anſwered, that he knew nothing of it. He continued his incurſions and depredations, and took up his winter-quarters in *Cappadocia*[c]. The king ſent his complaints to *Rome*, and, while he waited for an anſwer, ſuffered MURÆNA unmoleſted to purſue his hoſtilities. At length *Calidius* arrived, bringing with him, not a written decree of the Senate, but a mere verbal order to MURÆNA, to diſcontinue the war againſt MITHRIDATES. At leaſt this is what he ſaid to the *Roman* general in public, but they ſaw each other in private, and the war went on as before.

App. ibid. p. 215.

Memnon. apud Phot. MURÆNA paſſed the river *Halys*, as if intending to march to *Sinope*, the capital of the kingdom of MITHRIDATES, and the place where he was born.

App. ubi ſupr. Againſt the *Roman* general, the king detached *Gordius*, whom he ſoon after followed in perſon, with numerous forces. The armies approached near to each other: the *Halys* only was between them. MITHRIDATES paſſed the river in ſpite of all oppoſition from the enemy. A general action enſued, but with what ſucceſs does not appear. Each ſide pretended to the victory; yet it would ſeem, that neither had great cauſe to boaſt: For MITHRIDATES, after the battle, retired toward *Colchis*, and MURÆNA into *Phrygia*. The king, however, celebrated his pretended victory by a ſolemn ſacrifice, after the manner of the *Perſians*, from whom he derived his origin. This was the laſt action of the ſecond war with MITHRIDATES, which had laſted about three years. SYLLA, being created Dictator, ſent his abſolute orders to MURÆNA to deſiſt from hoſtilities.

Y. 672. *Gabinius*, the bearer of theſe orders, was likewiſe commiſſioned to reconcile the two kings, MITHRIDATES and *Ariobarzanes*. The Dictator's will was punctually complied with, and to ſeal the reconciliation, the king of *Pontus* gave a great feaſt to *Ariobarzanes* and *Gabinius*.

[c] It is probable, that all this paſſed in the year 670, the Conſulſhip of *Scipio* and *Norbanus*.

MURÆNA

MURÆNA ſeems to have had no good title to a triumph, yet he had that honour: perhaps SYLLA, who knew in what manner MITHRIDATES had celebrated his pretended victory, was willing, for the honour of the *Roman* name, to grant a triumph to MURÆNA.

MITHRIDATES, as we have ſeen, had twice made peace with the *Romans*; but he had no written treaty, either with SYLLA or MURÆNA. He ſent Ambaſſadors therefore to *Rome*, to demand a decree of the Senate, authorizing what had been ſtipulated between him and the *Roman* generals: But as *Ariobarzanes* had likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to complain, that MITHRIDATES had not reſtored to him all *Cappadocia*, SYLLA, who was then Dictator, decreed, that the king of *Pontus* ſhould, previouſly to any new tranſaction, evacuate *Cappadocia* intirely, as had been agreed. MITHRIDATES obeyed; and afterwards ſent a new embaſſy finally to ſetttle the treaty. But SYLLA * was then dead, and the thoughts of the *Romans* were ſo much engroſſed with inteſtine troubles and diviſions, that the Ambaſſadors could not obtain audience of the Senate: they returned therefore, without an anſwer, to their maſter, who was not ſorry to have that pretext for accuſing the *Romans* of an intention to renew the war.

App. Mithrid. p. 216. A. 673. & 674.

* He died in 675.

He had taken care to keep his troops in exerciſe, by making war upon ſeveral nations on the borders of the *Phaſis* and mount *Caucaſus*, and likewiſe upon the people of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, whom he ſubjected, and over whom he made his ſon, *Machares*, king.

And now the difficulties, into which the war of LEPIDUS, and, afterwards, that of SERTORIUS, had thrown the *Roman* Commonwealth, made the king of *Pontus* believe he might renew hoſtilities with advantage. However, at firſt, he did not appear himſelf, but engaged *Tigranes* to act, who having entered *Cappadocia*, became preſently maſter of it, ruined twelve *Grecian* cities in that country, and carried off the inhabitants, to the number of 300000, to people his favourite city, *Tigranocerta*.

A. 675. & 676.

Liv. Epit. l. xciii. Y. 678. In the year of *Rome* 678 died *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, who, by his will, made the *Roman* People his heir; whereupon *M Junius Silanus*, Proconſul of *Aſia*, received orders to go into that kingdom, and reduce it into a *Roman* province. MITHRIDATES, who had long entertained the deſign of ſeizing that kingdom, would by no means acquieſce in its becoming a part of the *Roman* dominion. It was at this time therefore he threw off the maſk, and having ſent the famous embaſſy, before ſpoken of, to SERTORIUS, undertook this his THIRD WAR againſt the *Romans*, with more confidence than he had done the two former; his preparations being more judiciouſly made. Inſtead of an innumerable multitude of Barbarians of different nations and languages, whoſe confuſed noiſes could only terrify the ſoft *Aſiatics*, and whoſe arms glittered with gold and precious ſtones, he aſſembled an army of 120000 ſtout ſoldiers, formed and diſciplined after the *Roman* manner. To this body of infantry he added 16000 troopers well mounted, and 100 chariots armed with ſcythes. He likewiſe fitted out a fleet of 400 ſail, well manned; and he amaſſed above nine millions of buſhels of corn, which he diſtributed, in different magazines, along the coaſt. Thus prepared for war, he attacked *Bithynia* both by land and ſea.

Vid. ſupra. p. 272, 273.

Iut. in Lc.

The Conſular Faſces had been transferred to L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS [d] and M AURELIUS COTTA; and Y. 679. the province of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, had fallen by lot to

* Conſulſhip of L. OCTAVIUS and C. AURELIUS COTTA.

[d] *Plutarch* tells us, that the father of LUCULLUS, who had been Prætor in *Sicily*, was accuſed and found guilty of extortion, and that his mother, ſiſter of METELLUS NUMIDICUS, was a woman of very indiſcreet conduct. LUCULLUS diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very uncommon degree of fraternal affection. He was older than his brother *Marcus*, and therefore ſooner capable of holding offices; but never would accept of any office till his brother became capable, by his years, of being aſſociated with him: And the *Roman* People were ſo pleaſed with this turn of his mind, that in his abſence they choſe him Ædile, conjointly with that brother who was ſo dear to him: He was much addicted to letters, and could write and ſpeak readily in the *Greek* as well as the *Roman* language. A hiſtory of the *Marſic* War, written by him in *Greek*, was extant in *Plutarch*'s time. He was fortunately abſent

to the former: But news being ſoon after brought to *Rome*, that the government of *Cilicia* was vacant (by the death of *L. Octavius*, who had ſucceeded *Servilius Iſauricus*) LUCULLUS, ardently deſirous of conducting the war againſt MITHRIDATES, employed all his thoughts to get *Cilicia* aſſigned to him; becauſe, as *Cappadocia* joined to *Cilicia*, if he obtained this province, the accompliſhment of his other deſire would be a natural conſequence.

In order to obtain his wiſh, he was forced to pay humble court to the miſtreſs of one *Cethegus*, an infamous, contemptible man, but who had found means to make himſelf ſo very popular, that nothing was done at *Rome* without his approbation; and there was no acceſs to him, but thro' his miſtreſs, *Precia*. LUCULLUS gained her by preſents. It greatly flattered her vanity, that a Conſul, and ſuch a man as LUCULLUS, ſhould ſolicit her protection. The province of *Cilicia* was given to him by the People, and of courſe, as he had foreſeen, the conduct of the war againſt the king of *Pontus*. However, his collegue, COTTA, deſiring to have part in that enterprize, obtained of the Senate to ſend him with a fleet to guard the *Propontis*, and to defend *Bithynia*. Plut. in Luc.

LUCULLUS carried only one legion from *Italy*: He found four in *Aſia*, but two of the four were thoſe who (as above * related) had formerly killed *Flaccus* their general, and afterwards betrayed *Fimbria*: all ſtout ſoldiers, experienced in war, and inured to fatigues, *Vid. ſupr. p. 210.

abſent from *Italy* during thoſe dreadful times, when MARIUS and SYLLA cauſed ſuch deſolation there. He had no ſhare in the Dictator's tyrannical proceedings. Nevertheleſs, SYLLA always treated him as a perſon he eſteemed, and loved, and employed him in his moſt important affairs: and, as a mark of particular friendſhip, inſcribed his Commentaries to him, and left him guardian to his ſon (as was before mentioned). CICERO declares, that LUCULLUS ſet out from *Rome* with little or no experience in war, and arrived in *Aſia* an accompliſhed general: but we learn from others, that LUCULLUS had ſerved with diſtinction in the *Social* war, and had been SYLLA's Quæſtor, and in that capacity had commanded a fleet, and fought ſeveral battles, in all which he came off victorious. He had been Ædile in 674; Prætor at *Rome* in 676; and Prætor in *Africa* in 677.

but intractable, ſeditious, and accuſtomed, not to obey their commanders, but to be humoured by them. LUCULLUS had the ſkill to bring them under better diſcipline; (though not to keep them in obedience to the end of the war.)

And whereas the exactions of SYLLA, and the oppreſſions and extortions of the publicans and uſurers, had greatly indiſpoſed the cities of *Aſia* towards the *Roman* government, LUCULLUS applied himſelf to remedy this evil, as much as the cares of the war would allow him to do. He checked the *Harpies* (as *Plutarch* calls them) in their courſe of oppreſſion, till he could entirely expel them; inſomuch, that the ſtates of *Aſia* left him in full liberty to march without fear to the aid of his collegue COTTA, who, by imprudence, had brought himſelf into very great danger. For being arrived in *Bithynia*, and finding MITHRIDATES there with his army, he aſpired to the glory of conquering him without the aid of LUCULLUS. Defeated near *Chalcedon* both by land and ſea in one day, he loſt 4000 *Romans*, and above 60 ſhips, and was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in that city, where he had no hope of ſuccour, but from his collegue. If LUCULLUS had followed the inclinations of his ſoldiers, he would not have attempted to relieve COTTA, with whom they were greatly offended, on account of his project of conquering without them. They would have had their general turn his arms towards *Pontus*; but he, having called them together, declared to them, that he had rather reſcue a ſingle *Roman* citizen from danger, than conquer all the dominions of MITHRIDATES. He began his march therefore towards *Bithynia*; upon advice of which, MITHRIDATES left *Chalcedon* and COTTA, and met LUCULLUS near *Otryæ*, a city of *Phrygia*; but a maſs of fire falling between the two armies, this prodigy ſo terrified them, that they ſeparated, as it were by conſent. LUCULLUS judging from the enormous multitude which followed MITHRIDATES, that he would ſoon be obliged to retire for want of proviſions, reſolved to avoid an action. Accordingly it ſo fell out: the king decamped,

Liv. Epit. l. xciii. App. Mithrid. p. 218. Plut. in Luc.

ed, and, to conceal his march, ſet forward in a very dark and rainy night, and arrived before *Cyzicum*, an important city *, and one of the keys of *Aſia*. The inhabitants had ſuffered a conſiderable blow in the naval battle of *Chalcedon*, where they had loſt 3000 men and ten ſhips, ſo that he expected to carry the place with eaſe. He formed ten camps about it, and made his fleet ſhut up the two extremities of the Streight, that ſeparated the iſland from the continent. LUCULLUS, nevertheleſs, who had followed the enemy, and had encamped at a ſmall diſtance from them upon an eminence, where he was ſafe from inſult, and at hand to cut off their proviſions, boaſted to his ſoldiers, that without fighting he ſhould force MITHRIDATES to quit his enterprize. Strab. l. xii. p. 575. Plut. in Luc.

The *Cyzicenians* ſuſtained the ſiege with wonderful reſolution, only they were ſomewhat diſturbed for having no news of the *Roman* general. They could ſee his camp, but did not know that it was his; for the enemy had made them believe, that it was the camp of the *Armenians* and *Medes*, ſent by *Tigranes* to the aid of MITHRIDATES. LUCULLUS very ſoon found means to undeceive them.

The king's army began to ſuffer famine; however, he would not yet abandon his enterprize: only, to be leſs ſtreightned for want of proviſions, he ſent away almoſt all his cavalry, the beaſts of burden, and that part of his infantry, which having ſuffered moſt was leaſt capable of ſervice. LUCULLUS intercepted this detachment, near the river *Rhyndicus*; many were killed on the ſpot, and 15000 taken priſoners, together with 6000 horſes, and a prodigious number of beaſts of burden. LUCULLUS brought all to his camp, paſſing within view of the beſiegers, in a kind of triumph. The famine increaſed in the king's camp; for the ſea, by which he had been hitherto ſupplied with proviſions, became impracticable on account of the bad ſeaſon. Many therefore died of hunger, ſome fed on human App. Mithrid. p. 221. Plut. in Luc.

* It was about fifty miles in circumference, and ſituated in an iſland of the *Propontis*.

fleſh; others, who abhorring that diet, fed upon graſs and herbage, ſunk thro' weakneſs; and the great number of the dead, that remained without burial, brought the plague into the camp: MITHRIDATES, nevertheleſs, continued the ſiege, waiting the ſucceſs of ſome batteries he had planted. The *Cyzicenians*, who knew the weak condition of his troops, made a vigorous ſally, deſtroyed his works, and burnt all his engines. Nothing remained now for the king but flight, and this was difficult in the preſence of a victorious army. To divert the thoughts of LUCULLUS to another object, he equipped a ſquadron of ſhips, that was to go to the *Ægean* ſea. *Ariſtonicus*, the admiral, carried ten thouſand pieces of gold with him, in order to corrupt, if poſſible, *Fimbria*'s Legions, which MITHRIDATES had long been in hopes of ſeducing. His hopes had ſome foundation, as thoſe ſoldiers were mutinous, and ſeditious, and had been adherents to MARIUS's faction, of which he had actually with him ſome perſons, ſent to him by SERTORIUS. *Fimbria*'s ſoldiers pretended to liſten to the propoſals of *Ariſtonicus*, but having contrived to draw him to a place, where they were maſters, ſeized both his gold and him, and killed thoſe that accompanied him.

App. Mithrid. p. zzz. In the mean time, MITHRIDATES was making the beſt diſpoſitions he could for retiring from before *Cyzicum*. He directed two of his generals to march his land forces, which were ſtill about 30000, to *Lampſacus*. As for himſelf he embarked for *Parium*, and had a ſafe paſſage; but his land army was purſued, and overtaken near the *Granicus* (or the *Æſepus*) by the *Romans*, who cut in pieces near 20000 of them, and took many priſoners. Thoſe few that eſcaped ſhut themſelves up in *Lampſacus*. LUCULLUS appeared before the place, and they would have fallen into his hands, if MITHRIDATES had not ſent ſhips to carry them off with all the inhabitants. The *Roman* general returned to *Cyzicum* [f] and

[f] The ſiege of *Cyzicum* ſeems to have been begun towards the end of the year 679, in which L. LUCULLUS was Conſul; and it was raiſed in the beginning of the Conſulſhip of M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS and C. CASSIUS VARUS, Year of *Rome* 680.

was

was received with acclamations by the inhabitants, who, in honour of him, inſtituted a feſtival, which they called *Lucullea*.

It is ſaid, that MITHRIDATES, in this unfortunate expedition, did not loſe leſs than 300000 men, including the neceſſary followers of an army. Plut. in Luc.

LUCULLUS turned his thoughts to drive MITHRIDATES entirely out of *Bithynia*; but for that purpoſe he wanted a fleet, MITHRIDATES being maſter of the ſea: Nevertheleſs, he declined an offer made him by the Senate of 3000 talents, to equip a fleet: He anſwered, that the zeal and fidelity of the allies of the Republic would ſupply him with what he wanted. Accordingly he drew together a great number of ſhips from the cities of *Aſia*, and, in a little time, was able to diſtreſs MITHRIDATES by ſea, as well as by land. His Lieutenants, *Voconius Barba* and *Valerius Triarius*, took the principal cities of *Bithynia*, *Apamea*, *Pruſa*, *Pruſias*, *Nicæa*: and MITHRIDATES, after a ſhipwreck, in which he loſt a great number of veſſels, near *Parium*, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Nicomedia*, whither COTTA firſt, and afterwards *Triarius*, came to beſiege him. Ibid. App. Mithrid. p. 223.

The king, far from being driven to deſpair by ſo much bad ſucceſs, or from confining himſelf to the defenſive, actually ſent away a fleet to ſupport the revolt which SPARTACUS had excited in *Italy*. He had given the command of this fleet to two of his own officers, and *M. Marius*, whom SERTORIUS had ſent to him with the title of Proconſul. LUCULLUS ſailed in queſt of this fleet, found it in the road of *Lemnos*, and deſtroyed the whole, being thirty-two ſhips of war, with a great number of tranſports; and the three admirals were made priſoners. LUCULLUS, conſidering *Marius* as a traitor to his country, and apprehending that he might eſcape due puniſhment, by dying ſword in hand, had taken the precaution, before the battle, to order his ſoldiers not to kill any man who had but one eye, which was *Marius*'s caſe; the victor put him to death by torture. Plut. in Luc.

The intire evacuation of *Bithynia* by MITHRIDATES, was the conſequence of this victory; for having received

advice,

advice, that LUCULLUS was advancing againſt him with the utmoſt expedition, he ſet ſail from *Nicomedia*, to return into his own kingdom: But not far from *Heraclea* a violent ſtorm diſperſed his fleet, and ſunk many of his ſhips. The whole coaſt was covered with the wrecks; and this completed the ruin of his maritime forces. Being himſelf in a ſhip too large to approach the ſhore, during the violent agitation of the ſea, he was conſtrained to go on board a pirate's ſloop; in which he eſcaped to *Heraclea*.

Memnon. apudPhot

This city did not belong to him; but was a petty *Grecian* Republic, which, diſcontented with the exactions of the *Romans*, and yet dreading their power, remained fluctuating between the two parties. It was by means of a ſecret intelligence, with one of the principal citizens, that the king got admittance: but being once admitted, he eaſily brought the citizens to declare in his favour: after which, under pretext of defending the town againſt the *Romans*, he placed there a garriſon of 4000 men, then marched to *Sinope*, and from thence to *Amiſus*.

LUCULLUS, after conferring with COTTA, left to him the care of beſieging *Heraclea*, gave the command of the fleet to *Triarius*, and reſolved in perſon to purſue MITHRIDATES by land, and carry the war into his dominions.

The king neglected nothing in ſo preſſing a danger, ſent Ambaſſadors and letters to the *Armenian* and *Parthian* kings, and to the kings of *Scythia*. The miniſter whom he ſent into *Scythia* betrayed him; carrying the gold and preſents, with which he was entruſted, into the camp of LUCULLUS. The king of *Parthia* would have nothing to do with a quarrel that ſeemed foreign to him. Only TIGRANES, ſolicited by one of his wives, the daughter of MITHRIDATES, made ſome promiſes, but was not in haſte to put them in execution. The king of *Pontus*, thus reduced to place all his hopes in himſelf, undertook to traverſe the march of LUCULLUS, ſending light armed troops to haraſs him, and intercept his convoys; inſomuch,

App. Mithrid. p. 224.

Y. 680.

that

that the *Roman* general, in order to have bread, made 30000 *Gallo-Greeks*, each with a *Medimnus* * of corn upon his ſhoulders, march along with the army. But this ſcarcity was of no long duration: the *Roman* army ſoon found itſelf in a plentiful country; which not having for a long time paſt experienced the calamities of war, ſupplied the conquerors with ſuch abundance, that an ox was ſold for a drachma, a ſlave for four, and the reſt of the booty was reckoned of no value, becauſe they could find no purchaſers.

* Somewhat more than a buſhel. Plut. in Lucul.

LUCULLUS, not meeting with any reſiſtance, laid ſiege to two cities, neighbouring one to the other, *Amiſus* and *Eupatoria*. He did not, however, preſs the ſiege of thoſe places. Blocking them up, he advanced into the country as far as *Themiſcyra*, near the *Thermodon*. His ſoldiers, greedy of plunder, were much diſſatisfied with his manner of carrying on the war. Many places, which had ſurrendered to him, he had received on capitulation: he had taken none by force of arms: and it was manifeſt that he intended to ſpare *Amiſus*, which was one of the royal cities of MITHRIDATES, who had a palace in it. LUCULLUS deſpiſed their murmurs, but thought himſelf obliged to juſtify his conduct to thoſe, who thought that he did not follow MITHRIDATES cloſe enough, but imprudently gave him time to aſſemble new forces. "There is nothing I wiſh more, ſaid LUCULLUS, than to ſee MITHRIDATES again at the head of an army, numerous enough to make him believe he is in a condition to contend with us, and under no neceſſity of flying at our approach. Should he deſpair of defending himſelf by his own ſtrength, he will have recourſe to his ſon-in-law *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, the moſt powerful prince of *Aſia*, and who is ſeeking a pretence for making war againſt us: and what more ſpecious pretext can he have, than that of defending a prince his ally, who implores his protection?" In fact, LUCULLUS ſuffered the reſt of the campaign to paſs without any conſiderable enterprize, and MITHRIDATES took advantage

Plut. ibid.

vantage of this inaction to draw together, during the winter, 40000 foot, and 4000 horſe, with which, in the beginning of the ſpring, he paſſed the *Lycus*, and marched to meet the *Romans*, who were advancing in queſt of him.

† Y. 681. App. Mithrid. p. 225. The two armies, though for a conſiderable time in view of each other, came to no general engagement. In a ſkirmiſh of the cavalry, MITHRIDATES had all the advantage; inſomuch that the *Roman*, ſenſible of the enemy's ſuperiority in horſe, and therefore of the neceſſity of avoiding the plains, removed his camp to an eminence, where he could not be forced to fight againſt his will.

Plut. in Lucul. It was about this time, that LUCULLUS narrowly eſcaped being aſſaſſinated by *Olthacus*, prince of the *Dandarians*, a nation in the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*. This prince having promiſed MITHRIDATES to rid him of LUCULLUS, came to the *Roman* camp as a deſerter, and ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the general, as to be often admitted to his table, and even to his councils. The *Dandarian* having choſen a day for the execution of his purpoſe, commanded his ſervant to keep his horſe in readineſs for him without the camp; and at noon, when the exceſſive heat diſpoſed every body, ſoldiers and officers, to take ſome repoſe, he went to LUCULLUS's tent, expecting to be readily admitted. But as LUCULLUS, who had fatigued himſelf very much the day before, and had paſſed the night without ſleep, was juſt then laid down to reſt, his ſervant ſignified this to *Olthacus*. The prince, nevertheleſs, anſwered peremptorily, That he *would* go in; for that he muſt ſpeak to the general upon an affair of importance. To which the ſervant replied, *There is nothing more important than my maſter's health:* and then, without hearkening any further to him, roughly with both his hands puſhed him away. *Olthacus*, afraid of being ſuſpected, left the camp immediately, and returned to MITHRIDATES.

† L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA and CN. CORN. LENTULUS C
NUS.

In the mean time both armies began to ſuffer famine, having eaten up the country where they were. The *Romans* had no proviſions, but what they brought from the territories of *Ariobarzanes*, and were obliged to detach large bodies of troops to eſcort their convoys. MITHRIDATES rightly judged, that if he could intercept thoſe convoys, he ſhould reduce LUCULLUS to the ſame ſtate to which LUCULLUS had reduced him before *Cyzicum*. This therefore he attempted: whereupon two conſiderable actions enſued, in both which the *Romans* were victorious. In the ſecond, the king's detachment, amounting to 4000 foot and 2000 horſe, was ſo intirely overthrown, that only two men eſcaped to carry to their maſter the news of his misfortune. The victors paſſed inſulting before his camp, with a long train of carriages, loaded with ſpoils, and proviſions; and this ſight ſpread ſo great a conſternation among his troops, that he loſt all confidence in their ſervice, and, being diſtreſſed by the want of proviſions, reſolved to ſteal away from his army: and this reſolution he imparted to the principal perſons of his council, who immediately turned their thoughts to ſave their baggage, by ſending it off with all expedition. The ſoldiers, obſerving theſe preparations for flight, ſtopt the baggage: a ſcuffle enſued; the enraged multitude plundered the carriages, and maſſacred thoſe to whom they belonged. *Dorylaus*, one of MITHRIDATES's principal generals, was murdered ſolely for the ſake of the purple robe which he wore. Upon this uproar, the king came out of his tent, and endeavoured to pacify the troops; but no body hearkened to him; and when, without either officer, or ſlave to attend him, he ſought to eſcape by flight, he was thrown down, and muſt have been trampled to death, if one of his eunuchs, who perceived him in that miſerable condition, had not given him timely aid, and a horſe to carry him off. LUCULLUS, appriſed of what had paſſed, ſent his cavalry in purſuit of the runaways, while he himſelf with the Legions entered the camp. A body of *Gallo Grecian* horſe purſued MITHRIDATES ſo cloſe, that it would have been

App. Mithrid. p. 226.

Plut. in Lucul.

ſcarce

ſcarce poſſible for him to eſcape, had not the purſuers found in their way a mule loaded with gold. Their ſtopping to ſeize the rich prey gave him time ſufficient. He arrived at *Comana*, and from thence went to *Tigranes* in *Armenia*. By this victory, all *Pontus* was ſubjected to the *Romans*. LUCULLUS took the city of *Cabira*, where MITHRIDATES had paſſed the preceding winter; hither came the commanders of forts and caſtles [b], bringing the keys of them to the victor without

App. Mithrid. p. 227. Plut. in Lucul.

[a] The king's ſecretary had fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and tho' LUCULLUS had given orders that particular care ſhould be taken of him, yet thoſe to whoſe charge he was committed having diſcovered that he had five hundred pieces of gold about him, killed him for the ſake of the money. *Plut. in Lucul.*

LUCULLUS had likewiſe forbid the ſoldiers to plunder the camp, it being probably his purpoſe to have all the ſpoil collected, and then equally diſtributed among them, according to ancient cuſtom. But times were changed: the ſight of ſo many gold and ſilver veſſels, purple carpets, and other rich ſpoil, made them regardleſs of the general's orders. *App. Mithridat.* p. 227.

[b] In theſe caſtles the *Roman* general found great treaſure and many priſoners, who had been long ſhut up. Of theſe ſome were *Greeks*, others princes of the royal family, whom the public ſuppoſed to be dead. *Nyſa*, the ſiſter of MITHRIDATES, and widow of *Nicomedes*, became LUCULLUS's priſoner on this occaſion, and very fortunately for her: For the ſiſters and wives of MITHRIDATES, who had not fallen into the hands of the *Romans*, but were kept under guard, near *Pharnacia*, periſhed miſerably. The king not finding *Tigranes* very forward to aſſiſt him, and therefore thinking himſelf irretrievably ruined, ſent the eunuch *Bacchidas* to *Pharnacia*, with orders to his two ſiſters, *Roxana* and *Statira*, who had never been married, and were then about forty years of age, to die. *Roxana* loaded with imprecations her barbarous brother; the other, affecting an heroic courage, highly praiſed the goodneſs of the king, who not being able to protect them, ſpared them at leaſt the ſhame of captivity, and perhaps of a treatment moſt unworthy of their rank.

Berenice and *Monima*, two of the king's wives, periſhed in the ſame caſtle. *Berenice* was accompanied by her mother, then very old, who would ſhare with her daughter the cup of poiſon; and ſhe quickly expired. But the daughter, being young, was not ſo ſoon diſpatched; ſo that *Bacchidas*, being in haſte, ſtrangled her. When *Bacchidas* ſignified to *Monima* the king's order to die, which left her to chuſe what kind of death ſhe pleaſed, ſhe ſnatched off the diadem that encircled her head, and having put it round her neck, hung herſelf up by it: but the weight of her body ſoon breaking it, ſhe threw it upon the ground and ſpit upon it, ſaying, *Wretched bandage, couldſt thou not do me ſuch a ſervice as this at leaſt!* And then ſhe preſented her throat to the eunuch's ſword. *Plut. in Lucul.*

delay.

delay. He followed MITHRIDATES in his flight, till he learnt that the king had entered the dominions of *Tigranes*: then turning back, he reduced *Armenia Minor*, and ſome nations in the neighbourhood of *Colchis*: after which he led his army towards the cities of *Amiſus* and *Eupatoria*, which had been only blockaded during his abſence. He preſently took *Eupatoria* by aſ- * Y. 682.
ſault: *Amiſus* coſt him more trouble, having a good engineer for its governor, a man well ſkilled in the ſcience of defending towns. LUCULLUS, nevertheleſs, chooſing a time to aſſault the walls, when the governor did not expect it, carried the place. The governor made his eſcape by ſea, and, in going off, ſet the city on fire, the better to ſecure his retreat; or, perhaps, to prevent the *Romans* from enriching themſelves with the plunder. It was originally *Grecian*, and a colony from *Athens*; for which reaſon eſpecially, the victor was very deſirous to ſave it. He would have had his ſoldiers extinguiſh the fire, and forbear plundering; but ſeeing them ready to mutiny, he ſuffered them to plunder, hoping that this would engage them to ſtop the conflagration. But they, on the contrary, ſearching into every dark corner with torches [c] for hidden treaſures, ſet fire themſelves to a great number of the houſes. A heavy rain, however, happily falling, extinguiſhed the fire. LUCULLUS gave orders for rebuilding what was deſtroyed, and ſignalized his humanity in many inſtances; after which he ſet out for *Aſia*, there to paſs the winter, ſending, at the ſame time, his brother-in-law, *Appius Claudius*, to *Tigranes*, to demand of him to deliver up MITHRIDATES to the *Romans*.

ASIA was, at this time, in a ſtate of extreme diſtreſs. The fine of 20000 talents, laid on it by SYLLA, had

* Conſulſhip of CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES and L. CORN. LENTULUS SURA.

[c] LUCULLUS is reported to have wept when he ſaw the deſolation of this city, and to have ſaid to his friends, that he had always looked upon SYLLA as the happieſt of men, in that he had been willing and able to preſerve *Athens* from deſtruction; but his own hard fate would make him reſemble *Mummius*, who took *Corinth* and deſtroyed it. *Plut.*

given

Plut in Lucul. given occaſion to numberleſs oppreſſions by the *Roman* farmers of the taxes, and by the uſurers. The cities
* Y. 683. were conſtrained to ſell the ornaments of their temples, and the paintings and ſtatues which adorned their public buildings. Fathers ſold their ſons and daughters; and, even after this, they themſelves were ſo cruelly treated, that ſlavery, into which they fell at laſt, ſeemed to them a redemption from it. LUCULLUS, to remedy theſe evils, in the firſt place prohibited the exacting a greater intereſt than twelve *per cent.* which it was the cuſtom of the *Romans* to pay for money lent. In the ſecond place, he entirely cancelled thoſe debts, of which the intereſt had exceeded the principal. And, laſtly, he decreed, that the fourth part of the debtor's eſtate ſhould be made over to the creditor, till the diſcharge of the debts; declaring farther, that whoever ſhould add the intereſt to the principal, and exact intereſt for the whole, ſhould loſe both abſolutely. By theſe methods, in leſs than four years the debts were paid off, and the eſtates became clear in the hands of the owners. The uſurers, tho' they had already received 40000 * talents, the double of the principal ſum; yet, accumu-
*7,750000l. lating intereſt upon intereſt, pretended that 80000 † talents were ſtill due to them from the province.

†15,500000 l. In great wrath therefore were theſe uſurers; and they hired certain mercenary orators to declaim againſt LUCULLUS at *Rome*; where the greater part of thoſe who governed the State being in debt to the ſame uſurers, theſe doubted not of the ſucceſs of the invectives. LUCULLUS, however, enjoyed the unmixed delight of being inceſſantly bleſſed by multitudes, and even whole nations, which he had relieved from miſery. The fame of his juſtice ſpread into the neighbouring provinces, and made them envy the happineſs of the people who had ſuch a governor.

In the mean time, *Appius Claudius* returned from the court of *Tigranes*, to whom he had been ſent to demand MITHRIDATES.

* Conſulſhip of M. LICINIUS CRASSUS and CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

Tigranes

Tigranes was, at that time, the moſt powerful king of *Aſia*, much more powerful than his father had been, who had reigned over a part only of *Armenia*. He had paſſed his youth as a hoſtage among the *Parthians*, and did not obtain his liberty, without making a ceſſion to them of a conſiderable part of the dominions of his anceſtors; but he had no ſooner mounted the throne, than he conceived thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf; and having ſubdued ſeveral petty princes his neighbours, he thence aſſumed the pompous title of King of Kings. Having augmented his ſtrength by theſe conqueſts, he retook from the *Parthians* the country which he had been obliged to reſign to them; and he even entered their territory, and ravaged it. He ſubdued *Meſopotamia*, and filled it with *Greeks*, tranſplanted from *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*. He conſtrained the *Arabians*, called *Scenitæ*, to quit their deſerts; and having ſettled them in permanent abodes, employed them in carrying on the commerce of the different parts of his vaſt dominions. And, at length, the *Syrians*, quite tired out by the diviſions that were perpetually reviving between the princes of the houſe of the *Seleucidæ*, caſt themſelves under his protection: And it was in the city of *Antioch*, the capital of the kingdom of *Syria*, that he gave audience to *Appius Claudius*.

Plut. in Lucul. & Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

This courſe of proſperity, not interrupted by any ſtroke of adverſe fortune, had rendered *Tigranes* frantic with pride. He had amongſt his ſervants ſeveral kings, whom he conſtrained to wait upon him; and particularly four, who, when he was on horſeback, attended him on foot, meanly habited; and when he gave audience ſitting upon his throne, they ſtood on each ſide with their hands acroſs, to expreſs, by that attitude, that they were humble ſlaves, ready to ſuffer what ever their imperious maſter ſhould ordain.

Plut. in Luc.

This theatrical ſhew made no impreſſion upon *Appius*. When he was admitted to an audience, he told the monarch plainly, that he was come to carry away MITHRIDATES as a conquered enemy, deſtined to adorn the triumph of LUCULLUS; and to declare war againſt

Tigranes himſelf, in caſe of his refuſal to deliver up the king of *Pontus*. The *Armenian* having never heard a word of ſuch freedom, during the five and twenty years he had reigned, was diſconcerted by the unexpected haughtineſs of the young *Roman*. Nevertheleſs, he affected to appear unmoved, and anſwered with an air of ſerenity, that he would not abandon his father-in-law; and that, as to himſelf, if the *Romans* thought proper to begin a war with him, he ſhould know what meaſures to take in his defence, and would make them repent of their aggreſſion. As LUCULLUS, in his letter to him, had ſtiled him only King, not King of Kings, he put on the ſuperſcription of his anſwer, only the name of LUCULLUS, without adding IMPERATOR. However, he did not omit to ſend the cuſtomary preſents to *Appius*: and when the *Roman* refuſed them, *Tigranes* inſiſted, adding other preſents more conſiderable. *Appius*, judging it not proper to appear ſo much out of humour, as to act towards the king like an enemy, accepted a cup, but ſent back the reſt, and returned to LUCULLUS with all poſſible expedition.

This embaſſy had a good effect in favour of MITHRIDATES; with regard to whoſe intereſts *Tigranes* had hitherto ſhewn himſelf remarkably cold, having never ſo much as ſeen him, ſince his coming into *Armenia*. But now he invited him to court, and had frequent conferences with him.

LUCULLUS had no ſooner received the anſwer of *Tigranes*, than he prepared to carry the war into that prince's dominions. Leaving *Aſia*, he rejoined his army in *Pontus*, where COTTA had juſt got poſſeſſion of *Heraclea*, after a two year's ſiege; the commander of the garriſon having betrayed the town to *Triarius*, the *Roman* admiral, who attacked it by ſea. COTTA carried off great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity, rifled the temples of their treaſures, and of their ſtatues of the Gods: and when he was poſſeſſed of all the riches of the place, he ſet it on fire, reducing the greater part of it to aſhes: after which he returned to *Italy*, leaving

the

the troops, that had been under his command, to LUCULLUS.

The people of *Heraclea* having ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to complain of COTTA's violences, he was very ill received there at his arrival. *Memnon*, an hiſtorian of *Heraclea*, reports, that COTTA was deprived of his dignity of Senator; that the captives were ſet at liberty by the Senate; and that the People, before whom the affair was brought, reſtored to the *Heracleotæ* their territory and port. Apud Phot

LUCULLUS, ſoon after his entering *Pontus*, took *Sinope*, where MITHRIDATES was born, and had paſſed his infancy, and which, for theſe reaſons, he had made the capital of his dominions. As the place was taken by aſſault, LUCULLUS could not at firſt hinder his ſoldiers from committing great diſorders and ſlaughter; but at length he put a ſtop to their violence; and thoſe of the inhabitants, who had eſcaped, he treated with great clemency. Plut. in Luc. App. Mithrid. p. 227. Memnon

The only conſiderable place, which remained to MITHRIDATES in *Pontus*, was the city of *Amiſus*, and this very ſoon ſurrendered. LUCULLUS paſſed the winter in *Pontus*, and, whilſt he was there, received Ambaſſadors from *Machares*, one of the ſons of MITHRIDATES, who had made him king of *Boſphorus*. This prince, ſeeing his father abandoned by all his ſubjects, followed their example, and having before courted the friendſhip of LUCULLUS, during the ſiege of *Sinope*, ſent him now a crown of gold. LUCULLUS on his part acknowledged *Machares* king, and the Ally and Friend of the *Roma* People.

The next year (684) nothing was talked of, but t* mighty preparations of *Tigranes*, who, in conjunct'n with MITHRIDATES, was ſoon to enter *Lycaonia* d *Cilicia*; and thence to go and attack the *Romans* en in the province of *Aſia*. * Y. 684.

LUCULLUS, deſpiſing ſuch an enemy, diſdain to keep upon the defenſive, and leaving *Sornatius*, o of

* Conſulſhip of Q. HORTENSIUS and Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

his Lieutenants, with 6000 men, to keep the country in awe, he, with only 12000 foot and 300 horſe, marched away to attack *Tigranes* in the heart of his kingdom.

As the *Armenian* king was one of the moſt powerful ſovereigns at that time in the world, the enterprize of the *Roman* general ſeemed raſh to many. His ſoldiers followed him with reluctance; and at *Rome*, when his deſign was known there, ſome orators, inſtigated by his enemies, exclaimed that LUCULLUS made war upon war, not by neceſſity, nor for the ſervice of the Commonwealth, but to be always at the head of an army, and to inrich himſelf more and more, regardleſs of the dangers to which he expoſed the State.

Plut. in Luc.

Nevertheleſs LUCULLUS purſued his plan, croſſed the kingdom of *Ariobarzanes*, (a prince always in alliance with the *Romans*) and advanced to the *Euphrates*, which he paſſed without much difficulty, and encamped that day upon its banks. The following days he croſſed *Sophene*, without hurting the country in the leaſt; which gained him the affection of the inhabitants, ſo that they received the *Roman* troops with joy, and ſupplied them with all the proviſions they needed. He was extremely deſirous to advance; and his ſoldiers having expreſſed ſome eagerneſs to attack a fort, which was ſaid to be full of riches, *There's the fort we muſt take*, ſaid LUCULLUS to them, pointing to mount *Taurus*, which was very diſtant; *what we leave behind us will be the reward of our victory*. He continued his march, and having paſſed the *Tigris*, drew near to *Tigranocerta*.

That LUCULLUS ſhould thus penetrate to the very inter of the enemy's country, without oppoſition, cannot but ſeem wonderful. The ſenſeleſs and almoſt incredible pride of *Tigranes* was the cauſe of it. The firſt man who brought the news of LUCULLUS's approach had his head cut off, in reward of his ſervice. After this example, we may naturally ſuppoſe, that no body was in haſte to bring advice of the motions of the *Roman* army; and while the king's dominions were actually a prey to the enemy, his courtiers ſaid to him in flattery, that LUCULLUS would be a great general, indeed,

indeed, if he only ventured to ſtay at *Epheſus*, and did not immediately fly from *Aſia*, when he ſhould ſee what an innumerable multitude of ſoldiers he had to contend with. But at length *Mithrobarzanes*, one of thoſe who had eaſieſt acceſs to him, ventured to tell him the truth, and inform him of the arrival of LUCULLUS. *Tigranes*, ſtill beſotted with the notions of his own grandeur, commiſſioned this courtier to go with 3000 horſe and a ſtrong body of foot, and bring him the *Roman* general alive, and put his army to the ſword. The event was, that *Mithrobarzanes*, falling with fury upon an advanced part of the *Roman* army when pitching their camp, loſt his life in the action, and his troops were cut in pieces. *Tigranes* began then to open his eyes, and to ſee his danger; and finding himſelf obliged to abandon *Tigranocerta*, he retired towards mount *Taurus*, in order to collect his forces from all parts of his dominions; ſending at the ſame time to MITHRIDATES to come and join him. LUCULLUS by ſeveral detachments did all he poſſibly could to hinder the aſſembling of TIGRANES's troops, and to haraſs the king himſelf in his retreat. *Muræna* fell upon him in a paſs, and ſo diſtreſſed him, that he was conſtrained to fly with precipitation, leaving his baggage a prey to his enemies. But as it was impoſſible for LUCULLUS to ſubſiſt his army long in an enemy's country, without a victory, he, in order to draw *Tigranes* to a general battle, reſolved to beſiege *Tigranocerta*, his beloved city, his own work, and his glory, and which he had called after his own name. The king, ſomewhat humbled at firſt by the checks he had received, liſtened to the counſels of MITHRIDATES, who by letter, and by *Taxiles*, one of the beſt generals of the *Armenian*, adviſed him *not to give battle to the* Romans, *Troops invincible in action; but deſtroy them, by employing his numerous cavalry to cut off their proviſions.* But when *Tigranes* ſaw ſo great a number of ſoldiers, of different nations, aſſembled round him, *Armenians* and *Gordyænians*, *Medes*, and *Adiabenians*, led by their kings; *Arabians* from the country between *Babylon* and the *Perſian* gulph; *Albanians*

nians and *Iberians* from the coaſts of the *Caſpian* ſea; and even the free nations and *Nomades (Tartars)* from the neighbourhood of the *Araxes*, who being ſubject to no prince, were allured by the preſents and largeſſes of the *Armenian* king, this monarch returned to his former confidence: and in this confidence he was mightily upheld by the folly of all around him; whoſe diſcourſes, at banquets and councils, were nothing but empty boaſtings and menaces. Intoxicated with pride and preſumption, he thought the advice, *to avoid fighting*, which *Taxiles* continued to give, had the appearance of treachery, and it had like to have coſt that officer his head. And, as for MITHRIDATES, the *Armenian* ſuſpected him of giving the ſame counſel from envy. This ſuſpicion made *Tigranes* in haſte for a battle, leſt the king of *Pontus* ſhould come and ſhare with him the glory of defeating the *Romans*; and having expreſſed his concern that he had only LUCULLUS to fight with, and not all the *Roman* generals together, he put his whole army in march.

His forces were, in reality, numerous enough to inſpire ſo vain a prince with great confidence: For he had twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, and fifty-five thouſand horſe, ſeventeen thouſand of which might be ſaid to be caſed up in iron, ſo covered they were with their impenetrable armour; and his infantry amounted to an hundred and fifty thouſand men, beſides the pioneers and other labourers, to the amount of thirty-five thouſand. When this prodigious multitude had paſſed mount *Taurus*, and was near enough to be perceived from *Tigranocerta*, the beſieged raiſed ſhouts of joy, and from the top of the walls menaced the *Romans*, by pointing to that cloud of avengers.

Plut. ibid. LUCULLUS called a council to deliberate upon the meaſures proper to be taken. Some were for having him raiſe the ſiege, and march againſt TIGRANES; others adviſed him to continue the ſiege, and not leave behind him a place ſo important, and furniſhed with ſo ſtrong a garriſon. He anſwered, that he thought both opinions right: and, accordingly, dividing his army, left

left MURÆNA with ſix thouſand foot before *Tigranocerta*; and taking with him the reſt of his infantry, which hardly amounted to ten thouſand men, all his cavalry, and about one thouſand ſlingers and archers, marched away to meet the enemy.

The ſmall army of LUCULLUS appeared ſo contemptible in the eyes of the *Armenian* troops, that the firſt ſight of it produced abundance of jeſts among them. Each of the kings, who then followed the ſtandard of TIGRANES, addreſſed him for leave to attack, with their own people only, that handful of *Romans*, againſt whom, they ſaid, it was below the dignity of the *King of Kings* to move in perſon. Even TIGRANES himſelf condeſcended to pleaſantry; *If they are ambaſſadors, they are too many; if ſoldiers, too few.* And thus the day paſſed in raillery and bravadoes.

LUCULLUS, the next morning, put his troops in march, to paſs a river which divided the two armies. The Barbarians were on the eaſt ſide of it; and as the beſt ford was in an angle, made by the winding of the ſtream weſtward on his left, the *Romans*, in moving to that ford, unavoidably turned their backs upon the enemy. TIGRANES, who perceived that motion, began to triumph; calling to *Taxiles*, *See*, there! your *invincible* Romans *are flying from us! Taxiles* replied, *I wiſh your good fortune may at this time produce what I always thought could never happen. But I ſee their arms glitter; and I know that when they are upon a march, they cover them with caſes of leather. When they have their ſhields and helmets uncovered, and ſhining*, it is a ſure indication that *they are advancing againſt an enemy.* He had hardly finiſhed theſe words, when the foremoſt of the *Roman* eagles was ſeen ſuddenly to turn to the right, followed by the whole column, in order to paſs the river. *How!* (cried out TIGRANES, in the greateſt aſtoniſhment) *thoſe people are coming to us!* He repeated theſe words two or three times; and then drew up his army with much precipitation. Of the center he took the conduct himſelf, gave the right to the king of the *Medes*, and the left to the king of the *Adiabenians*: and, in the

front of the right wing, he poſted that heavy unwieldy cavalry, in which the Barbarians placed their chief confidence.

Juſt as LUCULLUS was about to paſs the river, ſomebody obſerved to him, that he was going to fight on *an unlucky day.* (It was the 6th of *October*, the day in which COEPIO had formerly been defeated by the *Cimbri*, and which from that time was marked as unfortunate * in the *Roman* Calendar.) *Say you ſo?* (ſaid LUCULLUS) *then I am going to make it a lucky day.* Inſtantly he croſſed the ſtream, and, advancing the foremoſt, held out his ſword drawn, to ſignify to his troops that they ſhould endeavour at a cloſe engagement with the enemy, whoſe miſſive weapons (their darts and arrows) would thereby be rendered almoſt uſeleſs in their hands. Directing his *Thracian* and *Gallo-Greek* horſe to flank the enemy's heavy-armed cavalry (before mentioned) which were poſted at the foot of a hill, he himſelf, at the head of two cohorts only, fetched a compaſs, and gained the top of that hill: where he no ſooner arrived, than He cried out, *The victory, ſoldiers, is ours.* He ordered his men not to throw their javelins, but, keeping them in their hands, make uſe of them to wound the enemy in their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts of their bodies. The iron troopers did not wait to be attacked: terrified with the approach of the two cohorts, they inſtantly fled, and in their fright threw themſelves precipitately among their own infantry, cauſing there the like diſmay and confuſion; ſo that theſe too turned their backs, but could not eaſily fly, having been drawn up deep in file, and being now huddled into a vaſt unwieldy throng. The ſlaughter therefore was dreadful, and the more ſo, as LUCULLUS had forbid his men to loſe time, by ſtopping to ſtrip the dead. Treading over bracelets and gorgets enriched with precious ſtones, they purſued the Barbarians very far; nor ceaſed the havock, till the general, ſeeing his victory abſolutely complete, ordered a retreat to be ſounded. It is ſaid, that on the ſide of the *Armenians* above 100000 foot periſhed, and almoſt all the cavalry; and

* One of the *Dies Atri.*

and that of the *Romans*, only five men were killed, and ſome hundreds wounded.

The *Roman* ſoldiers, returning by the ſame way they had come, now gathered up the rich ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. TIGRANES had galloped off at the beginning of the rout with a few attendants. Seeing his ſon among theſe, he took off his diadem, and, weeping, gave it into his hands, at the ſame time exhorting him to fly a different way: The young prince, not daring to put it on his head, delivered it to the care of one of his pages; and, this page being afterwards taken priſoner, it thus happened, that the very diadem of the *Armenian* king became part of the ſpoils, which fell into the hands of the victor.

The ancients who have mentioned this overthrow of TIGRANES's forces, have ſpoken of it with amazement. *The ſun* (ſays one writer) *never beheld ſuch a day. The victors* (ſays another) *were themſelves aſhamed of having drawn their ſwords againſt ſuch* contemptible cowardly ſlaves. *Livy* † tells us, that the *Romans* had never gained a victory, in which their number was ſo much inferior to that of the enemy, for the conquerors were not the twentieth part of the conquered.

† Apud Plut. in Lucul.

The military ſkill of LUCULLUS has been much admired [more perhaps than it deſerved], in that he knew how to conquer by quite contrary methods of proceeding; a ſkill which he had manifeſted in the wars he ſucceſſively conducted againſt MITHRIDATES and TIGRANES.

The former of theſe kings he had totally defeated at *Cyzicum* and *Cabiræ*, by temporiſing, and prudent delays: the latter, by activity and expedition; forcing him to a battle, while the troops of his ally, the king of *Pontus*, were yet at a diſtance.

MITHRIDATES had uſed no diligence to join his ally, having deceived himſelf (it is ſaid) into a perſuaſion, that LUCULLUS would proceed againſt the *Armenian* with the ſame ſlowneſs, as formerly againſt himſelf, when before *Cyzicum*. Apprized of the defeat of TIGRANES, by ſome of the fugitives from the battle, he ſought him out carefully,

carefully, and found him in a moſt piteous condition, dejected, terrified, quite deſtitute, a real object of compaſſion. Far from aggravating his diſtreſs, by returning the inſults, which he himſelf, in the like adverſity, had formerly received from him, MITHRIDATES wept with him, endeavoured to conſole him, revive his courage, and inſpire him with the hope of ſeeing better days: and at the ſame time (to do him honour as a king) gave him his own guard, and his own ſervants, to attend him.

The natural conſequence of LUCULLUS's victory, was the taking of *Tigranocerta*: which did not, however, ſurrender immediately. The governor found means to defend it for ſome time, diſtreſſing the beſiegers chiefly by diſcharging upon them the *Naphtha*, a kind of *Bitumen*, which eaſily kindles, and which water itſelf can hardly extinguiſh. But it happened that an inteſtine war broke out in the city. The governor, diſtruſting the *Greeks*, and not without reaſon, (they being all of opinion, that it would be beſt to open the gates to the *Roman* general) diſarmed them. The latter, apprehending ſomething worſe, roſe in a body, and, having armed themſelves with clubs inſtead of ſwords, and wrapt their coats about their left arms to ſerve them in the place of bucklers, boldly attacked the Barbarians, who, though completely armed, were not able to withſtand their fury. The victors, ſo ſoon as they had knocked any one down, ſeized his arms; and this, in a ſhort time, put them in a condition to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome of the towers that flanked the walls; which having done, they called to the *Romans*, and aſſiſted them in entering.

Xiphilin. ex Dione.

LUCULLUS, maſter of the place, immediately ſeized and ſecured the royal treaſures, and then gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers. They found in it, beſide other riches, * eight thouſand talents in gold and ſilver money [a]. The general, out of the whole booty, gave to each ſoldier † eight hundred drachms. Supplying

*1,550001.

†25l.16s.8d.

[a] *Arbuthnot* underſtands theſe eight thouſand talents to have been found in the king's treaſury.

Arbuth. Tab. &c.

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the *Greeks* with what money was neceſſary for the expence of their journey, he ſent them all back into their own country: and with the like generoſity he treated thoſe people, whom TIGRANES had forced from their own countries, to ſettle at *Tigranocerta*; which now on a ſudden, from a great city, was reduced to a ſmall village, and no longer made any figure in the country. But thus by diſperſing the inhabitants of a ſingle city, LUCULLUS repeopled a great number; and theſe always loved and honoured him, not only as their benefactor, but even as their founder.

The amiable humanity of the *Roman* general became every day more conſpicuous, and ſo effectually ſubdued the Barbarians, as to make force unneceſſary. Having found ſeveral princeſſes in *Tigranocerta*, he treated them with all the regard due to their ſex and rank; a conduct which naturally acquired him the warm friendſhip of their huſbands, who were in the ſervice of TIGRANES. The *Arabian* kings came of themſelves to him, to put all their intereſts into his hands. The nation of the *Sophenians* promiſed him obedience; and the *Gordyenians* (it is ſaid) were for leaving their country and cities, to follow him with their wives and children. One cauſe of ſo warm an affection for him was this: Dio, l. 35. Plut.

Appius Claudius, whom LUCULLUS had appointed his Ambaſſador to TIGRANES, made a conſiderable ſtay at *Antioch*, waiting the arrival of that prince, who was then employed in the ſiege of *Ptolemais*. Not wholly to loſe his time, *Appius* contrived to open a negotiation with *Zarbienus*, king of the *Gordyenians*, who, he knew, impatiently bore the tyranny of TIGRANES. The intrigue was diſcovered, and the king with his wife and children put to death, before the *Romans* entered *Armenia*. When LUCULLUS was become maſter of the country, he went to *Gordyene*, cauſed obſequies to be performed for the unfortunate *Zarbienus*, erected a funeral pile, adorned it magnificently, ſet fire to it himſelf, and, in conjunction with the relations and friends of *Zarbienus*, (whom he ſtiled his companion, and the friend and ally of the *Romans*) made the cuſtomary libations:

bations: and laſtly, he raiſed a ſtately monument for him, applying to that uſe part of the treaſures found in his palace, which were very conſiderable. [He found alſo in the magazines of that prince above 300000 *medimni*, (or buſhels) of corn.]

Plut. in Luc.

Whilſt LUCULLUS was yet in *Gordyene* he received an embaſſy from ARSACES[b] king of *Parthia*, ſoliciting his friendſhip and alliance. The *Roman* received the propoſal amicably, and, in return, ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Parthian*. Theſe miniſters ſoon diſcovered that ARSACES was fluctuating and uncertain, whether to eſpouſe the cauſe of the *Romans*, or that of the two kings, who both were preſſing him earneſtly to join with them. The *Armenian* offered to make a ceſſion to the *Parthian* of *Meſopotamia*, *Adiabene*, and that part of *Armenia*, which the *Parthians* had formerly taken from TIGRANES, and which he had ſince conquered. The letter which MITHRIDATES wrote to ARSACES to engage him in the confederacy, is ſtill extant among the fragments of *Salluſt*. It contains an *Invective* againſt the *Romans*, more copious and particular, indeed, but the ſame in ſubſtance with what one hiſtorian has put into the mouth of JUGURTHA, againſt the ſame People, on occaſion of that prince's alliance with king BOCCHUS.

App. Mithrid. p. 230. Memnon. & Dio.

Vid. ſupra, p. 77.

LUCULLUS, diſſatisfied with the ambiguous anſwers of the *Parthian*, who ſeemed diſpoſed to ſtand neuter, reſolved to attack him in his dominions. To this he was animated by the thought, how glorious it would be for him, in the courſe of one war, to dethrone three kings, the moſt powerful of any in the univerſe.

He ſent orders therefore to *Sornatius*, whom he had left in *Pontus* (as was before related) with 6000 men, to come and join him with thoſe troops in *Gordyene*, from whence he intended to invade the country of the *Parthians*.

Sornatius's ſoldiers had long been diſpoſed to mutiny, and now they broke out into open diſobedience. They

[b] ARSACES was a name common to all the kings of *Parthia* of this race. The proper name of him who now reigned was SINATRUX.

declared

declared peremptorily, that they would neither march to join LUCULLUS, nor yet continue in *Pontus*, but would return to *Italy*. This example of mutiny ſpread, like a contagion, to the camp of the Proconſul; whoſe ſoldiers, grown rich and voluptuous, and deſirous of repoſe, applauded the noble reſolution of their fellow ſoldiers of *Pontus*, and loudly declared themſelves determined to follow their example. LUCULLUS therefore was neceſſitated to drop his deſign (for the preſent at leaſt) of marching againſt the *Parthians*.

TIGRANES, utterly [c] confounded under the ſenſe of the calamity he was fallen into by his late overthrow, remitted all things to the care and direction of MITHRIDATES, as one better experienced in military affairs, and better acquainted with the *Roman* way of making war.

Before the beginning of the ſpring, * MITHRIDATES had raiſed an army of *Armenians* amounting to 70000 foot, which he cauſed to be diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, and 35000 horſe. The two kings, however, did not take the field, till the middle of ſummer, and even then they did not ſeek their enemies, but, every movement, were careful to encamp themſelves in places where they could not be attacked; nor, when LUCULLUS had paſſed mount *Taurus* in ſearch of them, was he able, by any ſkill whatſoever, to draw them out, to hazard another general battle. Skirmiſhes there were, in which the *Armenian* cavalry, *fighting as they fled*, after the *Parthian* manner, and with barbed arrows, very much galled and diſtreſſed the *Romans*. * Y. 685.

[c] Had LUCULLUS, immediately after his victory over TIGRANES, purſued him, and not given him the opportunity of raiſing new forces, he muſt either have driven that prince out of the country, or have taken him priſoner, and thereby put an end to the war. His omitting to do this diſpleaſed the *Romans*, as well in the camp, as in the City at home, as if his neglect herein had been out of deſign to draw out the war for the continuing of himſelf the longer in command; and the diſcontent, which was hereby created, furniſhed the beſt reaſon for that reſolution, which was taken hereupon, of ſending him a ſucceſſor, though it was not executed till two years after. *Dio Caſſ.* l. xxxv. p. 1. [See *Prideaux*, Vol. III. p. 414.]

* Conſulſhip of Q. MARCIUS REX and L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

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This manner of making war did by no means ſuit with LUCULLUS's plan of operations: He muſt, at length, by ſuch delays have been ſtarved out of the country; which was indeed the aim of the two kings. To break their meaſures, therefore, and force them to a battle, he reſolved upon an expedient, like that which he had uſed the year before, to bring on a general action. TIGRANES having left his wives and children at *Artaxata*, the old metropolis of *Armenia*, and there depoſited the moſt and beſt of his effects and treaſures, LUCULLUS put his army in march towards that city, concluding, that TIGRANES would certainly follow him, to hinder his getting poſſeſſion of it. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. TIGRANES, upon the firſt advice of LUCULLUS's deſign to lay ſiege to *Artaxata*, marched away with his whole army, and with all expedition, in order to get between the *Romans* and the city. In four days time he effected this purpoſe, and poſted himſelf on the further ſide of the river *Arſanias*, which the *Romans* were to paſs in their way to *Artaxata*.

LUCULLUS, confident of victory, croſſed the river without heſitation, and drew up his army for action. The fortune of the day was preſently decided. The *Armenians* not able, neither horſe nor foot, to ſuſtain the ſight of the *Roman* infantry, fled at their firſt approach. Of three [e] kings, who had poſted themſelves in the front of the *Armenian* army, MITHRIDATES was the firſt that turned his back, behaving himſelf this day moſt ſhamefully. The ſlaughter was not ſo great, as in the former battle, but there fell more perſons of diſtinction.

The *Roman* general, after this victory, would have continued his march to *Artaxata*, the taking of which would probably have put an end to the war, but it lying at the diſtance of many days march to the north, and winter coming on with ſnowy and tempeſtuous weather, his ſoldiers, already diſguſted with the fatigues of

[e] MITHRIDATES and TIGRANES were two of thoſe kings, and the third ſeems to have been a king of *Media*. Prideaux, b. vi. p. 415.

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the campaign, which had been very ſevere, refuſed, after a days march, to follow him any further into thoſe cold regions. At firſt, indeed, they behaved themſelves with ſome degree of reſpect, ſending their Tribunes to make their remonſtrances to him. But not obtaining any thing by this method, they aſſembled in companies tumultuouſly, during the night, and nothing was heard in the camp but confuſed and menacing voices. LUCULLUS, in the perplexity which this ſpirit of revolt threw him into, had recourſe to expoſtulations and entreaties, conjuring his ſoldiers to have a little patience, only till they had completed the deſtruction of the *Carthage of Armenia*, (ſo he called the city of *Artaxata*, which was ſaid to have been built by HANNIBAL, when that illuſtrious fugitive, after the defeat of ANTIOCHUS, had retired [f] to the court of *Artaxias*, the head of the houſe from which TIGRANES was deſcended.) It was all in vain; nothing could move them: marching back therefore to the ſouthward, and repaſſing mount *Taurus*, he entered into *Meſopotamia*, and ſat down before *Niſibis*. *Guras*, the brother of TIGRANES, was nominally commander in this place, but the perſon, who really performed the functions of that office, was the ſame *Callimachus*, who had defended *Amiſus* againſt the *Romans*, and, quitting it, had ſet it on fire. LUCULLUS, after inveſting *Niſibis* a few days only, took it by aſſault. *Guras* he treated with great humanity; but *Callimachus*, though he offered to diſcover hidden treaſures, could obtain no favour. The victor cauſed him to be laid in irons, in order to his ſuffering the puniſhment due to him for burning *Amiſus*; a crime which LUCULLUS could not forgive, becauſe it had deprived him of the ſatisfaction of exerciſing his clemency and generoſity

[f] *Plutarch*, who mentions this tradition, does not ſpeak of it as a certain truth: and *Cornelius Nepos*, in his account of HANNIBAL's misfortunes, ſays nothing of his going into *Armenia*. He tells us, that after the victory gained by SCIPIO ASIATICUS over *Antiochus the Great*, HANNIBAL went firſt into *Crete*, and then to the court of *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, where he killed himſelf.

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towards one of the moſt conſiderable of the *Greek* colonies in *Aſia*.

The *Roman* army, taking up their winter-quarters in this new conqueſt, paſſed the bad ſeaſon much at their eaſe; for it was in a mild climate, and a fettile country.

* Y. 686. Hitherto it would ſeem (ſays *Plutarch*) as if Fortune had taken a pleaſure to wait upon LUCULLUS, and to fight for him; but from this period, as if he had quite loſt her favour, he could effect nothing without difficulty and labour, and was continually running upon rocks and ſhelves. It is true his virtue, his courage, his firmneſs of ſoul ſuffered no alteration; but his actions had not the ſame luſtre as before; and he was very near loſing even the glory he had acquired by his paſt exploits; and what was worſt of all (adds the hiſtorian) his adverſities were entirely owing to his own miſconduct.

He had taken no pains to gain the affections of his ſoldiers, and they had ſeveral cauſes of diſcontent. Two ſucceſſive winters, in which they had undergone great fatigues, the firſt before *Cyzicum*, and the ſecond before *Amiſus*, had given birth to their complaints. And they had been obliged to paſs the following winters, either making war in the enemy's country, or under tents in the countries of the allies: For LUCULLUS never quartered his troops in any of the *Greek* cities, or in the cities of the allies of *Rome*. This ſevere diſcipline, together with a certain reſerve and haughtineſs in his manner, alienated the hearts of the ſoldiers from him. And they were confirmed in this bad diſpoſition by accounts from *Rome*, that the conduct of the general was there cenſured. Certain ſpeech-makers, whom envy excited againſt LUCULLUS, publickly accuſed him of an immoderate deſire of command, and an inſatiable greedineſs of riches. They told the People, that he had not puſhed the war with vigour againſt either MITHRIDATES or

Salluſt. apud Plut. in Luc.

Dio.

* Conſulſhip of M. ACILIUS GLABRIO and C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

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TIGRANES; but had given theſe two kings time to retrieve their affairs, in order to make himſelf appear neceſſary, and to furniſh a pretext for his being continued, year after year, in a command of ſuch vaſt extent, as to comprehend *Cilicia*, the province of *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Armenia*, and *Colchis*, as far as the *Phaſis*. Plut. in Luc.

GABINIUS diſplayed to the eyes of the People a plan, painted upon a banner, of the magnificent palace which LUCULLUS was then building, to intimate, that he was making all that expence out of the ſpoils of the Republic. In ſhort, the diſcourſes and artifices of his enemies had ſuch an effect, as to engage the People to paſs a decree, that the oldeſt of his troops, and eſpecially *Fimbria*'s Legions, ſhould have their diſcharge; that he ſhould be ſucceeded in the command of *Cilicia* by *Marcius Rex*, Conſul of the laſt year; and by M. ACILIUS GLABRIO, Conſul of the preſent year, in the command of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, and of the war againſt the two kings. Cic. pro Sext. xliii.

But what gave the final blow to the authority of LUCULLUS, was the diſcourſes and intrigues of *P. Clodius*, (ſo famous for his enmity to CICERO) a thoroughly wicked man, void of all ſenſe of ſhame, debauched to ſuch an exceſs, as to be ſuſpected, not without foundation, of inceſt with all his ſiſters, one of whom was the wife of LUCULLUS. *Clodius* was, at this time, in the army of his brother-in-law, and greatly diſſatisfied on account of LUCULLUS's preferring others, more worthy, before him. This man, from a ſpirit of revenge, ſtirred up the ſoldiers, and eſpecially thoſe who had ſerved under *Fimbria*, to mutiny. Pretending great concern for their intereſt, he aſked them, *Whether ſoldiers* who had *grown old in arms, were never to ſee an end of their fatigues, but to paſs their Lives in attacking nation after nation, and running over the world; and this for no other end, but ſafely to convoy the carriages and camels of* LUCULLUS, *loaded with golden veſſels glittering with gems?* He added, *The ſoldiers of* POMPEY, *who have forced none of the royal cities of* Aſia, *nor have had other enemies to contend with,*

but ſome exiles in Spain, *and ſlaves in* Italy, live now *in perfect repoſe with their wives and children, poſſeſſing good lands, and inhabiting fair cities. If we are ſtill to ſuffer the fatigues of War, let us reſerve what ſtrength is left us, for a general who makes it his greateſt glory to enrich the ſoldiers that have ſerved well under his command.*

It was during the winter, and while the *Roman* army was in quarters at *Niſibis*, that the ſpirit of mutiny, thus foſtered, grew almoſt to perfect rebellion. The two kings, doubtleſs no ſtrangers to the diſaffection of the ſoldiers to their General, took advantage of it. TIGRANES re-entered *Armenia*, and forced *L. Fannius*, who commanded there for the *Romans*, to ſhut himſelf up in a caſtle. MITHRIDATES, with 4000 of his own men, and an equal number of *Armenians*, returned into his kingdom of *Pontus*, and there he defeated *Fabius Adrianus*, (one of LUCULLUS's Lieutenants) whoſe army would have been entirely diſperſed, or deſtroyed, if the king (who though almoſt ſeventy years of age, expoſed his perſon like a young warrior) had not received two wounds, which obliged him to quit the field. This event ſlackened the ardour of the victors, ſo that the vanquiſhed had time and opportunity to gain the fort of *Cabiræ*.

Plut. in Luc. App. Mithrid. Dio.

It was not long before the king, cured of his wounds, marched to beſiege that fort; but being informed, that *Triarius* was advancing with all the troops he had been able haſtily to aſſemble, he retired. *Triarius* purſued him as far as *Comana*, and even gained over him ſome ſmall advantage, and with this the campaign ended.

* Y. 686. At the return of ſpring * MITHRIDATES, having, without queſtion, recruited his army, led it againſt *Triarius*, whom he hoped to drive entirely out of the kingdom of *Pontus*, before LUCULLUS could come to his aid. *Triarius* kept upon the defenſive, and declined a battle. To force him to it, the king made preparations to attack a caſtle, in which was all the heavy baggage of the *Roman* army. This ſtratagem ſucceeded. The ſoldiers of *Triarius*, to preſerve their baggage, obliged their commander to fight; who, it is ſaid, was not backward

ward thereto, having flattered himſelf with the proſpect of the glory he ſhould acquire, by conquering in the abſence of his general. The two armies met three miles from *Ziela*, a city that became famous in the *Roman* ſtory from this action. *Triarius* was totally routed; nor, perhaps, would any of his troops have eſcaped the ſword of the enemy, if MITHRIDATES had not been again wounded [a], and thereby rendered unable to keep the field; which made his generals order a retreat to be ſounded. This was the moſt bloody defeat, the *Romans* had ſuffered during the whole courſe of their wars againſt MITHRIDATES: ſeven thouſand *Romans* remained dead upon the field of battle, amongſt whom were four and twenty Tribunes, and an hundred and twenty Centurions. CICERO, making his court to POMPEY, at the expence of LUCULLUS, ſays, that when this general received the news of *Triarius*'s defeat, it was from public rumour, and not from any ſoldier who had eſcaped the ſlaughter.

Cic. pro Leg. Manil. 9.

The troops of LUCULLUS, though they had before refuſed to follow him, yet, through ſhame, conſented to march, when they learnt that *Triarius* was in danger; but it was too late: He did not arrive in *Pontus* till after the diſaſter: He found the dead bodies lying upon the field of battle; and, by neglecting to bury them, he farther exaſperated his ſoldiers againſt him. And as for *Triarius*, they would have torn him in pieces, if their general had not furniſhed him with means of ſaving himſelf by flight.

TIGRANES had recovered the greater part of his dominions, and, having aſſembled a conſiderable army, was marching to the aſſiſtance of his ally; and this made MITHRIDATES induſtriouſly avoid, for the preſent, a battle with LUCULLUS. The *Roman* not being able to force him to an engagement, reſolved to lead his army againſt TIGRANES, whoſe troops he hop-

[a] The wound was in his thigh. The king had in his army many perſons habited, and armed after the *Roman* manner; which accounts for his not being upon his guard againſt a *Roman* Centurion, who gave him the wound. The Centurion was killed upon the ſpot.

ed to defeat with eaſe, by attacking them unexpectedly, when fatigued with a long march: But this plan was diſconcerted by the untractableneſs of his own men; who, tho' they had followed him ſome time, yet, when they ſaw that he meant to go into *Cappadocia*, declared peremptorily, they would not follow him thither. LUCULLUS went from tent to tent, and almoſt from man to man, taking them by the hand, and with tears intreating them to advance. There was no kind of ſubmiſſion to which he did not deſcend; but the evil had taken too deep root to admit of a remedy. They treated him with inſolence and contempt. Shewing to him their empty purſes[b], they ſaid, that *he, who alone grew rich by the war, ought to make war alone.* What confirmed the *Fimbrian* Legions in this inſolence, was the arrival of the Conſul GLABRIO, who had been appointed to ſucceed LUCULLUS. The Conſul was already in *Bithynia*, and had cauſed proclamation to be made in all the adjacent countries, that he prohibited all perſons from obeying the orders of LUCULLUS, upon pain of confiſcation of their eſtates, the *Roman* People having put an end to his command. In conſequence of this proclamation, the ſoldiers of *Fimbria* conſidered LUCULLUS only as a private perſon: and all that the ſoldiers of the other Legions, who ſtill retained ſome reſpect for their general, could obtain from theſe mutineers, was, that they would continue with the army to the end of the ſummer; and even this was upon expreſs condition, that, if the enemy did not appear during the interval, they ſhould be entirely at liberty to withdraw.

LUCULLUS, to avoid being totally abandoned, was under a neceſſity of accepting what they thought fit to grant, and conſequently of ſuffering TIGRANES to ravage *Cappadocia*, and of bearing unrevenged the inſults of MITHRIDATES. He had wrote to the Senate, that, having ſubdued thoſe two kings, it was neceſſary ten

[b] This is related by *Plutarch*, who had before related the conſiderable booty the ſoldiers got at the plundering of *Tigranocerta*.

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commiſſioners ſhould (according to cuſtom) be ſent to regulate with him the diſpoſition of his new conqueſt. The commiſſioners arrived at this time, and found LUCULLUS ſo little maſter of the enemy's country, that he was not even maſter of his own troops. And this reduced him to ſay, that, as to any future meaſures relative to the war, he was entirely out of the queſtion; that thoſe were GLABRIO's buſineſs, who had been named to ſucceed him. But GLABRIO, who had expreſſed great ardour for the employment, while he believed he ſhould have nothing to do, more than reaping the fruits of his predeceſſor's victories, kept aloof, when he found there were difficulties and dangers to be encountered.

The end of the ſummer, with which the ſervice of the *Fimbrian* Legions was to end, being come, they marched out of the camp, drew their ſwords, brandiſhed them in the air, and with loud cries called upon the enemy; who not appearing, they pretended they had performed their engagements, and would now retire. LUCULLUS was under a neceſſity of diſmiſſing them. He likewiſe ſent part of the other troops to GLABRIO, retaining with him only an inconſiderable number of ſoldiers, with whom it was impoſſible for him to undertake any thing further *.

POMPEY

* *Plutarch*, upon this occaſion, deſcants again on LUCULLUS's want of affability and condeſcenſion to his ſoldiers. "If with all the great "qualities he poſſeſſed, courage, vigilance, activity, prudence, and the "love of juſtice, he had likewiſe poſſeſſed that principal talent of a ge"neral, the ſkill of making himſelf loved by his ſoldiers, the empire of "the *Romans* would not have had the *Euphrates* for its boundary, but "the *Caſpian* ſea and the extremities of the Eaſt. For by conquering "TIGRANES, they would have reaped the benefit of his conqueſts, and "held in ſubjection to themſelves all the nations which that prince had "ſubdued. And as to the *Parthians*, they were not at this time ſo "powerful, as afterwards, when CRASSUS attacked them. Rent in "pieces by civil wars, and haraſſed by their neighbours, their ſtrength "was not equal to that of a king of *Armenia*."

The ſame hiſtorian is of opinion, that LUCULLUS's victories were eventually more hurtful to his country, than beneficial; they being the *cauſe* of CRASSUS's unfortunate expedition againſt the *Parthians*. [As, according to *Polybius*, the ſafe retreat of the *Greeks* under XENOPHON,

Plut. in Pomp. & in Lucul.

POMPEY, who (as above mentioned) was already in *Aſia* when he learnt, that the *Manilian Law* had transferred to him LUCULLUS's command, loſt no time in improving the opportunity, which this commiſſion gave him, of mortifying his rival. Without delay, he cauſed edicts to be fixed up in all the cities, enjoining the *Roman* troops to repair to him; obedience was punctually paid to his edicts; and even *Fimbria*'s Legions, which, by a decree of the People, had obtained their diſmiſſion, went voluntarily, and ranged themſelves under the enſigns of POMPEY; who left his rival not more than 1600 ſoldiers to attend him in his triumph, and even theſe were unwilling to ſtay with him.

POMPEY likewiſe ſummoned the principal Magiſtrates of the *Aſiatic* nations, and forbad them to pay any regard to the orders of LUCULLUS: And whereas this general, in concert with the ten commiſſioners, had made ſome decrees and regulations, POMPEY cancelled them all, and, wherever he went, ſuffered nothing to ſubſiſt, that had been inſtituted by his rival, whom he endeavoured, by all poſſible means, to render contemptible.

LUCULLUS, complaining of this ſtrange procedure, ſome of their common friends propoſed a conference between the two generals. Accordingly they met in *Galatia*. The politeſt expreſſions of reciprocal eſteem and reſpect, warm congratulations, high compliments upon each other's victories, were the introduction to mutual accuſations (which immediately followed) in the moſt opprobrious terms. LUCULLUS reproached

through the whole country of their enemies, was the *Cauſe* of ALEXANDER's invaſion of *Perſia*.] "The conqueſts of *Tigranocerta* and *Nifibis*, the immenſe riches brought from thoſe cities to *Rome*, and the "diadem of TIGRANES, born in pomp in the triumph of LUCULLUS; "theſe inflamed CRASSUS with the deſire of carrying the *Roman* arms "into the Eaſt. He imagined, that all the wealth of *Parthia* would "be the ſure prey, as well as ample reward, of whoever would take "the trouble of going to ſeize it. But the arrows of the *Parthians* very "ſoon undeceived him; and his deplorable defeat evinces, that LU"CULLUS owed his victories, not to the unſkilfulneſs and unmanlineſs "of his enemies, but to his own undaunted courage and able conduct."

POMPEY

POMPEY with his unjuſt, injurious, inſatiable ambition: POMPEY reproached LUCULLUS with his paſſion for money, and with the prodigious wealth he had amaſſed during the war. They parted more inflamed, than before, with anger againſt each other; and this anger was for ever breaking out in their daily diſcourſe. POMPEY affected to lower the value of LUCULLUS's exploits, by alledging, that he had fought with nothing but the empty ſhadows of armies, whereas he himſelf ſhould have real ſoldiers to combat; an infantry, which MITHRIDATES, grown wiſe by his misfortunes, had well diſciplined, and had armed, not with gilded toys, but with ſwords and ſhields; and a cavalry, which the ſame prince had gradually learnt to make truly ſerviceable in war. On the other hand, LUCULLUS affirmed, that he had left his ſucceſſor nothing to do againſt MITHRIDATES or TIGRANES; that the war was at an end: but that POMPEY (like thoſe cowardly birds which fall greedily to prey upon dead and mangled bodies, which they did not kill) was accuſtomed to come in at the cloſe of a war, and fall furiouſly upon the ſcattered remains of armies defeated and routed by other commanders; and then aſcribe to himſelf the ſole merit of thoſe victories. Thus it was *he*, this mighty man, not CATULUS, METELLUS, and CRASSUS, who conquered in the wars of LEPIDUS, SERTORIUS, and SPARTACUS. And how then was it poſſible, that he ſhould not aſpire to the fame of having terminated the wars of *Pontus*, and *Armenia*, HE, who was ſo nobly ambitious of a *triumph* over a gang of runaway ſlaves?

After LUCULLUS's return into *Italy*, violent and long continued oppoſition was made to his demand of a triumph. What the event was we ſhall ſee hereafter.

CHAP. VIII.

The THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR *continued, under the conduct of* POMPEY, *to the death of* MITHRIDATES *in* 690.

POMPEY's good fortune attended him in the diſcharge of his new commiſſion. PHRAATES, king of *Parthia*, and TIGRANES, king of *Armenia*, the allies of MITHRIDATES, and on whoſe aid, after his many loſſes, he chiefly depended for ſupport, were fallen at variance. For the ſon of TIGRANES, revolting againſt his father, had repaired to the court of PHRAATES, his father-in-law, with whom having prevailed to eſpouſe his quarrel, he returned into *Armenia* with an army of *Parthians*.

The elder TIGRANES therefore, had he been never ſo much inclined to aſſiſt the king of *Pontus*, was incapable of doing it; but, in truth, he had no ſuch inclination, having entertained a ſuſpicion, that this good ally, grandfather of the rebel prince, ſecretly encouraged him in his rebellion: ſo that MITHRIDATES was left with only his own troops, which amounted to no more than 30000 foot, and 3000 horſe, to withſtand all the forces of the *Romans*. A battle he prudently and induſtriouſly avoided; but, to make the beſt uſe of the ſtrength he had, employed it to ſhut up the entrances into his kingdom, and to ſtarve his enemies, by cutting off their ſupplies of proviſions, as often as poſſibly he could: and it was the eaſier to diſtreſs the *Roman* troops in this reſpect, as the adjacent countries all around them had been waſted and ruined by LUCULLUS.

Plut. in Pomp. App. Mithrid. p. 238.

POMPEY, at the ſame time that he began his march againſt the king, diſpatched *Metrophanes* to him, to ſound his diſpoſition, whether he might be brought *to ſubmit*, that is, *firſt to deliver up all the deſerters, and then ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion*. The monarch rejected the ſecond article with indignation: The deſerters,

ters, either conjecturing the truth, or being informed of their concern in the negotiation, roſe, and drew into their mutiny the national troops, who well knew the need they had of thoſe ſtrangers: But at length the king appeaſed the ſoldiery, by proteſting, he would never deliver up thoſe who had done him ſervice, nor would ever make peace with the *Romans*; that he had never in reality entertained the thoughts of peace; and that the ambaſſadors he had ſent to POMPEY, were in truth only ſpies.

The *Roman* general not finding it practicable to diſlodge the king from the ſtrong poſts he held, and apprehending a want of proviſions, turned towards *Armenia Minor*, which being deſtitute of troops, preſented an eaſy conqueſt. MITHRIDATES, to whom that province belonged, followed him thither, and encamped his army ſo advantageouſly upon a hill, that he could not be forced to a battle. Drawing his proviſions commodiouſly from the countries behind him, he employed his cavalry to carry off the enemy's convoys; in which they often ſucceeded; ſo that had he continued in that poſt, he might have greatly diſtreſſed his enemy; but he quitted it for want of water, not knowing that water was to be had there. POMPEY ſeized the poſt immediately; and the verdure with which the hill was covered, indicating that there were ſprings in it, he cauſed wells to be dug. Theſe were preſently filled with water, ſo as abundantly to ſupply the whole army. Plut. in Pomp.

Not long after, POMPEY, by his ſuperior ſkill in war, contrived to ſurprize, and almoſt entirely deſtroy, the cavalry of MITHRIDATES; a fatal blow to him, in that it gave the *Romans* a facility in getting proviſions. As the king ſtill perſiſted in declining a battle, POMPEY undertook to ſhut him up in his camp by lines drawn round it. Five and forty days MITHRIDATES continued in a manner beſieged: at length, preſſed by famine, he turned his thoughts to flight; and he made his diſpoſitions ſo ſkilfully, as to deceive POMPEY's vigilance. Leaving fires lighted in his camp, he ſet out during

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during the night. POMPEY purſued him the next morning, but without being able to attack him; for he kept himſelf ſhut up in his camp the whole day, and renewed his march only when it was dark; and the *Romans*, being unacquainted with the country, were not forward to hazard a battle in the night

However, when the king drew near to the *Euphrates*, POMPEY made a ſecret and expeditious march, got before him, and poſted himſelf in his way to hinder his paſſing that river, which would have brought him into the dominions of TIGRANES. MITHRIDATES knew nothing of this march of the *Roman* army; and his troops, having ſet out as uſual in the evening, leſs vigilant than before, becauſe expecting to be very ſoon in a place of ſecurity, fell unawares, and in the dark, into the midſt of their enemies. POMPEY ordered all his trumpets to ſound at once, and all his ſoldiers to give a ſhout; which ſo increaſed the terror and confuſion of the Barbarians, that they preſently turned their backs, and fled; and it is ſaid (though it ſeems not probable, if this conflict happened in the night) that above 10000 of their number were ſlain, and that the priſoners were not much fewer. The king with 800 horſe opened himſelf a way through the *Romans*; but this guard did not ſtay with him long, and he was reduced to continue his flight with only three companions. Among theſe was *Hypſicratea*, one of his concubines, whom he uſed to call *Hypſicrates*, on account of her maſculine courage and ſtrength. Habited and armed like a trooper, ſhe rode by his ſide in all his battles, accompanied him in all his expeditions, and in all his flights; and, in this laſt, did him the office of a groom, as well as of a valet, taking care not only of his perſon, but of his horſe.

MITHRIDATES, having picked up in his flight about 3000 foot, and ſome foreign cavalry, arrived at a fort called *Synoria*, on the frontiers of *Armenia Minor*. It was one of the places in which he kept his treaſures; he took thence 6000 talents, diſtributing the rich habits and other things of value among his friends: To each

each of whom he likewiſe gave a proviſion of poiſon, that they might be maſters of their own fate, if they ſhould be in danger of falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*. He had hoped to find an aſylum with TIGRANES; but the *Armenian*, actuated by the ſuſpicion above mentioned, or pretending ſo to be, not only ſeized the Ambaſſadors whom MITHRIDATES ſent to aſk his permiſſion to enter his dominions, but ſet a price upon the king's head, promiſing 100 talents to any one who ſhould bring it him.

MITHRIDATES, thus abandoned by his ally, reſolved to retire to the *Cimmerian Boſphorus* *, where his ſon *Machares* reigned: He could go thither only by land, the enemy being maſters of the ſea: But though the march was long and difficult, the king, ſupported by his courage, puſhed on beyond the ſprings of the *Euphrates*, paſſed the *Phaſis*, and arrived at *Dioſcurias*, ſituated on the *Euxine* ſea in the weſtern extremity of the *Iſthmus*, which divides that ſea from the *Caſpian*; and there he took up his winter-quarters. POMPEY had detached ſome horſe and light troops in purſuit of him; but, upon advice of his having paſſed the *Phaſis*, relinquiſhed all hope of overtaking him; and applied himſelf to found a new city on the ſpot where he had gained the late victory, calling the place *Nicopolis* [the city of victory.] To people it, he left there ſuch of his ſoldiers as, by wounds, ſickneſs, or age, were diſabled from further ſerving. With theſe ſome families of the country joined, and in proceſs of time the city became conſiderable.

* *Crim Tartary.* Vide ſupra, p. 304.

It was here that the ſon of TIGRANES, the only remaining ſon of three whom he had by *Cleopatra*, the daughter of MITHRIDATES, came to the *Roman* camp. The father had put to death the other two on light occaſions; whereupon young TIGRANES, the third ſon, not thinking his life ſafe within the power of ſo cruel a father, fled to PHRAATES, king of *Parthia*, his father-in-law, who not only gave him a kind reception, but brought him back into *Armenia* with an army, and laid

ſiege

ſiege to *Artaxata*, the capital of the kingdom: For TIGRANES had retired to the mountains. The city being well fortified and well defended, the ſiege was ſpun out to a great length; and PHRAATES, the neceſſity of his affairs recalling him into *Parthia*, returned thither with the better part of his forces. TIGRANES ſeized the favourable opportunity, fell upon his ſon, vanquiſhed him, and drove him out of the country. The prince's firſt thought, after this diſaſter, was to repair to his grandfather MITHRIDATES; but meeting, in the way, the news of his defeat, and of the bad ſtate of his affairs, he fled to the *Roman* camp, and threw himſelf as a ſuppliant at the feet of POMPEY, who received him kindly, and was glad of his coming; for being then juſt going to enter *Armenia*, he wanted a guide well acquainted with the country, and he made uſe of young TIGRANES for this purpoſe, marching under his guidance directly towards *Artaxata*. The *Armenian* king, terrified to exceſs, now turned his mind wholly to make his peace with the *Romans*; and, in his fright, the firſt ſtep he took was delivering up thoſe Ambaſſadors, by whom MITHRIDATES when diſtreſſed had aſked his protection, to POMPEY: The negotiation, however, for peace was traverſed and impeded by the young prince; and the *Romans*, ſtill advancing, paſſed the *Araxes*. Reduced to extremity by his fears, TIGRANES then opened the gates of *Artaxata*, and received a *Roman* garriſon into it; and, having heard much of POMPEY's clemency, and honourable diſpoſitions, ſet forward, without any precaution taken, to reſign himſelf and his kingdom to the pleaſure and diſpoſal of the *Roman* General. He laid aſide his royal robe, but retained his crown, or tiara, that he might command ſome reſpect, even while, as a ſuppliant king, he knew himſelf an object of compaſſion. When he arrived at the camp of the *Romans* (which was about ſixteen miles from *Artaxata*) two Lictors, at the entrance of it, ſignified to him that he muſt diſmount; for that no ſtranger had ever been permitted to enter a *Roman* camp on horſeback. TIGRANES alighted, gave them his

his ſword, took off his royal tiara as ſoon as he came into the preſence of POMPEY, and caſt himſelf proſtrate on the ground before him. POMPEY, hereupon, leaped from his ſeat, ran to him, and, kindly taking him by the hand, lifted him up, put his crown again upon his head, and placed him on a ſeat at his right hand, and his ſon on another at his left. The king ſaid, "He ſhould never have acted in the manner he "had juſt then done towards any other perſon of any "other nation, but that there could be no diſhonour "in being vanquiſhed by a general, whom no potentate on earth could ever hope to vanquiſh; nor in "ſubmitting to a man, whom fortune had exalted a-"bove all other mortals." To this flattering compliment POMPEY anſwered, by aſſuring the dejected monarch, he ſhould have no reaſon to complain of his fate; that he ſhould not loſe *Armenia*; and ſhould gain the friendſhip of the *Romans*. After theſe words of conſolation, he invited the king and his ſon that night to ſup with him, appointing the next day for hearing their cauſe. Young TIGRANES had not riſen from his ſeat at his father's appearing, nor ſhewed the leaſt mark of reſpect for him: He had flattered himſelf with the hope of being put into immediate poſſeſſion of the crown of *Armenia*, and was therefore far from being pleaſed with what had juſt paſt. Wholly poſſeſſed by his anger, he not only refuſed to go to the ſupper to which he was invited, but even intimated, in a kind of threat, that if POMPEY did not give him ſatisfaction, he ſhould find ſome other *Roman* who would be more effectually his friend.

The day following POMPEY, after holding a great council, (to which he had called both father and ſon, that he might know their ſeveral pretenſions) pronounced a decree, by which he ordained, that the elder TIGRANES, yielding up to the *Romans* all his conqueſts on this ſide the *Euphrates*, and paying 6000 talents, for having made war upon them without cauſe, ſhould ſtill reign in his paternal kingdom of *Armenia Major*; and his ſon in *Gordyene* and *Sophene* (two provinces bordering

ing on *Armenia*) during his father's life time, and ſucceed him in all the reſt of his dominions after his death: but to the father was reſerved, out of *Sophene*, the treaſure he had there depoſited, without which he would not have been able to pay the fine of 6000 talents, impoſed on him. The elder TIGRANES joyfully accepted theſe terms, being glad even thus to be again admitted to reign; and he was ſo overjoyed to hear the *Romans* ſalute him king, that he promiſed to give every common ſoldier fifty drachms, each Centurion a thouſand, and each military Tribune ten thouſand. But the ſon was highly diſpleaſed with the decree; and pretending that the treaſure in *Sophene* belonged to him, refuſed to permit his father to take it away. POMPEY decided the diſpute in favour of the father: the ſon, enraged more than ever at this deciſion, meditated an eſcape; but this deſign was diſcovered, and a guard was placed upon him; and, being afterwards detected in ſoliciting the nobles of *Armenia*, and alſo the *Parthians*, to renew the war, POMPEY put him among thoſe whom he reſerved for his *Triumph*. TIGRANES the father, as ſoon as he had received his treaſure out of *Sophene*, paid the 6000 talents, and was thereupon declared a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. The king likewiſe performed now his promiſe to the ſoldiers.

Vell. Pat.

PHRAATES ſolicited ineffectually for the releaſe of his ſon-in-law, young *Tigranes*. POMPEY anſwered the Ambaſſadors of the *Parthian*, *That a* father *had more right over his ſon than a father-in-law*. And whereas the *Parthian* had propoſed, that the *Euphrates* ſhould be the boundary of the two empires, POMPEY, without entering into any diſcuſſion, declared, that he knew no boundaries but thoſe of right and juſtice.

Plut. & Dio.

Ariobarzanes, king of *Cappadocia*, ever faithful to the *Romans*, to whom he owed his elevation to the throne, had been the ſport of their enemies, had been expelled, reſtored, and expelled again, now by MITHRIDATES, then by TIGRANES. The flight of the king of *Pontus*,

Pontus, the ruin of his affairs, and the peace granted by the *Romans* to the king of *Armenia*, confirmed the *Cappadocian* in the poſſeſſion of his dominion: And POMPEY, in recompence of his fidelity, gave to him *Sophene*, which he had once allotted to the prince of *Armenia*.

After theſe regulations, POMPEY marched northward in purſuit of MITHRIDATES. Coming to the river *Cyrus*, he was oppoſed by the *Albanians*, and the *Iberians*, two potent nations inhabiting the *Iſthmus*, between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas, and confederates of the king of *Pontus*, but having overthrown them in battle, he forced the *Albanians* to ſue for peace; and then wintered in their country. Liv. Epit. Plut. & Dio.

Y. of R. 688. Bef. J. C. 64. Conſ-p. 379.

L. AURELIUS COTTA, L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, } Conſuls.

EARLY the next year he marched againſt the *Iberians*, who were a very warlike nation, and had never ſubmitted to either *Medians*, *Perſians*, or *Macedonians* during all the time that theſe ſucceſſively held the empire of *Aſia*. But though POMPEY found ſome difficulties in this war, he ſoon ſurmounted them, and forced the *Iberians* to terms of peace; their king *Artoces*, for hoſtages, giving his ſons. Plut. & Dio.

After this he reduced the people of *Colchis* to a ſubmiſſion, having taken *Oltbaces* their king, priſoner (whom he afterwards cauſed to be led before him in triumph); and then marched back againſt the *Albanians*, who, while he was engaged with the *Iberians* and *Colchians*, had renewed the war. He overthrew them in battle with great ſlaughter, killing, with his own hand, their general *Coſis*, the brother of their king *Orodes* [or *Oræſes*] and thereby forced the king to purchaſe the renewal of the laſt year's peace by rich preſents, and alſo to ſend his ſons to him for hoſtages.

Having finiſhed this war in the North, he led back his army into the ſouthern parts; for MITHRIDATES being arrived in the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, on the other ſide of the *Euxine* ſea, there was no purſuing of him thither, but

Y. of R. 688.

but round that ſea a great way about, through many barbarous *Scythian* nations, and ſeveral deſerts, which was not to be attempted by the *Roman* army, without manifeſt danger of a total miſcarriage. (All that POMPEY could do, was to order his fleet commanded by *Servilius*, one of his Lieutenants, to be ſo ſtationed, as to hinder ſupplies of proviſions, and other neceſſaries, from being carried to the king.) In croſſing the kingdom of *Pontus*, in his way to *Syria*, he arrived at the place where *Triarius* had been defeated by MITHRIDATES; and finding the dead bodies of the *Romans* ſtill lying unburied upon the field of battle, he cauſed them to be interred in honourable manner; which much pleaſed his army, and made the fault of LUCULLUS, who had neglected that duty, appear in a ſtronger light. After this, continuing his march, he ſubdued *Darius*, king of *Media*, and *Antiochus*, king of *Commagena*; and having by *Scaurus* reduced *Cœle-Syria* and *Damaſcus*, and, by *Gabinius*, the reſt of thoſe parts, as far as the *Tigris*, he was become maſter of all the *Syrian* empire. *Antiochus Aſiaticus* (the ſon of *Antiochus Euſebes*) the remaining heir of the *Seleucian* family, who by the permiſſion of LUCULLUS had now reigned four years in ſome part of *Syria*, after TIGRANES had been forced to withdraw his forces from it, applied himſelf to the *Roman* general, requeſting to be re-eſtabliſhed in the kingdom of his anceſtors. But POMPEY anſwered, That the *Romans* had found TIGRANES in poſſeſſion of that country, and had conquered it from him, and were not to yield the fruits of their victory to another [a]. And accordingly he reduced *Syria* into the form of a *Roman* province. *Antiochus* being thus deprived of his crown, here ended the empire of the *Seleucidæ* in *Aſia*, after it had laſted two hundred and fifty-eight years.

Plut. & Dio.

App. in Mith. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 14. c. 4. Dio Caſſ. Juſt. l. 40. c. 2.

[a] Another reaſon aſſigned for this conduct of POMPEY was, That *Antiochus* being a weak prince of no courage, or capacity, to protect the country, the putting it into his hands would be to betray it to the ravages and depredations of the *Jews* and *Arabs*.

What

What made POMPEY ſo fond of this march into *Syria*, was a vain and ambitious deſire of extending his conqueſts to the *Red* ſea. He had formerly, while he commanded firſt in *Africa*, and afterwards in *Spain*, puſhed his conqueſts on both ſides of the *Mediterranean* to the Weſtern ocean, and had lately, in his *Albanian* war, led his forces as far as the *Caſpian* ſea; and if he could alſo lead them to the *Red* ſea, he thought it would complete his glory. Plut. in Pomp.

While theſe things were doing by the *Romans*, there happened great diſturbances and revolutions in *Judæa*: They had their original from the ambition and aſpiring ſpirit of *Antipater* (the father of *Herod.*) He having had his education in the court of *Alexander Jannæus* and his queen *Alexandra*, who reigned after him, inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of *Hyrcanus*, the eldeſt of their ſons, hoping to riſe by his favour, when he ſhould come to the crown after his mother: But when *Hyrcanus* was depoſed, and *Ariſtobulus* made king, from whom he had no proſpect of favour, he ſet himſelf with all the art he was maſter of (and that was not a little) to reſtore *Hyrcanus* to his crown: In order whereto he treated with *Aretas*, king of *Arabia Petræa*, and engaged him to aſſiſt *Hyrcanus* with an army: and he had, by his intrigues, drawn great numbers of the *Jews* into the ſame deſign. The greateſt difficulty was to excite *Hyrcanus* himſelf to the undertaking: for he, being a quiet, indolent man, who loved eaſe more than any thing elſe, had no inclination to ſtir a foot for obtaining a kingdom. But at length being made to believe, that his life was in danger, and that he muſt either reign or die, if he ſtaid in *Judæa*, this argument rouzed him to fly for ſafety, and to put himſelf into the hands of *Aretas*. This prince, according to his agreement with *Antipater*, brought *Hyrcanus* back into *Judæa*, with an army of 50000 men; and having there joined the *Jews* of *Hyrcanus*'s party, gave battle to *Ariſtobulus*, gained an abſolute victory over him, purſued him to *Jeruſalem*, entered the city without oppoſition, drove the vanquiſhed prince to take refuge in the mountain of Joſeph. Antiq. l. 14. c. 2. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 14. c. 3.

the temple, and there beſieged him. All the prieſts adhered to *Ariſtobulus*, but the generality of the people declared for *Hyrcanus* [b].

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 14. c. 4.

Scaurus being by this time come to *Damaſcus* with a *Roman* army, *Ariſtobulus* ſent thither to him, and, by the promiſe of four hundred talents, engaged him on his ſide. *Hyrcanus* offered him the like ſum; but *Scaurus*, looking upon *Ariſtobulus* as the more ſolvent of the two, choſe to embrace his cauſe; and *Gabinius*, by a preſent of three hundred talents from the ſame quarter, was induced to do the ſame. And, accordingly, both the *Roman* generals ſent to *Aretas* to retire, threatening him with the *Roman* arms in caſe of refuſal. *Aretas* raiſed the ſiege, and marched off towards his own country; whereupon *Ariſtobulus*, having got together all the forces he could, purſued after him, overtook him, and, with a great ſlaughter, defeated him in a battle, wherein periſhed many of the *Jews* of *Hyrcanus*'s party.

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 14. c. 5.

About this time, POMPEY himſelf came to *Damaſcus*, whither reſorted to him Ambaſſadors from all the neighbouring countries, eſpecially from *Egypt* and *Judæa*. The Ambaſſadors from *Egypt* preſented him with a crown of gold, of the value of four thouſand pieces of

[b] This happened in the time of their paſſover, on which occaſion *Ariſtobulus*, wanting lambs and beaſts for the ſacrifices of that holy ſolemnity, agreed with the *Jews*, that were among the beſiegers, to furniſh him with them, for a ſum ſpecified. But when they had received the money which was let down to them over the wall, they refuſed to deliver the ſacrifices. Nor was this the only baſe action they were guilty of at this time. For there being then at *Jeruſalem* one *Onias*, a man of great reputation for the ſanctity of his life, who was thought to have obtained by his prayers rain from heaven, in a time of drought, they brought him forth into the army; and, concluding that his curſe would be as prevalent as his prayers, preſſed him to curſe *Ariſtobulus*, and all that were with him. He long refuſed to hearken to them, but, at length, finding no reſt from their importunities, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, as he ſtood in the midſt of the ſoldiers, and prayed thus, *O Lord God, Rector of the univerſe, ſince thoſe that are with us are thy people, and they that are beſieged in the temple are thy prieſts*, I pray thee, *not to hear the prayers of either of them againſt the other.* The beſiegers were ſo enraged againſt the good man for this, that they ſtoned him to death.

gold

gold money, and thoſe from *Judæa* with a vine of gold, of the value of four hundred talents, which was afterwards depoſited in the temple of *Jupiter*, in the Capitol at *Rome*, and there inſcribed as the gift of *Alexander*, king of the *Jews*. [It ſeems the *Romans* would not own *Ariſtobulus* to be king, and for that reaſon put his father's name upon it inſtead of his.] While POMPEY was in theſe parts, there came to make their court to him twelve kings, who were all ſeen at the ſame time attending upon him. Plut. in Pomp.

As many ſtrong places in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* ſtill held out for MITHRIDATES, POMPEY found it neceſſary to march again thither to reduce them; which having, ſoon after his arrival, in a great meaſure accompliſhed, he took up his winter-quarters at *Aſpis*, in *Pontus*. Of the places which he reduced, one[c], called καινὴ i. e. *Newcaſtle*, was the ſtrongeſt: there MITHRIDATES had laid a great part of his treaſure, and the beſt of his other effects, as reckoning the place impregnable. Here POMPEY found the private memoirs of the king, which diſcovered many of his tranſactions and ſecret deſigns. trabo. l. 12. 7.

POMPEY having, while he lay at *Aſpis*, ſettled the affairs of the adjacent countries, as well as their circumſtances would then admit, as ſoon as the ſpring began returned again into *Syria*, to do the ſame in that country.

Y. of R. 689. Bef. J. C. 63. Conſ. p 385.

L. JULIUS CÆSAR,
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, } Conſuls.

On his arrival there, he made *Antioch* and *Seleia*, on the *Orontes*, free cities, and then continued his march to *Damaſcus*, intending from thence to make war upon Joſeph. Antiq. Plut. & Dio.

[c] Among other things here found, were MITHRIDATES's medicinal Commentaries, which POMPEY cauſed to be tranſlated into *Latin* by *Lenæus*, one of his freedmen, a learned Grammarian. Among many other extraordinary endowments, with which this prince had accompliſhed himſelf, he was eminently ſkilled in the art of phyſic, and is eſteemed the author of that excellent *Alexipharmical* medicine, which from his name is now called *Mithridate*, which has ever ſince been in great uſe among the phyſicians. *Plin.* l. 25. c. 2.

the *Arabians*, in order to carry on his victories to the *Red* ſea. But in his way to *Damaſcus* he made many ſtops, to examine into the conduct of the princes of thoſe parts, and to hear the complaints that were made againſt them. For in the declenſion of the *Syrian* empire, many petty princes had raiſed themſelves upon its ruins in ſeveral diſtricts of it, and there exerciſed tyranny over the people, and depredations on their neighbours. Theſe POMPEY, as he paſſed through the country, ſummoned to him, and, on hearing their cauſes, confirmed ſome of them in their toparchies, under the condition of becoming tributaries to the *Romans*; others he deprived; and ſome he condemned to death for their male-adminiſtration. But *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, who was the wickedeſt of them all, having made himſelf very rich by oppreſſing his people, and plundering his neighbours, preſented POMPEY with a thouſand talents, and thereby redeeming not only his life, but his principality, continued in the enjoyment of both a great number of years.

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 14. c. 5.

On POMPEY's coming into *Cæle-Syria*, *Antipater*, from *Hyrcanus*, and one *Nicodemus*, from *Ariſtobulus*, addreſſed themſelves to him concerning the controverſy that was between theſe two brothers, each of the delegates requeſting his patronage to that brother by whom he was ſent. POMPEY, having heard what they had to ſay, diſmiſſed them with fair words, ordering, that both brothers ſhould appear in perſon before him; and promiſing, that he would then take full cognizance of the whole cauſe, and determine it as juſtice ſhould direct. At this audience *Nicodemus* did much hurt to his maſter, by complaining of the four hundred talents, which *Scaurus*, and the three hundred which *Gabinius*, had extorted from him. For this made both thoſe generals his enemies; and POMPEY was afterwards much influenced by them in his determination of the diſpute. But POMPEY, being then intent upon making preparations for his *Arabian* war, could not immediately find leiſure for this matter; and, ſoon after, an event happened, which forced him to lay aſide, for the preſent,

ſent, whatever he had to do in *Syria*, and march again into *Pontus*. It was as follows.

Before POMPEY left *Syria* in the former year (688) there came Ambaſſadors to him from MITHRIDATES, out of *Boſphorus*, with propoſals of peace. They offered on the king's part, in caſe he might be allowed to hold his paternal kingdom (as *Tigranes* had been), to pay tribute for it to the *Romans*, and quit to them all his other dominions. To this POMPEY anſwered, that *the king ſhould have come to him in perſon, in the ſame manner as* Tigranes *had done*. The negotiation had no effect; for MITHRIDATES could not entertain the thought of ſurrendering himſelf: He offered to ſend his ſons, and ſome of his principal friends; but this offer was rejected: Whereupon he made new preparations for war with as great vigour as at any time before: he levied exorbitant ſums upon the people, who, having been lately terrified, and almoſt deſtroyed by a dreadful earthquake, changed that reſpect and zeal, which they had hitherto retained for their ſovereign, even in his worſt fortune, into indignation and hatred, when they felt themſelves thus oppreſſed by him: for the violences and vexations committed by the officers appointed to collect the taxes were inſupportable; and he, falling ſick at this time, could not remedy the evil. He was ſhut up in his palace with three eunuchs, who attended him, and were the only perſons admitted to ſee him. But notwithſtanding his confinement, the levies went on, and ſixty Cohorts, of ſix hundred choſen men each, were raiſed, beſides a great multitude of other ſoldiers, in whom he had leſs confidence. POMPEY, having notice of theſe preparations for war, found it neceſſary to haſten back again into *Pontus* to watch the king's proceedings. On his arrival, he fixed his reſidence for ſome time at *Amiſus*, and, while he continued in that place, was guilty of the very folly which he had before cenſured in LUCULLUS. For he there ſettled the dominions of MITHRIDATES into provinces, and beſtowed rewards, as if the war had been ended: whereas MITHRIDATES was ſtill alive, and with a great army,

App. in Mith.

Plut. in Pomp.

Strabo. l. 12.

and was meditating an invaſion on the very heart of the *Roman* dominions. POMPEY, in diſtributing rewards, gave the leſſer *Armenia*, with ſeveral other territories and cities adjoining, to *Dejotarus*[a], one of the princes of the *Galatians*, to recompenſe him for his adhering to the *Roman* intereſt during all this war, and honoured him with the title of king of thoſe countries, whereas before he was only a *Tetrarch*.

Dio. Caſſ. Plut. in Pomp.

While the *Roman* forces were in *Pontus*, *Aretas*, the *Arabian* king, took the advantage of their abſence to make incurſions and depredations in ſeveral parts of *Syria*. This called POMPEY back again into that country.

Y. of R. 690. Bef. J. C. 62. Conſ. p. 389.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, } Conſuls.
CAIUS ANTONIUS, }

Joſeph. Antiq. & de Bell. Judaic.

On his arrival at *Damaſcus*, the cauſe of *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* was brought to a hearing before him. They both appeared in perſon, as he had ordered; and, at the ſame time, ſeveral of the *Jews* appeared there againſt both: theſe laſt requeſted, in behalf of themſelves, "That they might not be governed by a king." They pleaded, "That it had been formerly the uſe of "their nation to be governed by the high-prieſt of the "God they worſhipped, who, without aſſuming any "other title, adminiſtered juſtice to them, according "to the Laws and Conſtitutions tranſmitted from their "fore-fathers: that it was true indeed, the two con-"tending brothers were of the ſacerdotal race, but had "introduced a new form of government, that they "might thereby ſubject the people to ſlavery.

Hyrcanus, on his part, urged, "That being the el-"der brother, he was unjuſtly deprived of his birth-"right by *Ariſtobulus*, who, having left him only a

[a] This is the ſame king *Dejotarus*, in whoſe behalf CICERO afterwards made one of his orations, which was ſpoken before JULIUS CÆSAR. *Galatia* was formerly governed by four *Tetrarchs*, of which *Dejotarus* was now one. To his *Tetrarchy* POMPEY added the grants above-mentioned, without diſpoſſeſſing the other *Tetrarchs*. But *Dejotarus* had acquired all *Galatia* at the time when CICERO pleaded for him. *Strabo*, l. 12. p. 567.

"ſmall

" ſmall portion of land for his ſubſiſtence, had uſurped " all the reſt from him; and, like a man born for " miſchief, practiſed piracy at ſea, and rapine and de- " predation at land, upon his neighbours." And for the atteſting of what *Hyrcanus* had alledged, there appeared about a thouſand of the principal *Jews*, whom *Antipater* had procured to come thither for that purpoſe.

To this *Ariſtobulus* anſwered, " That not his ambi- " tion had excluded *Hyrcanus* from the government, but " his own incapacity to manage it, being an unactive " ſlothful man, utterly unfit for the buſineſs of the " public, and fallen into the contempt of the people: " He added, I was therefore forced to interpoſe, in or- " der to preſerve the government from falling into the " hands of ſtrangers; and I bear no other title in the " ſtate, than what *Alexander* my father had before " me." And, for witneſſes of this, he produced ſeveral young men of the country in gaudy and ſplendid apparel, who did not, by their dreſs, or by their behaviour, bring any credit to the cauſe, in ſupport of which they appeared. POMPEY, on this hearing, ſaw far enough into the matter to make him diſapprove of the violence done to *Hyrcanus*, but would not immediately determine the controverſy, leſt *Ariſtobulus*, being provoked thereby, ſhould obſtruct him in his *Arabian* war, an enterprize which he had then much at heart. Giving therefore fair words to both brothers, he diſmiſſed them for the preſent, promiſing, that after he had reduced *Aretas*, and his *Arabians*, he would come in perſon into *Judæa*, and there ſettle and compoſe all matters. *Ariſtobulus*, perceiving how the *Roman* general was inclined, went from *Damaſcus* without taking leave; which very much angered POMPEY.

In the mean time *Aretas*, though he had hitherto contemned the *Roman* arms, yet, when he found the *Romans* near him, and ready to invade him with their victorious army, ſent Ambaſſadors to make his ſubmiſſion. POMPEY, nevertheleſs, marched to *Petra*, the metropolis of *Aretas*'s kingdom, and having taken the Plut. & Dio. App. in Mith.

Y. of R. 690. place, and the king in it, put him into cuſtody; but releaſed him afterwards on his ſubmitting to the terms required, and then returned to *Damaſcus*.

Joſeph. Antiq. & de Bell. Jud. Plut. in Pomp. App. in Mith.

Being there informed of the warlike preparations, which *Ariſtobulus* was making in *Judæa*, he marched into that country, and found him in his caſtle of *Alexandrion*, which was a ſtrong fortreſs, ſituated in the entrance of the country on a high mountain. POMPEY ſent him a meſſage to come down to him; which he was very unwilling to do; but at length, by the perſuaſions of thoſe about him, who dreaded a *Roman* war, he was prevailed with to comply: and after ſome diſcourſe with POMPEY about the controverſy depending, he returned again into his caſtle: And this he did two or three times, hoping by theſe compliances to gain POMPEY to his ſide: but at the ſame time he was fortifying his caſtles, and making preparations for his defence, in caſe the ſentence ſhould go againſt him; of which proceeding POMPEY being informed, forced him, on his next coming down, to make a ceſſion of all his caſtles, and to ſign orders to thoſe that commanded in them, to deliver them up to the *Romans*. *Ariſtobulus* grievouſly reſented the putting this force upon him, and therefore, as ſoon as he got free, fled to *Jeruſalem*, and there prepared for war. POMPEY, not to give him time for aſſembling his forces, marched after him. The firſt place where the *Romans* pitched their camp was in the plains of *Jericho*; and here they received the news of the death of MITHRIDATES. It was brought to POMPEY by ſpecial meſſengers ſent from *Pontus*. The meſſengers having their ſpears wreathed about with laurel, which was always a token of ſome victory, or other important advantage gained to the ſtate, the army were eager to know what had happened; and whereas there was no tribunal yet erected for the general (the camp being juſt pitched), and it would require ſome time to erect one of turf (as was the cuſtom), they heaped up their pack-ſaddles one upon another, and thereby made an eminence: POMPEY aſcended it, and from thence communicated to them, that

Joſeph ib. Plut. in Pomp.

MITHRI-

MITHRIDATES had laid violent hands upon himſelf, and was dead; that his ſon *Pharnaces*, having ſeized his kingdom, ſubmitted both that and himſelf to the *Roman* State; and that from *him* came the letters bringing this account: ſo that the war, which had cauſed them ſo many fatigues, was now at an end. The army immediately expreſſed their joy by ſhouts, and nothing was to be ſeen the whole day, but feſtivity and ſacrifices of thankſgiving.

The ſequel of MITHRIDATES's ſtory, after his arrival at * *Dioſcurias*, on the eaſtern coaſt of the *Euxine*, is as follows. * Vide ſupra, p. 323.

Having there wintered, he ſet out early in the ſpring for the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, which had been a province * of his empire, and where he had placed one of his ſons, called *Machares*, to govern it with the title of king. But the young king having been hard preſſed upon by the *Romans*, while they lay at the ſiege of *Sinope*, and were maſters of the *Euxine* ſea by means of their fleet, he made peace with them, and had ever ſince maintained the terms of it. This having much angered the father, the ſon dreaded his approach; and, therefore, while he was on the way, ſent Ambaſſadors to pacify him, urging in excuſe of his conduct, that what he had done was by the neceſſity of his affairs, and not by choice. Finding that his father was implacable, he endeavoured to make his eſcape by ſea; in which atternpt not ſucceeding, he killed himſelf, to avoid falling into his father's hands. App. in Mith. Vid. ſupra, p. 339. Liv. Epit. l. 98. Appian. ibid.

It has been mentioned, that from the kingdom of *Boſphorus* MITHRIDATES ſent Ambaſſadors unſucceſsfully to treat with POMPEY, then in *Syria*; and that loſing all hopes of obtaining peace from the *Romans*,

* The *Boſphorani* were thoſe people who inhabited the northern coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea; which coaſt (or at leaſt the weſtern part of it) ſeems to have been ſubject to MITHRIDATES, as well as the country called (in this part of the *Roman* ſtory) the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, which is alſo the name of the *Streight*, which divides the *Cherſoneſus* from *Aſia*.

upon

Y. of R. 690. upon any tolerable terms, he made all the preparations he could for war.

Vid. ſupr. p. 373. As ſoon as he was capable (after his ſickneſs formerly mentioned) of acting and managing his affairs in perſon, he ſent troops to *Phanagoria*, on the eaſt ſide of the ſtreight, that he might be abſolute maſter of the channel, of which he was already maſter on the weſt ſide, by means of *Panticapeum*. *Caſtor*, a man of obſcure birth, who was governor of *Phanagoria*, had formerly been affronted by the eunuch *Tryphon*; and now, ſeeing this eunuch arrive with the king's troops, killed him, made the inhabitants take arms, and exhorted them to reſume their liberty. The whole city roſe. The citadel, in which were ſeveral of MITHRIDATES's children, and, among the reſt, *Artaphernes*, above forty years old, made ſome reſiſtance; but the people heaping up wood round about it, in order to ſet it on fire, the prince's courage failed, and he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner, with three of his brothers, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Oxathres*, and one ſiſter, called *Eupatra*, all four under age. *Cleopatra*, another daughter of MITHRIDATES, held out againſt the rebels, notwithſtanding her being thus deſerted by her brother; and gave her father time to ſend ſhips to carry her off to *Panticapeum*. *Caſtor* delivered up his priſoners to the *Romans*.

The example of *Phanagoria* was followed by ſeveral of the neighbouring towns; ſo that MITHRIDATES, ſeeing treaſons multiply around him, turned his thoughts to purchaſe the friendſhip of the *Scythian* kings, by giving them ſome of his daughters in marriage, with rich preſents: But the ſoldiers, who were appointed to eſcort the princeſſes, delivered them into the hands of the *Romans*, having firſt killed the eunuchs who had the care of them. All theſe diſappointments determined him to make a deſperate expedition through the way of *Pannonia*, and the *Trentine Alps*, into *Italy* itſelf, and there attack the *Romans*, as HANNIBAL had done, at their own doors. In order hereto, he collected numerous forces out of the *Scythian* nations, for augmenting his former army, and ſent agents to engage the *Gauls* to join

Plut. in Pomp. Dio. l. 37. App. in Mith.

join with him. There were abundance of *Gauls* ſettled upon the *Danube*, and the rivers that fall into it, and he had for a long time kept up a good correſpondence with theſe; ſo that he expected not only to meet with no oppoſition from them, but to have them for his allies and auxiliaries.

But this enterprize containing a march of above 2000 miles, through all thoſe countries which are now called *Tartaria Crimæa*, *Podolia*, *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, *Tranſylvania*, *Hungaria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Tyrol*, and *Lombardy*, and over three great rivers, the *Boriſthenes*, the *Danube*, and the *Po*, the very thought of it ſo terrified the army, that, to avoid it, they conſpired againſt him, and made his ſon *Pharnaces* their king. MITHRIDATES had always diſtinguiſhed this ſon as his favourite, and intended him for his ſucceſſor. But the prince, who was deſirous to preſerve, at leaſt, the wreck of his father's fortune, and foreſaw, that the project of marching into *Italy*, if only begun to be put in execution, would probably occaſion the loſs of all, by rendering the *Romans* irreconcileable to the family of MITHRIDATES, put himſelf at the head of the conſpirators[b]. Prideaux.

The king, informed of what was in agitation, ſent ſome of his guards to ſeize the prince; but he gained over theſe ſoldiers to join him in the conſpiracy: into which, by remonſtrances and promiſes, he eaſily brought likewiſe the *Roman* deſerters, who were encamped without the walls of *Panticapeum*. The prince found no

[b] Fear might perhaps concur with ambition in prompting the prince to rebel. The death of his brother *Xiphares* might make him think his own life very precarious.

MITHRIDATES, in the decline of his affairs, had placed *Stratonice*, the mother of *Xiphares*, in a ſtrong caſtle (called *Symphorium*) in *Pontus*. She finding herſelf like to be deſerted, delivered the place to POMPEY, upon his promiſe of ſafety for herſelf, and likewiſe for her ſon, in caſe he ſhould happen to fall into the hands of the *Romans*: And POMPEY continued her in poſſeſſion of that caſtle, and of moſt of the effects in it. *Xiphares* was at this time in *Pontus* with his father, who, to be revenged on the mother, carried this ſon to the ſide of the Streight, on the oppoſite ſide on which the caſtle ſtood, and there ſlew him within her view, and left the dead body unburied on the ſtrand. Prid.

greater

Y. of R. 690. greater difficulty in gaining the ſoldiers of the other camps; and at the head of this multitude of rebels he preſented himſelf before the place at day-break.

The city ſoon followed the example of the camps. Some officers, whom the king had ſent to enquire the cauſe of the ſhouts he heard, having gone over with their ſoldiers to *Pharnaces*, the inhabitants preſently opened the gates to the prince: ſo that the king was reduced to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. From thence he ſent to aſk the mutineers what their demands were: They anſwered with extreme inſolence, "We demand "that PHARNACES ſhould be our king. We want a "young king, not an old one, governed by eunuchs, "and who makes known his power only by cruelties "to his generals, his friends, and even his children."

MITHRIDATES came out, in order to ſpeak in perſon to them; but the ſoldiers who attended him, thinking it would be beſt for themſelves to follow the ſtream, offered their ſervices to the rebels. The *Roman* deſerters, proud of their number and ſtrength, and ever at the head of the rebel-crew, made anſwer to this offer of the ſoldiers, "That it would not be accepted, unleſs "they firſt gave ſome ſignal proof of their zeal." And, at the ſame time, they pointed to MITHRIDATES. In ſo great extremity, the king had no choice but to return into the fort, which he did not effect without great difficulty, having had his horſe killed under him. At the ſame inſtant, the whole multitude of the revolted proclaimed PHARNACES king; and, for want of a diadem, they bound about his head a broad fillet of *Egyptian* paper, which ſomebody had taken out of a neighbouring temple.

Prideaux.

Oroſ. vi. 5. MITHRIDATES, who from a tower ſaw all that paſſed, ſent many times to aſk his life of his ſon, with permiſſion to retire. But as none of his meſſengers returned, and he found he muſt die, he made this prayer: *O ye Gods, the avengers of fathers, if it be true that you exiſt, and if there be juſtice in heaven, grant that* PHARNACES *may, one day, hear his ſentence of death pro-*
Dio. App. *nounced by his children.* He then called ſome of his officers

cers and guards, who had hitherto continued faithful to him, and, having praiſed their generoſity, ordered them to repair to the new king; after which he retired into his apartment, diſtributed poiſon to his wives, concubines, and daughters[c], and took a doſe of it himſelf: this not operating upon him, he had recourſe to his ſword; but failing to give himſelf ſuch a wound as was ſufficient to do the buſineſs, he called to him a *Gallic* officer (who, at the head of ſome of the rebels, had forced the walls of the caſtle;) *Brave ſoldier, you did me great ſervices at the time you fought under me. You will do me a greater now than ever, if you will ſave me from the ſhame of falling alive into the hands of the* Romans, *and being led by them in triumph.* The *Gaul* complied with his deſire.

Such was the end[d] of MITHRIDATES; whom CICERO ſtiles *the greateſt of kings after* ALEXANDER. He was (ſays *Velleius*) a very great prince, ſometimes by his fortune, always by his magnanimity; a general in council and deſign, a ſoldier in execution, and, for hatred to *Rome*, another HANNIBAL. It is agreed, that he was a very extraordinary perſon, both for the

Cic. in Luc.

Vell. l. 2. 18.

[c] Two of his daughters, MITHRIDATIS and NYSSA, who were to be married to the two PTOLEMY's, the one king of *Egypt*, and the other king of *Cyprus*, deſired to have the conſolation of dying before their father: they made haſte therefore to drink the poiſon, and expired in a very ſhort time.

The number of this prince's ſons and daughters, by his wives and concubines, was very conſiderable. Many of his ſons he ſlew in his diſpleaſure; and many of his daughters he poiſoned, when he could not carry them off in his flights. Nevertheleſs, five of his ſons and two of his daughters were carried by POMPEY to *Rome*, and there led before him in his *Triumph*.

Prid.

[d] The continuance of MITHRIDATES's war with the *Romans*, according to *Juſtin*, was forty-ſix years, according to *Appian* forty-two, according to *Florus* and *Eutropius* forty, and according to *Pliny* thirty; but according to the exact truth of the matter, though we reckon the beginning of the war from MITHRIDATES's ſeizing *Cappadocia* (which was the firſt occaſion of it) its duration to his death, will be no more than *twenty-ſeven* years; which, for the ſake of a round number, *Pliny* calls thirty, and thereby comes neareſt to the truth. *Prideaux*, Connect. p. 432.

greatneſs

Y. of R. 690. greatneſs [e] of his ſpirit, and the endowments of his mind: and that he was learned in all the learning of thoſe

[e] The *ſummary* given us, by an ingenious and judicious modern, of the wars, and fortunes of MITHRIDATES, and of his character as a warrior, may not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader:

Monteſquiou de la Grandeur, &c.

—— "This diſpoſition of things [mentioned above in the note, p. 213.] gave riſe to three mighty wars, which form one of the nobleſt parts of the *Roman* hiſtory: becauſe we do not, on this occaſion, read of princes already overcome by *Luxury* and *Pride*, as ANTIOCHUS and TIGRANES; nor by *Fear*, as PHILIP, PERSES, and JUGURTHA; but a magnanimous king, who, in adverſity, like a lion that gazes upon his wounds, was fired with greater indignation upon that account. This part of the *Roman* hiſtory is ſingular, becauſe it abounds with perpetual and ever unexpected revolutions: For if MITHRIDATES could eaſily recruit his armies, it is likewiſe true, that in thoſe reverſes of fortune, in which kings ſtand in greateſt need of obedience, and a ſtrict diſcipline, his barbarous forces forſook him: As he had the art of enticing nations, and ſtirring up cities to rebellion, ſo was he likewiſe betrayed by his captains, his children, and his wives; as he had ſometimes unexperienced *Roman* generals to contend with, ſo, at other times, were ſent againſt him SYLLA, LUCULLUS, and POMPEY.

"This prince, having defeated the *Roman* generals, and conquered *Aſia*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, was vanquiſhed, in his turn, by SYLLA; confined by a treaty to his former limits; haraſſed and inſulted by the *Roman* generals. Become once more ſuperior to them, and conqueror of *Aſia*, he was driven thence by LUCULLUS; purſued into his own country; obliged to fly for ſhelter to TIGRANES, and defeated with him: Depending now upon himſelf alone (the *Armenian* monarch being irrecoverably loſt) he took ſanctuary in his own dominions, and re-aſcended the throne.

"LUCULLUS was ſucceeded by POMPEY, who quite overpowered MITHRIDATES. He then fled out of his dominions, and, croſſing the *Araxes*, marched from danger to danger through the country of the *Lazi*, and, aſſembling in his way all the Barbarians he met with, appeared in *Boſphorus* againſt his ſon MACHARES, who had reconciled himſelf to the *Romans*.

"Although plunged in ſo deep an abyſs, he yet formed a deſign of making *Italy* the ſeat of the war, and *of marching to* Rome, *at the head of thoſe nations who enſlaved it ſome years after, and by the ſame way they then took.*"

[I know not whether by theſe laſt words, the judicious author intended to intimate, that becauſe the *Roman* State, was, ſome hundreds of years after this time, enſlaved by the nations he refers to, it would now have been endangered by an invaſion from the ſame nations. If he did, he muſt ſurely have forgot for a moment, that *Rome* was now almoſt in the higheſt degree of ſtrength ſhe ever attained to; and

thoſe times; and it is affirmed, that of twenty-two nations under his command, he could ſpeak to every one in their own proper language. Other of his accompliſhments have been already mentioned. But that he was inhuman, unnatural in his diſpleaſure, a monſter of cruelty (not to mention the maſſacre in cold blood of 80000 *Italians* ſettled in *Aſia*) is manifeſt from his murdering his mother and his brother, and from the great number of his ſons, and of his friends and followers, whom at ſeveral times, and often on very ſlight occaſions, he had put to death. He lived ſeventy-two years, ſixty of which he reigned. Plin. l. 7. c. 24. Prid. 437.

POMPEY, from the plains of *Jericho*, where (as was before related) he received the news of the death of MITHRIDATES, led his army toward *Jeruſalem*. On his approach, *Ariſtobulus*, terrified, and repenting of what he had done, went out to meet him; and, in order to pacify his anger, promiſed him an abſolute ſubmiſſion, and likewiſe a conſiderable ſum of money. The *Roman* general accepted the propoſal, detained the king, and ſent *Gabinius*, one of his Lieutenants, with a body of men, to receive the money: But when *Gabinius* came to the city, he found the gates ſhut againſt him; and was told from the walls, that the citizens would not ſtand to the agreement. POMPEY, thinking himſelf mocked by *Ariſtobulus*, laid him in chains, and marched with the whole army directly for *Jeruſalem*. The place by its ſituation, as well as by its fortifications, was very ſtrong, and might have held out a long time, if the people within had not been divided among themſelves: the adherents of *Ariſtobulus* were unanimouſly for defending it; and to this they were the more vehemently carried, by their extreme indignation at POMPEY's making their king a priſoner: But the partiſans of *Hyrcanus* being the ſtronger, and being determined to Joſeph. Antiq. & de Bell. Judaic.

and that ſhe was fallen into extreme weakneſs, and broken all to pieces, when thoſe nations ſucceeded in their attempt upon her.]

" Betrayed by PHARNACES, another of his ſons, and by an army " terrified at the greatneſs of his enterprizes, and the perils he was " going in ſearch of, he died in a manner worthy of a king.

receive

Y. of R. 690. receive POMPEY into the city, the other party retired to the mountain of the temple, where, having broken down the bridges over the deep ditches and valleys that ſurrounded it, they reſolved to maintain themſelves. Moſt of the ſacerdotal order adhered to the cauſe of *Ariſtobulus*, and ſhut themſelves up with thoſe who had ſeized the temple; while the main body of the people, not only admitted POMPEY into the city, but, with *Hyrcanus* at their head, ſupplied the *Romans* with all the neceſſaries they could furniſh for carrying on the ſiege of the temple. The north ſide of it being obſerved to be the weakeſt part, POMPEY began his approaches there. At firſt he offered the beſieged terms of peace; but theſe being rejected, he ſent to *Tyre* for battering rams, and all other engines of war proper for a ſiege, determined to exert his utmoſt efforts for the ſpeedy reduction of the place. Nevertheleſs, it held out three months, and, perhaps, the *Romans* would have been neceſſitated to quit their enterprize, had it not been for the ſuperſtitious rigour with which the *Jews* obſerved their Sabbath. Formerly it had been carried ſo high, that they would not defend their lives on that day, but, if then aſſaulted, would rather patiently yield their throats to be cut, than ſtir a hand in their own defence. But the miſchief and folly of this being ſufficiently made appear in what they ſuffered from it in the beginning of the *Maccabean* wars, it was then determined, that the neceſſary defence of a man's life was not within the prohibition of the fourth commandment. But this being underſtood to hold good only againſt a direct, and immediate aſſault, and not againſt any antecedent preparative leading thereto, it reached not, in their opinion, to the allowing of any work to be done on that day, for the preventing or deſtroying the worſt deſigns of miſchief, till they came to be put in execution. Although, therefore, they vigorouſly defended themſelves on the Sabbath-day, when aſſaulted, yet they would not then ſtir a hand, either to hinder the enemies works, or deſtroy their engines, or obſtruct their erecting of them, as they did on other days:

1 Maccab. ii. 32--38. Prideaux.

Ibid.

Joſeph. Antiq. & de Bell. Judaic.

days: Which POMPEY perceiving, ordered, that no aſſault ſhould be made upon them during their Sabbaths; but that thoſe days ſhould be employed wholly in carrying on his works, and erecting and fitting his engines in ſuch manner, as they might beſt do execution the following days. And thus the *Romans*, taking advantage of the ſuperſtition of the *Jews*, filled up the ditches with which the temple was ſurrounded, and brought forward their engines of battery, without meeting with any oppoſition: By which engines they at length beat down a ſtrong tower; and this drew a great part of the adjoining wall with it; ſo that a breach was made large enough for an aſſault. *Cornelius Fauſtus*, the ſon of SYLLA, being poſted near the breach, immediately mounted it, and was followed by the whole army, who, thus entering the place, made a dreadful ſlaughter of thoſe whom they found within it: 'tis reckoned, that no leſs than 12000 were put to the ſword; and, in this maſſacre, none acted more cruelly than the *Jews* of the contrary faction did againſt their own brethren. During all this ſcene of deſtruction, we are told, that the Ibid. prieſts, who were then in the temple, went on with the daily ſervice of it, not being deterred, either by the rage of their enemies, or the death of their friends; and that many of the prieſts, while they were ſo employed, had their own blood mingled with the blood of the ſacrifices which they were offering: an inſtance of conſtancy much admired by POMPEY himſelf.

And thus, after a ſiege of three months, was the *Temple* of *Jeruſalem* taken by the *Romans*, in the end of the firſt year of the hundred and ſeventy-ninth *Olympiad* (CAIUS ANTONIUS and MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO being then Conſuls at *Rome*) about the time of our Midſummer, and on the day which the *Jews* kept as a ſolemn faſt for the taking of *Jeruſalem*, and the temple with it, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon*.

As ſoon as the *Romans* had made themſelves maſters of the place, POMPEY, accompanied by ſeveral of his chief officers, went up into it, and not contenting themſelves with viewing the outer courts, cauſed the

Y. of R. 690. most [f] ſacred parts of the temple to be opened to them; and they entered not only into the HOLY PLACE, but alſo into the HOLY OF HOLIES, where none were permitted by the *Jewiſh* law to enter but the high-prieſt, and he only once in a year on their great day of expiation. The *Jews* are ſaid to have more grievouſly reſented the profanation of their temple by POMPEY, than all they had before ſuffered from the *Romans* during the war.

Joſeph. Antiq. Though POMPEY found, in the treaſuries of the temple, 2000 talents in money, beſides its rich utenſils and other things of great value, he left it all intire and untouched, for the ſacred uſes to which it was devoted. And the next day he ordered the temple to be cleanſed, and divine ſervice to be there carried on, in the ſame manner as formerly.

The walls of *Jeruſalem*, however, he demoliſhed; and, though he reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the office of high-prieſt, and made him alſo prince of the country, would not allow him to wear a diadem, or to extend his borders beyond the old limits of *Judæa*; but deprived him of all thoſe cities which had been taken by his predeceſſors from the *Cœle Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Gadara* (which was one of them) having been lately deſtroyed by the *Jews*, he ordered to be rebuilt, at the requeſt of *Demetrius*, his freedman, and chief favourite [g], who

[f] That the temple was now taken on the day of a ſolemn faſt, is ſaid, not only by *Joſephus* in the places laſt above cited, but alſo by *Strabo*, l. xvi. p. 763. The taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar* was on the 9th day of their month *Tamuz* (2 Kings xxv. 3, 4.) which uſually falls about the time of our *Midſummer*, ſooner or later, according as their intercalation happened. But in their preſent Kalendar, it is tranſlated to the eighteenth of that month.

De Tranq. anim. 8. Plut. in Pomp. [g] The enormous riches and power of this *Demetrius* reflect no honour upon his patron. He was not aſhamed, ſays *Seneca*, of being richer than POMPEY: and *Plutarch* relates of him, that before he returned to *Rome*, he had very fine houſes in the moſt agreeable ſuburbs of the city, with magnificent gardens, whilſt POMPEY had only a plain habitation. Frequently at feaſts, while POMPEY was waiting for his gueſts, or politely receiving them, *Demetrius* had already taken his place at table, with his head covered, and lolling at his eaſe. But ſuch

who was a native of that place. This, and all the reſt of thoſe conquered cities, he added to the province of *Syria*; of which he made *Scaurus* preſident, giving him two Legions to keep the country in order. Then, carrying with him *Ariſtobulus*, and his two ſons, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, and two of his daughters, as captives to be led before him in his triumph, he ſet forward in the way to *Rome*. App. in Syr. & de Bell. Civ.

POMPEY on his return from *Syria*, coming to *Amiſus* in *Pontus*, found there the body of MITHRIDATES, which had been ſent to him from *Pharnaces*, with many preſents to procure his favour. The preſents POMPEY received; but as to the body, that he might not ſeem to inſult the dead, he would not ſee it, but ordered it to be carried to *Sinope*, and there buried in the ancient burial place of the kings of *Pontus*; adding ſuch expences, for the funeral, as were neceſſary for the ſolemnization of it in a royal manner. Plv. in Pomp.

Pharnaces delivered up likewiſe to POMPEY thoſe perſons who, ſome years before, had ſeized *Manius Aquilius* at *Mitylene*, and put him into the hands of the king of *Pontus*; and together with theſe he ſent alſo a great number of hoſtages, whom MITHRIDATES had exacted from various princes and ſtates, *Greek* and Barbarian. Vid. ſupra, p. 176. App. Mithrid. p. 250.

Many governors of fortreſſes and caſtles [h] in this Dio Caſſ. l. 37.

ſuch was the diſpoſition of POMPEY; he overlooked every thing in thoſe he loved. *Gabinius*, *Scaurus*, and others, acted all kinds of injuſtice and oppreſſion, under his authority, and enriched themſelves by pillaging without any reſerve. POMPEY ſuffered it, either through weakneſs, not daring to check them, or through policy to attach creatures to him, whom he was afraid to remove by too much ſeverity. It is a blot in his reputation; for it does not ſuffice for a man in office, that his perſonal conduct be irreproachable; he is anſwerable for the miſconduct of thoſe who act under his commiſſion. *Crevier.*

[h] In ſome of theſe caſtles POMPEY found vaſt riches eſpecially at *Telaura*, where was the chief wardrobe, or ſtore-houſe, of MITHRIDATES: for it contained 2000 cups made of the onyx ſtone, and ſet in gold, with ſuch a vaſt quantity of all ſorts of plate, houſhold-goods, and furniture, and of all manner of rich accoutrements both for man and horſe, that the Quæſtor of the army was thirty days in taking an inventory of them.

Y. of R. 690. country had waited the arrival of the *Roman* General, in order to ſurrender them to him in perſon, and thereby avoid being made anſwerable for ſuch parts of the treaſures there depoſited, as they imagined would otherwiſe be embezzled by under officers: ſo that a prodigious quantity of jewels and rich moveables fell into his hands.

And now the conqueror diſtributed rewards to all thoſe petty princes, who had deſerved well of the Republic: to *Pharnaces*, he gave the title of *Friend and Ally of the* Roman *People*, confirming him in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Boſphorus:* Only he excepted, out of the number of his ſubjects, the inhabitants of *Phanagoria*, declaring them *free:* Becauſe, by their revolt, they had given the final blow to MITHRIDATES. *Caſtor*, the author of that defection, was likewiſe rewarded with the title of *Friend and Ally of the* Roman *People:* [This man became afterwards the ſon-in-law of king *Dejotarus*] From *Amiſus* POMPEY marched into the province of *Aſia Propria*, and took up his winter-quarters in the city of *Epheſus*. While he lay there, he rewarded his victorious army, giving to each private ſoldier 1500* drachms, and proportionably more to all the officers, according as they were in higher or lower poſts of command; on which occaſion, he expended out of the ſpoils taken in this war 16000 † talents: and yet he reſerved ‡ 20000 talents to be carried into the public treaſury at *Rome*, on the day of his triumph; to make which as glorious, as poſſibly he could, was now his principal object.

Plut. in Pomp.

*481. 8s. 9d

† 3.100.000
‡ 3.875.000.

CHAP. IX.

Extraordinary honours are decreed to POMPEY *by the* SENATE, *at the motion of* MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, *then* Conſul; *and by the* PEOPLE, *at the motion of two of their* Tribunes. *An account of the birth, education, and travels of* CICERO; *his progreſs, through the* Quæſtorſhip, Ædileſhip, *and* Prætorſhip, *to the* Conſular *dignity*; *his acts and proceedings (in his* Conſulſhip) *prior to his* Diſcovery of CATILINE's Conſpiracy.

racy. *Brief hiſtories of* C. JULIUS CÆSAR, M. PORCIUS CATO, *and* L. SERGIUS CATILINA, *to that time. The conſpiracy is quaſhed. Honours done to* CICERO *by the* SENATE. *He is affronted by one of the Tribunes; but contrives to make the affront turn to his glory.*

THE joy at *Rome* on the news of the death of MITHRIDATES may be ſaid to have been intemperate. CICERO, who in a ſpeech (the firſt he ever made from the Roſtra) had employed his eloquence with the People to procure for POMPEY that *unprecedented* commiſſion, which was given him by the *Manilian* Law, employed now his conſular and perſonal influence with the Senate to obtain for him *unprecedented* honours. At the motion of CICERO, the FATHERS decreed a public thankſgiving in POMPEY's name of ten days, which was twice as long as had ever been decreed before to any General, even to MARIUS himſelf, for his victory over the *Cimbri* [a].

And upon the receipt of the public letters, which brought the account of POMPEY's ſucceſs in *Judæa*, (which put an end to the wars in the Eaſt) two Tribunes of the People, *T. Labienus* and *T. Ampius*, paſſed a Law, that this ſingular favourite ſhould, on all feſtival days, have the privilege of wearing a laurel crown, with his general's robe; and in the equeſtrian races of the Circus his triumphal habit [b].

But we read, that in vain would have been theſe decrees in reward of POMPEY's victories, in vain would

[a] The reader will not perhaps much wonder at this, if he calls to mind what was formerly mentioned (Vol. IV. b. vi. c. 9.) that CICERO (a thorough party-man) ſpeaks of SCIPIO's ſtarving a ſmall garriſon out of *Numantia* (a town in the heart of *Spain*) as an exploit equally momentous with MARIUS's victory (near the *Po* in the entrance of *Italy*) over the numerous forces of the *Cimbri*; an army amounting to 300000 men, which, in the opinion of the public at *Rome*, threatened the City with ſpeedy and total deſtruction.

[b] If we may believe *Paterculus* and *Dio*, POMPEY, aſhamed of theſe marks of diſtinction, ſo contrary to Republican maxims, made uſe of them but once. CICERO ſeems to ſay the contrary: *Pompeius togulam pictam ſilentio tuetur ſuam.* L. 1. Ep. 18. ad Atticum.

have been the victories themſelves, if his eloquent Panegyriſt, a moſt able and vigilant Magiſtrate, had not preſerved *Rome* (in the cloſe of this very year) from the miſchievous machinations of her own Citizens; machinations ſo big with deſtruction, that POMPEY, at his return home, declared himſelf indebted to CICERO, for the ſatisfaction of ſeeing again his native country. Before we proceed to the relation of that memorable tranſaction, it may be proper to give ſome account of the origin of this famous CONSUL, ORATOR, and PHILOSOPHER, of the *ſteps* by which he roſe to the higheſt Magiſtracy, and of the acts of his Conſulſhip anterior to that which was the chief glory of his life.

Midd. V. I. p. 3. Cic. Ep. ad Att. 7. 5. Pig. An. 37, 2. Cic. de Leg. 2. 3. Val. Max. 2. 2.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO was [c] born on the third of *January*, in the 647th year of *Rome*, at *Arpinum*, a city anciently of the *Samnites* (now part of the kingdom of *Naples*) which, upon its ſubmiſſion to *Rome*, acquired the freedom of the City, and was inſerted into the *Cornelian Tribe*. It had the honour alſo of producing the great C. MARIUS; which gave occaſion to POMPEY to ſay, in a public ſpeech, That *Rome* was indebt-

Midd. p. 2.

[c] His mother was called *Helvia*; a name mentioned in hiſtory, and old inſcriptions among the ancient families of *Rome*. She was rich and well deſcended. It it remarkable, that CICERO never once ſpeaks of his mother in any part of his writings. —— As to his father's family——

* Sil. Ital.

Some derive his deſcent from *Kings* *, others from *Mechanics*; but the truth lay between both; for his family, though it had never borne any of the great offices of the Republic, was yet *very ancient and honourable*, of principal diſtinction and nobility in that part of *Italy* in which it reſided, and of *Equeſtrian* rank, from its firſt admiſſion to the freedom of *Rome*. As often as there was occaſion to mention the character and condition of his anceſtors, CICERO ſpeaks of them always with great frankneſs, declaring them *to have been content with their paternal fortunes, and the private honours of their own City, without the ambition of appearing on the public ſtage of* Rome. Thus in a ſpeech to the People, upon his advancement to the Conſulſhip, *I have no pretence*, ſays he, *to enlarge before you, upon the praiſes of my anceſtors; not but that they were all ſuch as myſelf, who am deſcended from their blood, and trained by their diſcipline; but becauſe they lived without this applauſe of popular fame, and the ſplendor of theſe honours which you confer.* It is on this account therefore, that we find him ſo often called a *new-man*; not that his family was new or ignoble, but becauſe he was the firſt of it, who ever fought and obtained the public Magiſtracies of the State.

Cic. de Leg. 2. 1, 2.

Cic. de Lege Agra, 1.

ed

ed to this corporation for two Citizens, who had, each in his turn, preſerved it from ruin.

CICERO's father [d], encouraged by the promiſing genius of his ſon, ſpared no coſt nor pains to improve it by the help of the ableſt maſters, and, among the other inſtructors of his early youth, put him under the care of the *Poet* ARCHIAS, who, when CICERO was about five years old, came to *Rome* with a high reputation for learning and poetry, and lived in the family of LUCULLUS [e].

Midd. p. 11.

Cic. pro Arch. l. 3.

When

[d] CICERO being the firſt born of the family, received, as uſual, the name of his father, and grandfather, MARCUS. This name was proper perſonal, equivalent to that of baptiſm with us, and impoſed with ceremonies ſomewhat analogous to it, on the ninth day, called the *luſtrical*, or day of purification; when the child was carried to the temple by the friends and relations of the family, and, before the altars of the Gods, recommended to the protection of ſome tutelar Deity. Midd. p. 6. Macrob Sat. 1. 16.

TULLIUS was the name of the family, which, in old language, ſignified *flowing ſtreams*, or *ducts of water*, and was derived probably from their ancient ſituation, at the confluence of the two rivers.

The third name was generally added on account of ſome memorable action, quality, or accident, which diſtinguiſhed the founder, or chief perſon of the family. *Plutarch* ſays, *That the ſurname of* CICERO *was owing to a wart, or excreſcence, on the noſe of one of his anceſtors, in the ſhape of a vetch, which the* Romans *called* Cicer. But *Pliny* tells us, more credibly, *That all thoſe names, which had a reference to any ſpecies of grain, as the* FABII, LENTULI, &c. *were acquired by a reputation of being the beſt huſbandmen, or improvers, of that ſpecies.* As TULLIUS therefore, the family name, was derived from *the ſituation of the farm*, ſo CICERO, the ſurname, from the culture of it by *Vetches*. This, I ſay, is the moſt probable, becauſe agriculture was held the moſt liberal employment in old *Rome*; and thoſe tribes, which reſided on their farms in the country, the moſt honourable: and this very grain, from which CICERO drew his name, was, in all ages of the Republic, in great requeſt with the meaner people; being one of *the uſual largeſſes* beſtowed upon them by the rich, and ſold every where in the theatres and ſtreets ready parched or boiled for preſent uſe. Pompeius Feſtus in voce Tullius. Hiſt. Nat. 18. 3. 1.

[e] It was the cuſtom of the great, in theſe days, to entertain in their houſes the principal ſcholars and philoſophers of *Greece*, with a liberty of opening a ſchool, and teaching, together with their own children, any of the other young nobility and gentry of *Rome*. Under this maſter, CICERO applied himſelf chiefly to poetry, to which he was naturally addicted, and made ſuch a proficiency in it, that while he was ſtill a boy, he compoſed and publiſhed a poem, called *Glaucus Pontius*, which was extant in *Plutarch*'s time. Hor. Sat 2. 3. 182. & de Art. Poet. 249 Midd. p. 11.

When CICERO, at about ſeventeen years of age, had changed the *puerile* for the *manly* gown, and had (according to cuſtom) been introduced into the *Forum*, he was placed under the care of Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA *the Augur*, the principal lawyer, as well as ſtateſman of that age, who had paſſed through all the offices of the Republic with a ſingular reputation of integrity, and was now extremely old: CICERO never departed from his ſide, but carefully treaſured up in his memory all the remarkable ſayings which dropt from him, as ſo many leſſons of prudence for his future conduct; and, after his death, applied himſelf to another of the ſame family, SCÆVOLA, the high-prieſt, a perſon of equal character for probity and ſkill in the Law; who though he did not profeſs to teach, yet freely gave his advice to all the young ſtudents, who conſulted him.

Midd. p. 13.

Cic. de Amicit. 1.

Cic. in Brut. p 89. (edit. Leb. Corrad.)

Pauſ. Bœot. c. 22.

Cùm primùm pavido cuſtos mihi purpura ceſſit. Perſ. Sat. 5. 30.

After finiſhing the courſe of theſe puerile ſtudies, it was the cuſtom to change the habit of the boy, for that of the man, and take what they called *the manly gown*, or the ordinary robe of the Citizens: This was an occaſion of great joy to the young men, who, by this change, paſſed into a ſtate of greater liberty and enlargement from the power of their tutors. They were introduced, at the ſame time, into the *Forum*, or the great ſquare of the City, where the Aſſemblies of the City were held, and the Magiſtrates uſed to harangue to them from the *Roſtra*, and where all the public pleadings, and judicial proceedings were uſually tranſacted: This therefore was the great ſchool of buſineſs and eloquence, the ſcene on which all the affairs of the Empire were determined, and where the foundation of their hopes and fortunes were to be laid: ſo that they were introduced to it with much ſolemnity, attended by all the friends and dependants of the family, and after divine rites performed in the *Capitol*, were committed to the ſpecial protection of ſome eminent Senator, diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence and knowledge of the laws, to be inſtructed, by his advice, in the management of civil affairs, and to form themſelves, by his example, for uſeful members and magiſtrates of the Republic.

Midd. p. 12.

Writers are divided about the preciſe time of changing *the puerile* for *the manly gown:* What ſeems the moſt probable, is, that in the old Republic it was never done till the end of the ſeventeenth year; but when the ancient diſcipline began to relax, parents, out of indulgence to their children, advanced this æra of joy one year earlier, and gave them the gown at *ſixteen*, which was the cuſtom in CICERO's time. Under the emperors, it was granted at pleaſure, and at any age, to the great, or their own relations; for NERO received it from CLAUDIUS, *when he juſt entered into his fourteenth year, which*, as TACITUS ſays, was given before the regular ſeaſon.

Ann. 12. 41.

Under

Under theſe maſters he acquired a complete knowledge of the laws of his country [f]; but the knowledge of the Law was but one ingredient of many, in the character which he aſpired to, of *an univerſal patron*, not only of the fortunes, but of the lives and liberties of his countrymen: For that was the proper notion of an ORATOR, or PLEADER of CAUSES; whoſe profeſſion it was, *to ſpeak aptly, elegantly, and copiouſly on every ſubject which could be offered to him, and whoſe art therefore included in it all other arts of the liberal kind, and could not be acquired to any perfection, without a competent knowledge of whatever was great and laudible in the univerſe.* This was his own idea of what he had undertaken. Midd. p. 14. Cic. de Orat. 1. 5, 6, 13, 16.

The tranſactions of the Forum were greatly interrupted by the civil diſſenſions; in which ſome of the beſt orators were killed, and others baniſhed. CICERO, however, attended the harangues of the Magiſtrates, who poſſeſſed the Roſtra in their turns. Midd. p. 26.

[f] This branch of knowledge was thought to be of ſuch conſequence at *Rome*, that it was the common exerciſe *of boys at ſchool to learn the laws of the twelve tables by heart*; *as they did their poets and claſſic authors*. CICERO particularly took ſuch pains in this ſtudy, and was ſo well acquainted with the moſt intricate parts of it, as to be able to ſuſtain a diſpute on any queſtion with the greateſt lawyer of his age: So that pleading once againſt his friend *S. Sulpicius*, he declared, by way of raillery, what he could have made good likewiſe in fact, *that if he provoked him, he would profeſs himſelf a lawyer in three days time.* Midd. p. 13. Cic. de Leg. 2. 23. Cic. Ep. Fam. 7. 22. Cic. pro Muræn. 13.

The profeſſion of the law, next to that of arms and eloquence, was a ſure recommendation to the firſt honours of the Republic, and for that reaſon was preſerved as it were hereditary in ſome of the nobleſt families of *Rome*; who, by giving their advice gratis to all who wanted it, engaged the favour and obſervance of their fellow-citizens, and acquired great authority in all the affairs of ſtate. It was the cuſtom of theſe old ſenators, eminent for their wiſdom and experience, to walk every morning up and down the *Forum*, as a ſignal of their offering themſelves freely to all, who had occaſion to conſult them, not only in caſes of law, but in their private and domeſtic affairs. But in latter times they choſe to ſit at home with their doors open, in a kind of *throne*, or *raiſed ſeat*, like the confeſſors in foreign churches, giving acceſs and audience to all people. This was the caſe of the two *Scævola's*, eſpecially the *Augur*, whoſe houſe was called *the oracle of the City*; and who, *in the Marſic war, when worn out with age and infirmities, gave admiſſion every day to all the Citizens, as ſoon as it was light, nor was ever ſeen by any in his bed during that whole war.* Ibid. 14. Cic. de Off. 1. 32. 2. 19. Cic. de Orat. 3. 33. Cic. de Orat. 1. 45. Philip. 8. x.

In

p. 27. In the mean while, PHILO, a philoſopher of the firſt name in the *Academy*, with many of the principal *Athenians*, fled to *Rome* from the fury of MITHRIDATES, who had made himſelf maſter of *Athens*, and all the neighbouring part of *Greece*. CICERO immediately became his ſcholar, and was exceedingly taken with his philoſophy; and, by the help of ſuch a profeſſor, gave himſelf up to that ſtudy with the greateſt inclination, as there was cauſe to apprehend, that the Laws and judicial proceedings, which he had deſigned for the ground of his fame and fortunes, would be wholly overturned by the continuance of the public diſorders.

But CINNA's party having quelled all oppoſition at home, while SYLLA was engaged abroad in the *Mithridatic* war, there was a ceſſation of arms within the City for about three years, ſo that the courſe of public buſineſs began to flow again in its uſual channel; and MOLO, the *Rhodian*, one of the principal orators of that age, and the moſt celebrated teacher of eloquence, happening to come to *Rome* at the ſame time, CICERO preſently took the benefit of his lectures, and reſumed his oratorical ſtudies with his former ardour[g]. And that he might neglect nothing which could help in any degree to improve and poliſh his ſtile, he ſpent the intervals of his leiſure in the company of the ladies; eſpecially of thoſe who were remarkable for a politeneſs of language, and whoſe fathers had been diſtinguiſhed by a fame and reputation of their eloquence.

Midd. p. 35.

Thus adorned, and accompliſhed, by having run through all that courſe of diſcipline, which he himſelf *

*Vid. ſupr. p. 393.

[g] In the firſt or ſecond year of SYLLA's *Dictatorſhip*, MOLO the *Rhodian* came again to *Rome*, to ſolicit the payment of what was due to his country for their ſervices in the *Mithridatic* war, which gave CICERO an opportunity of putting himſelf a ſecond time under his direction, and perfecting his oratorical talents, by the further inſtructions of ſo renowned a maſter: whoſe abilities and character were ſo highly reverenced, that he was *the firſt, of all foreigners, who was allowed to ſpeak to the Senate in Greek without an interpreter*; which ſhews in what vogue the Greek learning, and eſpecially eloquence, flouriſhed at this time in *Rome*.

Val. Max. 2. 2.

lays

lays down as neceſſary to form the complete orator, he offered himſelf to the bar about the age of twenty-ſix.

The firſt criminal cauſe in which he was concerned, was that of L. ROSCIUS AMERINUS, of which an account has been already given †. He was then in his 27th year; the ſame age, as the learned have obſerved, in which DEMOSTHENES firſt began to diſtinguiſh himſelf in *Athens*. *Plutarch* ſays, *that preſently after this trial* CICERO *took occaſion to travel abroad on pretence of his health, but in reality to avoid the effects of* SYLLA's *diſpleaſure* [h]. Midd. p. 37. †Vid. ſupr. p. 244.

He was *twenty-eight* [i] *years old* when he ſet forward upon his travels to *Greece* and *Aſia*; the faſhionable Midd. p. 41.

[h] There ſeems no ground for this notion.———We have a clear account from himſelf of the real motive of this journey: "My body (ſays he) at this time was exceedingly weak and emaciated; my neck long and ſmall; which is a habit, thought liable to great riſque of life, if engaged in any fatigue or labour of the lungs; and it gave the greater alarm to thoſe who had a regard for me, that I uſed to ſpeak without any remiſſion or variation, with the utmoſt ſtretch of voice, and great agitation of my body: When my friends therefore and phyſicians adviſed me to meddle no more with cauſes, I reſolved to run any hazard, rather than quit the hopes of glory, which I propoſed to myſelf from pleading: But when I conſidered that by managing my voice, and changing my way of ſpeaking, I might both avoid all danger, and ſpeak with more eaſe, I took a reſolution of travelling into *Aſia*, meerly for an opportunity of correcting my manner of ſpeaking; ſo that after I had been two years at the bar, and acquired a reputation in the *Forum*, I left *Rome*, &c. *Brut.* 437. Midd. p. 40, 41.

[i] If CICERO, who was born Jan. 1, 647, was 28 years old when he began his travels, he did not ſet forward till the year 675; and if ſo, the learned writer of his life might have found a better reaſon than the paſſage in *Brut.* 437, for conjecturing that he did not leave *Rome to avoid the effects of* SYLLA's *diſpleaſure*: For SYLLA (if indeed he was then alive) was not then DICTATOR. He abdicated the *Dictatorſhip* in 674, the year in which CICERO defended *S. Roſcius Amerinus*: And though the orator boaſts of his having defended this *Roſcius* againſt SYLLA himſelf, *in the height of his power*, and refers to his oration as extant, in proof of what he ſays [*quæ ut ſcis extat oratio*] it is highly probable, that *the bold* * *paſſages* of it, in which he glories, were *never ſpoken* by him (which was the caſe with regard to ſome other of his orations) and it may well be doubted, whether they were ever written before SYLLA's *abdication*, or even before his *death*. *Vid. ſupr. p. 244.

tour

tour of all thoſe who travelled either for curioſity, or improvement.

He

Midd. p. 41. [k] His firſt viſit was to *Athens*, the capital ſeat of arts and ſciences; where ſome writers tell us that he ſpent three years, though in truth it was but ſix months: He took up his quarters with *Antiochus*, the principal philoſopher of the *old academy*; and under this excellent maſter renewed, he ſays, thoſe ſtudies which he had been fond of from his earlieſt youth. Here he met with his ſchool-fellow, T. POMPONIUS, who from his love to *Athens*, and his ſpending a great part of his days in it, obtained the ſurname of *Atticus*; and here they revived and confirmed that memorable friendſhip which ſubſiſted between them through life with ſo celebrated a conſtancy and affection.

p. 42. It was in this firſt journey to *Athens* that he was initiated moſt probably into the *Eleuſinian myſteries*; for though we have no account of the time, yet we cannot fix it better than in a voyage undertaken both for the improvement of his mind and body. The reverence with which he always ſpeaks of theſe myſteries, and the hints that he has dropped of their end and uſe, ſeem to confirm what *a very learned and ingenious writer* has delivered of them: "That they were contrived to inculcate "the unity of God, and the immortality of the ſoul. As for the firſt, "after obſerving to ATTICUS, who was one alſo of the initiated, how "the gods of the popular religions were all but deceaſed mortals, ad- Tuſc. Quæſt. 1. 13. "vanced from earth to heaven, he bids him remember the doctrine of "the myſteries, in order to recollect the univerſality of that truth: De Leg. 2. 14. "And as to the ſecond, he declares his initiation to be in fact, what "the name itſelf implied, a real beginning of life to him; as it taught "the way, not only of living with greater pleaſure, but of dying alſo "with a better hope."

N. B. Notwithſtanding this grave declaration, of his having learnt ſo important and ſo pleaſing a truth by his *initiation*, the very learned author of *the Divine legation*, &c. (above cited) has produced probable evidence, at leaſt, that our traveller, after his return home, did not believe *the immortality of ſoul* in any ſenſe, that could make him *die with a better hope*, than a man who believes its *mortality*. Book III. Sect. 3. "The ſeveral and various characters he ſuſtained in his life and writings, "habituated him to feign and diſſemble his opinions. He may be con- "ſidered as an *Orator*, a *Stateſman*, a *Philoſopher*; characters all equal- "ly *perſonated*; and no one more the real man than the other: but "each of them taken up and laid down for the occaſion. This ap- "pears from the numerous inconſiſtencies we find in him throughout "the courſe of his ſuſtaining them."—The learned writer gives an inſtance, where "The *Philoſopher* confuted the *Stateſman*," he adds "As "in another inſtance the *Stateſman* ſeems to have got the better of the "*Philoſopher*. He defends the paradoxes of the Stoics in a philoſophic "diſſertation: but in his oration for *Muræna*, he ridicules thoſe para- "doxes in the freeſt manner."

N. B.

He ſpent two years in this excurſion; and having, after his return, ſpent one year at the bar, he was, in the

N. B. "Nor under *one and the ſame character*, or *at one and the ſame time*, is he more conſiſtent. In *the orations againſt* CATILINE, when he opens the conſpiracy to the *Senate*, he repreſents it as the moſt deep laid deſign, which had infected all orders and degrees of men amongſt them: yet when he brings the ſame affair before the *People*, he talks of it as only the wild and ſenſeleſs eſcape of a few deſperate wretches: it being neceſſary for his purpoſe, that the *Senate* and *People*, who viewed the conſpiracy from ſeveral ſtations, ſhould ſee it in different lights.

"We meet with numbers of the like contradictions delivered in his own perſon, and under his philoſophic character. Thus in his *books of Divination* he combats all Augury, &c. and yet in his philoſophic *Treatiſe of Laws*, he delivers himſelf in their favour, and in ſo ſerious and poſitive a manner, that it is difficult not to believe him to be in earneſt. In a word, he laughed at the opinions of ſtate, when he was amongſt the philoſophers; he laughed at the doctrines of the philoſophers, when he was cajoling an aſſembly; and he laughed heartily at both, when withdrawn amongſt his friends in a corner. Nor is this the worſt part of the ſtory. He hath given us no mark to diſtinguiſh his meaning: For in his *Academic Queſtions* he is ready to ſwear, he always ſpeaks what he thinks; *Jurarem per Jovem, Deoſque penates, me & ardere ſtudio veri reperiendi, & ea ſentire quæ dicerem*: yet in his *Nature of the Gods*, he has ſtrangely changed his tone: *Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipſi ſentiamus, curioſius id faciunt quam neceſſe eſt.*

"If it be aſked then, in which of his writings we can have any reaſonable aſſurance of his true ſentiments? I reply, ſcarce in any but his Epiſtles.—It is only in his EPISTLES to his friends, where we ſee the *man* diveſted of the *Politician*, the *Sophiſt*, and the *Advocate*: and *there he profeſſes his diſbelief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, in the frankeſt and freeſt manner.*" [The paſſages, cited in *Latin*, are thus tranſlated by the very ingenious Mr. *Melmoth*.]

He ſays to *L. Meſcinius*.—"This advantage we may at leaſt derive from our extreme calamities; that they will teach us to look upon *Death* with contempt: which even if we were happy we ought to deſpiſe, as *a ſtate of total inſenſibility*," &c. Ep. Fam. l. v. Ep. 21.

To *A. Torquatus*.—"I have the conſolation in common with yourſelf, that ſhould I now be called upon to lay down my life, I ſhall not be cut off from a Commonwealth, which I can by any means regret to leave; eſpecially, as *the ſame blow which deprives me of my life, will deprive me likewiſe of all ſenſibility.*" Lib. vi Ep. 4.

To *Toranius*.—"Now that counſel can profit nothing, and that the Republic is utterly overturned, the only rational part that remains, is, to bear with calmneſs whatever ſhall be the event; eſpecially,

"when

the next, (the Conſulſhip of *Cn. Octavius* and *C. Scribonius*, year of *Rome* 677) elected to the office of *Quæſtor*, "and had the honour to be choſen the firſt of all "his competitors, by the unanimous ſuffrage of the "Tribes, and in the firſt year in which he was capa-

"when it is conſidered, that *Death is the final period of all human con-*
"*cerns.*" Lib. vi. Ep. 21.

The ingenious tranſlator is of opinion, that "admitting theſe ſeve-
"ral paſſages to be ſo many clear and poſitive aſſertions, that the ſoul
"periſhes with the body; yet it would by no means follow, that this
"was CICERO's real belief. It is uſual with him to vary his ſentiments
"in the letters, in accommodation to the principles, or circumſtances,
"of his correſpondents." After ſome inſtances given, the ingenious
"tranſlator adds, "Other inſtances of the ſame variation from himſelf
"might be produced; but theſe, together with thoſe that have al-
"ready been occaſionally pointed out in the courſe of theſe remarks,
"are ſufficient perhaps to evince, that CICERO's *real ſentiments and*
"*opinions cannot be proved by any particular paſſages in theſe* letters. In
"thoſe to ATTICUS, indeed, he was generally, though *not always*,
"more ſincere." *Melmoth*, Remark 6. Vol. II. p. 232.

Midd. p. 43. From *Athens* he paſſed into *Aſia*, where he gathered about him all the principal orators of the country, who kept him company through the reſt of his voyage; and with whom he conſtantly exerciſed himſelf in every place where he made any ſtay. The chief of them, ſays he, was *Menippus* of *Stratonica*, the moſt eloquent of all the *Aſiatics*; and if to be neither tedious, nor impertinent, be the characteriſtic of an *Attic* orator, he may juſtly be reckoned in that claſs.

p. 44, 45. But as at *Athens*, where he employed himſelf chiefly in philoſophy, he did not intermit his oratorical ſtudies; ſo at *Rhodes*, where his chief ſtudy was oratory, he gave ſome ſhare alſo of his time to philoſophy with *Poſſidonius*, the moſt eſteemed and learned *Stoic* of that age; whom he often ſpeaks of with honour, not only as his maſter, but as his friend. It was his conſtant care, that the progreſs of his knowledge ſhould keep pace with the improvement of his eloquence; he conſidered the one as the foundation of the other, and thought in vain to acquire ornaments, before he had provided neceſſary furniture: He declaimed here in *Greek*, becauſe MOLO did not underſtand *Latin*; and, upon ending his declamation, while the reſt of the company were laviſh of their praiſes, MOLO, inſtead of paying compliments, ſat ſilent a conſiderable time, till obſerving CICERO ſomewhat diſturbed at it, he ſaid, *As for you*, CICERO, *I praiſe and admire you, but pity the fortune of* Greece, *to ſee Arts and Eloquence, the only ornaments which were left to her, tranſplanted by you to* Rome. Having thus finiſhed the circuit of his travels, he came back again to *Italy*, extremely improved, and *changed as it were into a new man*: *the vehemence of his voice and action was moderated*; the redundancy of his ſtile and fancy corrected; his lungs ſtrengthened; and his whole conſtitution confirmed.

Plut. in Cic.

Brut. p. 438.

"ble

" ble of it by Law, the *thirty-firſt* of his age[1]." [COTTA was the ſame year choſen *Conſul*, and HORTENSIUS *Ædile*.]

The iſland of *Sicily*, though under the government of one Prætor, was divided into the two provinces of *Lilybæum* and *Syracuſe*, which had each of them a diſtinct *Quæſtor*. The former fell by lot to CICERO. *Sicily* was uſually called *the granary of the Republic*, and the Quæſtor's chief employment in it was to ſupply corn and proviſions for the uſe of the City: but there happening to be a peculiar ſcarcity this year at *Rome*, it made the People very clamorous, and gave the Tribunes an opportunity of inflaming them the more eaſily, by charging it *to the loſs of the Tribunician power*, and their being left a prey, by that means, to the oppreſſions of the great. It was neceſſary therefore to the public quiet, to ſend out large and ſpeedy ſupplies from *Sicily*, by which the iſland was like to be drained; ſo that CICERO had a difficult taſk to furniſh what was ſufficient for the demands of the City, without being grievous at the ſame time to the poor natives; yet he managed the matter with ſo much prudence and addreſs, that he made very great exportations, without any burthen upon the province: ſhewing great courteſy all the while to the dealers, juſtice to the merchants, generoſity to the inhabitants, humanity to the allies, and, in ſhort, doing all manner of good offices to every body; by which he gained the love and admiration of all the *Sicilians*, *who decreed greater honours to him at his departure, than*

Midd. p. 62.

Vid. Orat. Cottæ in fragm. Salluſt.

Pro. Planc. 26.

[1] We have no account of the preciſe time of CICERO's marriage, which was celebrated moſt probably in the end of the preceding year, immediately after his return to *Rome*, when he was about thirty years old; it cannot be placed later, becauſe his daughter was married the year before his Conſulſhip, *at the age of thirteen*; though we ſuppoſe her to be born this year, on *the fifth of Auguſt*, which is mentioned to be *her birth-day*. Nor is there any thing certain delivered of the family, or condition of his wife TERENTIA; yet from her name, her great fortune, and her ſiſter FABIA's *being one of the veſtal virgins*, we may conclude, that ſhe was nobly deſcended. Midd. p. 59.

they

Y. of R. 690. *they had ever decreed before to any of their chief governors* [m].

When

p. 64. [m] Before he left *Sicily* he made the tour of the iſland, to ſee every thing in it that was curious, and eſpecially the city of *Syracuſe*, which had always made the principal figure in its hiſtory. Here his firſt requeſt to the magiſtrates, who were ſhewing him the curioſities of the place, was, to let him ſee *the tomb of* ARCHIMEDES, whoſe name had done ſo much honour to it; but to his ſurprize he perceived, that they knew nothing at all of the matter, and even denied that there was any ſuch tomb remaining; yet as he was aſſured of it beyond all doubt, by the concurrent teſtimony of writers, and remembered the verſes inſcribed, and that there was a *Sphere* with a *Cylinder* engraved on ſome part of it, he would not be diſſuaded from the pains of ſearching it out. When they had carried him therefore to the gate, where the greateſt number of their ſepulchres ſtood, he obſerved, in a ſpot overgrown with ſhrubs and briers, a ſmall column, whoſe head juſt appeared above the buſhes, *with the figure of a Sphere and Cylinder upon it: this, he preſently told the company, was the thing they were looking for, and ſending in ſome men to clear the ground of the brambles and buſhes, he found the inſcription alſo which he expected; though the latter part of all the verſes were effaced.* Thus, ſays he, *one of the nobleſt cities of* Greece, *and once likewiſe the moſt learned, had known nothing of the monument of its moſt deſerving and ingenious citizen, if it had not been diſcovered to them by a native of* Arpinum. At the expiration of his year he took leave of the *Sicilians*, by a kind and affectionate ſpeech, aſſuring them of his protection in all their affairs at *Rome*; in which he was as good as his word, and continued ever after their conſtant patron, to the great benefit and advantage of the province.

Tuſc. Queſt. 5. 3.

He came away extremely pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his adminiſtration; and flattering himſelf, that *all* Rome *was celebrating his praiſes, and that the People would readily grant him every thing that he deſired*; in which imagination he landed at *Puteoli*, a conſiderable port adjoining to *Baiæ*, the chief city of pleaſure in *Italy*, where there was a perpetual reſort of the rich and the great, as well for the delights of the ſituation, as the uſe of its baths and hot waters. But here, as himſelf pleaſantly tells the ſtory, he was not a little mortified by the firſt friend whom he met, *who aſked him, how long he had left* Rome, *and what news there?* He anſwered, *I came from the Provinces:* From AFRIC, I ſuppoſe, ſays another? *No*, (replying with ſome indignation) *I came from* SICILY. A third who ſtood by, and had a mind to be thought wiſer, ſaid preſently, *How! did not you know that* CICERO *was Queſtor of* SYRACUSE? [which he was not, but of *Lilybæum*.] Upon which, perceiving it in vain to be angry, he fell into the humour of the place, and made himſelf one of the company, who came to the waters. This mortification gave ſome little check to his ambition, or taught him, however, how to apply it more ſucceſsfully; and did him more good, he ſays, than if he had received all the compliments

When five years from the time of his election to the Quæſtorſhip were almoſt elapſed, which was the proper interval preſcribed by Law, before he could hold the next office of *Tribune* or *Ædile* (thro' one of which it was neceſſary to paſs in his way to the ſuperior dignities) he choſe to drop the *Tribunate*, as being ſtripped of its ancient power by the late ordinance of SYLLA, and began to make intereſt for the *Ædileſhip*, while HORTENSIUS, at the ſame time, was ſuing for the *Conſulſhip*. CICERO had employed all this interval in a cloſe attendance on the *Forum*, and a perpetual courſe of pleading, which greatly advanced his intereſt in the City; eſpecially when it was obſerved, that *he ſtrictly complied with the law*; *by refuſing*, *not only to take fees*, *but to accept even any preſents*, in which the generality of patrons were leſs ſcrupulous. Midd. p. 74. Brut. p. 40. Plut. in Cic.

As he had now devoted himſelf to a life of buſineſs and ambition, ſo he omitted none of the uſual arts of recommending himſelf to popular favour, and facilitating his advancement to the ſuperior honours. He thought it abſurd, *that when every little artificer knew the name and uſe of all his tools*, *a ſtateſman ſhould neglect the knowledge of men*, *who were the proper inſtruments with which he was to work:* He made it his buſineſs therefore to learn *the name*, *the place*, *and the condition of every eminent Citizen*; *what eſtate*, *what friends*, *what neighbours*, *he had*; *and could readily point out their ſeveral houſes*, *as he travelled through* Italy [a]. Midd. p. 76. Plut. in Cic.

He

pliments that he expected. For it made him reflect, that the People at *Rome* had dull ears, but quick eyes; and that it was his buſineſs to keep himſelf always in their ſight; nor to be ſo ſolicitous how to make them hear of him, as to make them ſee him: So that from this moment he reſolved to ſtick cloſe to the Forum, and to live perpetually in the view of the City; nor to ſuffer either his porter, or his ſleep, to hinder any man's acceſs to him. *Pro Plancio*, 26.

[a] This knowledge, which is uſeful in all popular governments, was peculiarly neceſſary at *Rome*; where the People having much to give, expected to be much courted; and where their high ſpirits and privileges placed them, as much above the rank of all other Citizens, as the grandeur of the Republic exceeded that of all other States: ſo that every one who aſpired to any public dignity, kept *a ſlave or two in his family* Midd. p. 76. Vid. de petit. Conſ. xi.

He was now in his *thirty-ſeventh year* (683,) when he was declared *Ædile* (as he was before elected *Quæſtor*) *by the unanimous ſuffrage of all the Tribes, and preferably to all his competitors.*

Cic. in Piſon.

This Magiſtracy gave a precedence in the Senate, or a priority of voting and ſpeaking next after the *Conſuls* and *Prætors*; and *was the firſt that qualified a man to have a picture, or ſtatue of himſelf, and conſequently enobled his family.* After CICERO's election to the *Ædile-ſhip*, but before his entrance into the office, he undertook the famed proſecution of C. VERRES, the late *Prætor of* Sicily, which has been already ſpoken of in the preceding pages of this work [b].

Midd. p. 79.

In Verr. 5. 14.

Vid. ſupr. p. 296. & ſeq.

From

Midd. p. 76.

family, whoſe ſole buſineſs *was to learn the names, and know the perſons of every Citizen at ſight, ſo as to be able to whiſper them to his maſter as he paſſed through the ſtreets*, that he might be ready *to ſalute them all familiarly, and ſhake hands with them as his particular acquaintance.*

Hor Epiſt. 1. 6.

Plutarch ſays, *that the uſe of theſe Nomenclators was contrary to the Laws; and that* CATO *for that reaſon, in ſuing for the public offices, would not employ any of them, but took all that trouble upon himſelf.* But notion is fully confuted by CICERO, who in his oration for *Muræna* rallies the abſurd rigour of CATO's *Stoical* principles, and their inconſiſtency with common life, from the very circumſtance of his having a *Nomenclator*.—"What do you mean, ſays he, by keeping a *Nomencla-*"*tor?* The thing itſelf is a mere cheat: For if it be your duty to "call the Citizens by their names, it is a ſhame for your ſlave to "know them better than yourſelf.—Why do you not ſpeak to them "before he has whiſpered you? Or after he has whiſpered, why do "you ſalute them as if you knew them yourſelf? Or when you have "gained your election, why do you grow careleſs about ſaluting them "at all? All this, if examined by the rules of ſocial life, is right; but "if by the precepts of your philoſophy, very wicked." [*Pro Muræna*, 36.] As for CICERO himſelf, whatever pains he is ſaid to have taken in this way, it appears from ſeveral paſſages in his letters, that he conſtantly had *a Nomenclator at his elbow* on all public occaſions. *Ad Attic.* 4. 1.

Plut. in Cic.

Midd. p. 87.

[b] In the firſt conteſt (there mentioned) with *Cæcilius*, CICERO eſtimates the damages of the *Sicilians* at above 800000 pounds; but this was a computation at large, before he was diſtinctly informed of the facts: for after he had been in *Sicily*, and ſeen what the proofs actually amounted to, he charged them at ſomewhat leſs than half that ſum; which gave occaſion, as *Plutarch* intimates, to a ſuſpicion of ſome corruption, or connivance, in CICERO, for ſuffering ſo great an abatement of the fine: But, if there was any abatement at all, it muſt

Divin. in Cæcil.

Cic. in Verr. 1. 18.

From the *concluſion* of his orations againſt *Verres* [the five laſt of which were *never ſpoken*] we may obſerve, that CICERO's vigour in this cauſe had drawn upon him the envy and ill-will of the Nobility: which was ſo far, however, from moving him, that in open defiance of it he declares, *That the Nobles were natural enemies to the virtue and induſtry of all new men; and as if they were of another race and ſpecies could never be reconciled, or induced to favour them by any obſervance, or good offices whatever:* That for his part therefore, like many others before him, he would purſue his own courſe, and make his way to the favour of the People, and the honours of the State, by his diligence and faithful ſervices, without regarding the quarrels to which he might expoſe himſelf. That if in this trial the Judges did not anſwer the good opinion which he had conceived of them, he was reſolved to proſecute, not only thoſe who were actually guilty of corruption, but thoſe too who were privy to it: and if any ſhould be ſo audacious as to attempt by power or artifice to influence the bench, and ſcreen the criminal, he would call him to anſwer for it before the People, and ſhew himſelf more vigorous in purſuing him, than he had been even in proſecuting *Verres*.

Vid. ſupr. p. 298. Midd. p. 88.

In Verr. 5. 71.

From the impeachment of *Verres*, CICERO entered upon the *Ædileſhip*[c], [year of *Rome* 684.] and after the

Midd. p. 117.

muſt needs have been by the conſent of all parties, out of regard, perhaps, to *Verres*'s ſubmiſſion, and ſhortening the trouble of the proſecutors: For it is certain, that, ſo far from leaving any imputation of that ſort upon CICERO, it highly raiſed the reputation both of his abilities and integrity, as of one, whom neither money would bribe, nor power terrify, from proſecuting a public oppreſſor; and the *Sicilians* ever after retained the higheſt ſenſe of his ſervices, and, on all occaſions, teſtified the utmoſt zeal for his perſon and intereſts.

[c] In one of his ſpeeches he gives us a ſhort account of the duty of it: "I am now choſen *Ædile*, ſays he, and am ſenſible of what is "committed to me by the *Roman* People: I am to exhibit with the "greateſt ſolemnity the moſt ſacred ſports of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*; "am to appeaſe and conciliate the mother *Flora* to the People "and City of *Rome*, by the celebration of the public games; am to "furniſh out thoſe ancient ſhews, the firſt, which were called *Roman*, "with

Midd. p. 111. In Verr. 5. 14.

Y. of R. 690. the uſual interval of two years from the time of his being choſen *Ædile*, he offered himſelf a candidate for the *Prætorſhip*, but the City was in ſuch a ferment all this ſummer [A. U. 686.] that there was like to be no election at all: the occaſion of it aroſe from the publication of ſome new Laws, which were utterly diſliked, and fiercely oppoſed by the SENATE. The firſt of them was that of *Gabinius*, in favour of POMPEY. The conſequences of this motion have been already related.

Vid. ſupr. p. 312.

Midd. p. 121. A ſecond Law was publiſhed by L. OTHO, *for the aſſignment of diſtinct ſeats in the theatres to the Equeſtrian order*, who uſed before to ſit promiſcuouſly with the populace [d].

C. COR-

" with all poſſible dignity and religion in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, " *Minerva*; am to take care alſo of all the ſacred edifices, and indeed " of the whole City," &c. The People were paſſionately fond of all theſe games and diverſions; and the public allowance for them being but ſmall, according to the frugality of the old Republic, the Ædiles ſupplied the reſt at their own coſt, and were often ruined by it. For every part of the empire was ranſacked for what was rare and curious, to adorn the ſplendor of their ſhews: The Forum in which they were exhibited was uſually beautified with porticos, built for the purpoſe, and filled with the choiceſt ſtatues and pictures which *Rome* and *Italy* afforded. CICERO reproaches *Appius* for draining *Greece* and the iſlands of all their furniture of this kind, for the ornament of his Ædileſhip: And *Verres* is ſaid to have ſupplied his friends HORTENSIUS and METELLUS with all the fine ſtatues of which he had plundered the provinces.

Pro Dom. ad Pont. 43. Aſcon.

SEVERAL of the greateſt men of CICERO's time had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an extraordinary expence, and magnificence in this Magiſtracy; LUCULLUS, SCAURUS, LENTULUS, HORTENSIUS, and C. ANTONIUS; who, though expelled ſo lately from the Senate, entertained the City this year with ſtage-plays, whoſe ſcenes were covered with ſilver; in which he was followed afterwards by MURÆNA; yet J. CÆSAR outdid them all; and in the ſports exhibited for his father's funeral, made the whole furniture of the theatre of ſolid ſilver, ſo that wild beaſts were then firſt ſeen to tread on that metal. CICERO obſerved the rule which he preſcribed afterwards to his ſon, of an expence agreeable to his circumſtances, ſo as neither to hurt his character by a ſordid illiberality, nor his fortunes by a vain oſtentation of magnificence; ſince the one, by making a man odious, deprives him of the power of doing good; the other, by making him neceſſitous, puts him under the temptation of doing ill.

De off. 2. 16.

Pro Muræn.

Plin. Hiſt. N. 33. 3.

De off. 2. 17.

Pro Muræn. 19.

[d] By this Law, *fourteen rows of benches, next to thoſe of the Senators were*

C. CORNELIUS alſo, another Tribune, puſhing forward a third Law, of a graver kind, *to prohibit bribery in elections, by the ſanction of the ſevereſt penalties:* The rigour of it highly diſpleaſed the SENATE, whoſe warm oppoſition raiſed great diſorders in the City; ſo that all other buſineſs was interrupted, the elections of Magiſtrates adjourned, and the *Conſuls* forced to have a guard. The matter, however, was compounded, by moderating the ſeverity of the penalties in a new Law offered by the *Conſuls*, which was accepted by CORNELIUS, and enacted in proper form, under the title of the *Calpurnian Law*, from the name of the Conſul, C. CALPURNIUS PISO. CICERO ſpeaks of it ſtill *as rigorouſly drawn*; for beſides a pecuniary fine, it rendered the guilty *incapable of any public office, or place in the Senate.* This CORNELIUS ſeems to have been a brave and honeſt Tribune: He publiſhed another Law, *to prohibit any man's being abſolved from the obligation of the Laws, except by the authority of the People*; which part of the old conſtitution had long been uſurped by the SENATE, *who diſpenſed with the Laws by their own decrees, and thoſe often made clandeſtinely, when a few only were privy to them.* The SENATE, being *reſolved not to part with ſo valuable a privilege*, prevailed with another Tribune to inhibit the publication of it when it came to be read; upon which CORNELIUS took the book from the clerk,

Dio. l. 36. c. 18. Pro Muræn. 23. Midd. p. 122.

were to be appropriated to their uſe; by which he ſecured to them, as CICERO ſays, *both their dignity and their pleaſure.* The Senate obtained the ſame privilege of *ſeparate ſeats*, one hundred and twenty-ſeven years before, in the ſecond Conſulſhip of SCIPIO AFRICANUS (A. U. 559) *which highly diſguſted the People, and gave occaſion* (ſays *Livy*) *as all innovations are apt to do, to much debate and cenſure; for many of the wiſer ſort condemned all ſuch diſtinctions in a free City, as dangerous to the public peace: and* SCIPIO *himſelf afterwards repented, and blamed himſelf for ſuffering it.* Pro Cornel. 1. Fragment. ex Aſconio. [Liv. l. 34. 54.] Val. Max. 2. 4. OTHO's Law, we may imagine, gave ſtill greater offence, as it was a greater affront to the People to be removed yet farther from what of all things they were fondeſt of, *the ſight of plays and ſhews:* It was carried however by the authority of the Tribune, and is frequently referred to by *the Claſſic writers*, as an act very memorable, and what made much noiſe in its time. *Hor. Ep.* 4. 15. *Juv.* 3. 159.

Y. of R. 690. and read it himſelf. This was irregular, and much inveyed againſt *as a violation of the rights of the Tribunate*; ſo that CORNELIUS was once more forced to compound the matter by a milder Law, forbidding the SENATE *to paſs any ſuch decrees, unleſs when two hundred Senators were preſent.* Theſe diſturbances, however, proved the occaſion of an unexpected honour to CICERO, by giving him a more ample and public teſtimony of the People's affection; for *in three different Aſſemblies convened for the choice of Prætors, two of which were diſſolved without effect, he was declared every time the firſt Prætor, by the ſuffrages of all the Centuries.*

Aſc. Arg. pro Corn.

Pro. Leg. Manil. 1.

CICERO's conduct, during his Prætorſhip[e], in the affair

[e] The buſineſs of the Prætors was to preſide and judge in all cauſes, eſpecially of a public, or criminal kind, where their ſeveral juriſdictions were aſſigned to them by lot: And it fell to CICERO *to ſit upon actions of extortion and rapine, brought againſt Magiſtrates and Governors of provinces*; in which, he tells us himſelf, *he had acted as an Accuſer, ſat as a Judge, and preſided as Prætor.* In this office he acquired a great reputation of integrity by the condemnation of *Licinius Macer*, a perſon of *Prætorian dignity and great eloquence, who would have made an eminent figure at the bar, if his abilities had not been ſullied by the infamy of a vicious life.* "This man, as *Plutarch* relates it, depending "upon his intereſt, and the influence of CRASSUS, who ſupported "him with all his power, was ſo confident of being acquitted, that, "without waiting for ſentence, he went home to dreſs himſelf; and, "as if already abſolved, was returning towards the court in a white "gown, but being met on his way by CRASSUS, and informed, that "he was condemned by the unanimous ſuffrage of the bench, he "took to his bed, and died immediately." The ſtory is told differently by other writers: "That *Macer* was actually in the court "expecting the iſſue; but perceiving CICERO ready to give judg-"ment againſt him, he ſent one to let him know that he was dead, "and ſtopping his breath at the ſame time with a handkerchief, inſtantly expired; ſo that CICERO did not proceed to ſentence, by "which *Macer*'s eſtate was ſaved to his ſon *Licinius Calvus*," an orator afterwards of the firſt merit and eminence. But from CICERO's own account it appears, that after treating *Macer* in the trial *with great candour and equity, he actually condemned him with the univerſal approbation of the People.*

Midd. p. 124. In Verr. Act 1. 8. Pro Corn. 1. Fragm. Pro Rabir. Poſt. 4. Brut. 252. Val. Max. 9. 12. Plut. Cic. Ad Att. 1. 4.

[f] Though he had full employment as *Prætor*, both in the affairs of State and Public trials, yet he found time ſtill to act the *Advocate*, as well as the *Judge*, and not only to hear cauſes in his own Tribunal, but to plead them alſo at the Tribunals of the other Prætors. He now defended

affair of the MANILIAN Law, has been already * related. * Vid. ſup. p. 318.

When his Magiſtracy was juſt at end, MANILIUS, whoſe *Tribunate* expired a few days before, was accuſed before him of *rapine and extortion*; and though *ten days* were always allowed to the criminal, to prepare for his defence, he appointed the very next day for the trial. This ſtartled and offended the Citizens, who generally favoured MANILIUS, and looked upon the proſecution as the effect of malice and reſentment, on the part of the Senate, for his Law in favour of POMPEY. The Tribunes therefore called CICERO to an account before the People, for treating MANILIUS ſo roughly; who, in defence of himſelf, ſaid, *that as it had been his practice to treat all criminals with humanity, ſo he had no deſign of acting otherwiſe by* MANILIUS, *but, on the contrary, had appointed that ſhort day for the trial, becauſe it was the only one of which he was maſter; and that it was not the part of thoſe, who wiſhed well to* MANILIUS, *to throw off the cauſe to another Judge.* This made a wonderful change in the minds of the audience, who, applauding his conduct, deſired, that he would undertake *the defence of* MANILIUS, to which he conſented, *and ſtepping up again into the* ROSTRA, *laid open the ſource of the whole affair, with many ſevere reflections upon the enemies of* POMPEY. The trial, however, was dropped on account of the tumults[g] which aroſe immediately after in the City, from ſome new incidents of much greater importance. Midd. p. 130. Plut. in Cic.

defended *A. Cluentius*, a *Roman* Knight of ſplendid family and fortunes, accuſed, before the Prætor *Q. Naſo*, *of poiſoning his father-in-law*, Oppianicus, who, a few years before, had been *tried and baniſhed for an attempt to poiſon* Cluentius. The oration, which is extant, lays open a ſcene of ſuch complicated villainy, *by poiſons*, *murder*, *inceſt*, *ſuborning witneſſes*, *corrupting Judges*, as the poets themſelves have never feigned in any one family; all contrived by the mother of *Cluentius*, againſt the life and fortunes of her ſon. Pro Cluen.

He is ſuppoſed to have defended ſeveral other criminals this year, though the pleadings are now loſt, and particularly *M. Fundanius*.

g This relates to a conſpiracy ſaid to have been formed at this time againſt the State, of which more hereafter.

Midd. p. 132. Pro Muræn. 2.

CICERO, at the expiration of his *Prætorſhip*, would not accept any *foreign province*, the uſual reward of that Magiſtracy.—The glory which he purſued, was to ſhine in the eyes of the City. And he was now preparing to ſue for the Conſulſhip, the great object of all his hopes; and his whole attention was employed how to obtain it in his proper year, and without a repulſe. Two years were to intervene [contrary to SYLLA's Law*] between the *Prætorſhip* and *Conſulſhip*; the firſt of which was uſually ſpent in forming a general intereſt, and ſoliciting for it as it were in a private manner; the ſecond in ſuing for it openly, in the proper form and habit of a candidate. The affection of the City, ſo ſignally declared for him in all the inferior ſteps of honour, gave him a ſtrong preſumption of ſucceſs in his preſent pretenſions to the higheſt: but as he had reaſon to apprehend a great oppoſition from the *Nobility*, who looked upon the public dignities *as a kind of birthright*, and could not brook their being intercepted, and snatched from them by *new men*; ſo he reſolved to put it out of their power to hurt him, by omitting no pains which could be required of a candidate of viſiting and ſoliciting all the Citizens in perſon. At the election therefore of the Tribunes on the ſixteenth of *July* [688] where the whole City was aſſembled in the field of *Mars*, he choſe to make his firſt effort, and to mix himſelf with the croud, on purpoſe to careſs and ſalute them familiarly by name: And as ſoon as there was any vacation in the Forum, which happened uſually in *Auguſt*, he intended to make an excurſion into the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and in the character of a Lieutenant to *Piſo*, the governor of it, to viſit the towns and colonies of that province, which was reckoned very ſtrong in the number of its votes, and ſo return to *Rome* in *January* following.

*Vid. ſup. p. 241.

In Verr. 5. 70.

Ad. Att. 1. 1.

He wrote about the ſame time[b] to ATTICUS, then at

Midd. p. 134.

Midd. p. 137.

[b] CICERO was now engaged in the defence of C. CORNELIUS, who

at *Athens*, to desire him to engage all that band of POMPEY's dependants, who were serving under him in the *Mithridatic* war, and, by way of jest, bids him tell POMPEY himself, *that he would not take it ill of him, if he did not come in person to his election.*

CICERO being now in his *forty-third year*, the proper age required by Law, declared himself a candidate for the Consulship, with six competitors; P. SULPICIUS GALBA, L. SERGIUS CATILINA, C. ANTONIUS, L. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Q. CORNIFICIUS, and C. LICINIUS SACERDOS. The two first were *Patricians*, the two next *Plebeians*, yet *Noble*[1], the two last, the sons of fathers, *who had first imported the public honours into their families*: CICERO was the only *new man* among them, or one born of Equestrian rank. CORNIFICIUS and GALBA were persons of great virtue and merit; SACERDOS without any particular blemish upon him; CASSIUS lazy and weak, but not thought so wicked as he soon after Philip. 5. 17. Midd. p. 140.

who was accused and tried *for practices against the State in his late Tribunate*, before the Prætor *Q. Gallius*. This trial, which lasted four days, was one of the most important in which he had ever been concerned: The two Consuls presided in it, and all the chiefs of the Senate, Q. CATULUS, L. LUCULLUS, HORTENSIUS, &c. *appeared as* witnesses *against the criminal*; whom CICERO defended, as *Quintilian* says, *not only with strong but shining arms*, and with a force of eloquence that drew *acclamations from the People* [N. B. The names of the *witnesses* are sufficient to make us know the *real crimes* of CORNELIUS, if we only turn back to the Laws he had published when *Tribune*, p. 405. Ascon. Arg lib. 8. 3.

He published two orations spoken in this cause, whose loss is a public detriment to the literary world, since they were reckoned among the most finished of his compositions: He himself refers to them as such; and the old criticks have drawn many examples from them of that genuine eloquence, which *extorts applause, and excites admiration.* Orat. 67. 70.

C. Papius, one of the Tribunes, published a Law this year *to oblige all strangers to quit the City*, as one of his predecessors, *Pennus*, had done likewise many years before him: the reason which they alledge for it was the confusion occasioned by *the multitude, and insolence of foreigners, who assumed the habit and usurped the rights of Citizens* *: But CICERO condemns all these Laws as *cruel and inhospitable, and a violation of the Laws of nature and humanity.* * De Off. 3. 11.

[1] Many of the *Plebeians* surpassed the *Patricians* themselves in point of *Nobility*: For the character of *Nobility* was wholly derived from the *Curule Magistracies* which any family had born. *Vid. Ascon. Arg. in Tog. candid.*

ap-

appeared to be; ANTONIUS and CATILINE, *though infamous in their lives and characters, yet by intrigue and faction had acquired a powerful intereſt in the City, and joined all their forces againſt* CICERO, as their moſt formidable Antagoniſt, in which they were vigorouſly ſupported by CRASSUS and CÆSAR.

Aſco. Arg. in Tog. Cand. This was the ſtate of the competition in which the practice of bribing was carried on ſo openly and ſhamefully by ANTONIUS and CATILINE, that the Senate thought it neceſſary to give ſome check to it, by a new and more rigorous Law; but when they were proceeding to publiſh it, *L. Mucius Oreſtinus*, one of the Tribunes, put his negative upon them.

Midd. p. 145. As the election of Conſuls approached, CICERO's intereſt appeared to be ſuperior to that of all the candidates: For the Nobles themſelves, though always envious, and deſirous to depreſs him, yet out of regard to the dangers which threatened the City from many quarters, and ſeemed ready to burſt out into a flame, began to think him the only man of the preſent candidates qualified to preſerve the Republic, and break the cabals of the deſperate, by the vigour and prudence of his adminiſtration: For *in caſes of danger*, as SALLUST obſerves, *pride and envy naturally ſubſide, and yield the poſt of honour to virtue.* The method of chuſing Conſuls was not by an open vote, but by a kind of *ballot, or little tickets of wood*, diſtributed to the Citizens, with the names of the candidates ſeverally ſubſcribed upon each: But in CICERO's caſe, the People were not content with this ſecret and ſilent way of teſtifying their inclinations; but before they came to any ſcrutiny, *loudly and univerſally proclaimed* CICERO *the firſt Conſul*; ſo that, as he himſelf declared in his ſpeech to them after his election, *he was not choſen by the votes of particular Citizens, but the common ſuffrage of the City; nor declared by the voice of the crier, but of the whole* Roman *People.* He was *the only new man*, who had obtained this ſovereign dignity, or, as he expreſſes it, *had forced the intrenchments of the Nobility for forty years paſt, from the firſt Conſulſhip of* C. MARIUS, *and the only one likewiſe*

Sall. 23.

De Leg. Agr. con. Rull. 2. 2. In Piſon. 1.

wiſe who had ever obtained it in his proper year, or without a repulſe. De Leg. Agr. ib. 1, 2.

ANTONIUS was choſen his collegue, by the majority of a few Centuries, above his friend and partner CATILINE.

CICERO's firſt care, after his election[k], was to gain the good will of his collegue, and to draw him from his old engagements to the intereſt of the *Ariſtocratical Faction* [which our orator calls the *Republic*.] To this end, he tempted him with a kind of argument, that ſeldom fails of its effect with men of ANTONIUS's character, the offer of power to his ambition, and of money to his pleaſures: In ſhort, a bargain was preſently agreed upon between them, that ANTONIUS ſhould have *the beſt of the provinces, which had been aſſigned to the Conſuls of that year.*—By which addreſs, CICERO gained him ſo entirely, as to have him ever after obſequious to his will. Sall. Bell. Cat. 26.

There was another project which he had likewiſe much at heart, *to unite the Equeſtrian order with the Senate into one common party and intereſt.* This body of men, next to the Senators, conſiſted of the richeſt [and moſt knaviſh] Citizens of *Rome*, who, being the conſtant farmers of all the revenues of the empire, had a great part of the inferior People dependent upon them. CICERO imagined, that the united weight of theſe two orders [*Conſpiratio omnium* BONORUM] would always be an over-balance to any other power in the State, and a ſecure barrier againſt any attempts of the POPULAR [whether men of inordinate ambition, or true Republicans, friends of the old conſtitution, upon the uſurped prérogatives of the Senate.] He was the only man in the City capable of effecting ſuch a coalition, being now at the head of the *Senate*, yet the darling or In Piſon. 3. Midd. p. 152. In Cat. 4. 10. Ibid.

[k] CICERO's father died this year (689) on the 24th of *November*. In this year alſo, moſt probably, CICERO gave his daughter TULLIA *in marriage, at the age of thirteen, to* C. PISO FRUGI, a young Nobleman of great hopes, and one of the beſt families in *Rome*: It is certain, at leaſt, that *his ſon was born* in this ſame year, for he tells us it was in the Conſulſhip of L. JULIUS CÆSAR and C. MARCIUS FIGULUS. Ad. Att. 1. 6. Ad. Att. 1. 2.

the

the *Knights*, who conſidered him as the pride and ornament of their order; whilſt he, to ingratiate himſelf the more with them, affected always in public to boaſt of that extraction, and to call himſelf an *Equeſtrian*; and made it his ſpecial care to protect them [right or wrong, as we ſhall ſee hereafter] in all their affairs, and to advance their credit and intereſt: ſo that, as ſome writers tell us, *it was the authority of his Conſulſhip, that firſt diſtinguiſhed and eſtabliſhed them into a third order of the State.* The policy was certainly very good, with reſpect to CICERO's views, for through the year of his Conſulſhip he had the whole body of Knights at his devotion, *who, with* ATTICUS *at their head, conſtantly attended his orders, and ſerved as a guard to his perſon:* And if the ſame maxim had been purſued by all ſucceeding Conſuls, it might probably have preſerved the liberty of the Republic [*i. e.* the anti-conſtitutional uſurped power of the Senate] from being ſo ſoon overthrown.

Plin. Hiſt. N. l. 33. 2.

Ad Att. 2. 1.

The *Tribunes* entered always into their office *on the* tenth *of* December; the *Conſuls* on the *firſt* of *January*. A little before CICERO's inauguration, P. SERVILIUS RULLUS, one of the new Tribunes, had been alarming the Senate with *the promulgation of an* Agrarian *Law*. The purpoſe of it was, *to create a Decemvirate, or ten commiſſioners, with abſolute power for five years over all the revenues of the Republic; to diſtribute them at pleaſure to the Citizens; to ſell and buy what lands they thought fit; to determine the rights of the preſent poſſeſſors; to require an account from all the generals abroad, excepting* POMPEY, *of the ſpoils taken in their wars; to ſettle colonies whereſoever they judged proper, and particularly at* Capua; *and, in ſhort, to command all the money and forces of the empire.*

Midd. p. 153--161.

The publication of a Law, conferring powers ſo exceſſive, gave a juſt alarm to all who wiſhed well to the public tranquillity. As ſoon therefore as CICERO was inveſted with his new dignity, he raiſed the ſpirits of the SENATE, *by aſſuring them of his reſolution to oppoſe the Law, and all its abettors, to the utmoſt of his power;*

nor

nor ſuffer the Senate *to be hurt, or its liberties to be impaired, while the adminiſtration continued in his hands.* From the SENATE he purſued the *Tribune* into his own dominion, the *Forum*; where in an artful and elegant ſpeech from the *Roſtra*, he gave ſuch a turn to the inclination of the People, that *they rejected this* Agrarian *Law with as much eagerneſs, as they had ever before received one.* Contr. Rull. 2. 37.

He began, "By acknowledging the extraordinary obligation he had received from them, in preference and oppoſition to the Nobility; *declaring himſelf the* creature *of their* power, *and of all men the moſt engaged to promote* their *intereſts*; that they were to look upon him as *the truly popular Magiſtrate*; nay, that *he had declared even in the* SENATE, *that he would be the* PEOPLE'S CONSUL." He then fell into *a commendation of the* GRACCHI, whoſe name was extremely dear to them, profeſſing, "That *he could not be againſt all* Agrarian *Laws, when he recollected, that thoſe* TWO MOST EXCELLENT MEN, *who had the greateſt love for the* Roman *People*, had divided the public lands to the Citizens; *that he was not one of thoſe Conſuls, who thought it a crime to praiſe the* GRACCHI, *on whoſe counſels, wiſdom, and laws, many parts of the preſent government were founded:* That his quarrel was to the particular Law, which inſtead of being popular, or adapted to the true intereſt of the City, was, in reality, the eſtabliſhment of a tyranny, and a creation of ten kings to domineer over them all." This he diſplays at large, from the natural effect of that power which was granted by it; and proceeds to inſinuate, *that* it was covertly *levelled at their favourite* POMPEY, and particularly *contrived to retrench and inſult* his *authority*. "Forgive me, Citizens, for my calling ſo often upon SO GREAT A NAME: you yourſelves impoſed the taſk upon me, when I was *Prætor* *, to join with you in defending his dignity, as far as I was able: I have hitherto done all that I could do: *not moved to it by my private friendſhip for the man,* Ibid. 3. Contr. Rull. 5. Ib. 6. 11. 13. 14. Ib. 18. * Vid. ſupr. p. 318.

"*nor*

" *nor by any hopes of honour, and of this ſupreme Magiſ-*
" *tracy, which I obtained from you, though with* HIS AP-
" PROBATION, *yet without his help.* Since then, I per-
" ceive, this Law to be deſigned, as a kind of engine
" to overturn HIS POWER, I will reſiſt the attempts of
" theſe men; and, as I myſelf clearly ſee what they
" are aiming at, ſo I will take care that you alſo ſhall
" ſee, and be convinced of it too." He then ſhews,
" how the law, though it excepted POMPEY from being
" accountable to the *Decemvirate*, yet excluded him
" from being one of the number, by limiting the choice
" to thoſe who were preſent at *Rome*; that it ſubjected
" likewiſe to their juriſdiction the countries juſt con-
" quered by him, which had always been left to the ma-
" nagement of the General:" Upon which he draws a pleaſant picture of the Tribune RULLUS, with all his train of Officers, Guards, Lictors, and Apparitors, ſwaggering in MITHRIDATES's kingdom, and ordering POMPEY to attend him by a mandatory letter in the following ſtrain:

" P. SERVILIUS RULLUS, Tribune of the People,
" *Decemvir*, to CNÆUS POMPEY, the ſon of CNÆUS,
" greeting.

Contr. Rull. 20. 23. (" He will not add, the title of GREAT, when he has
" been labouring to take it from him by Law.)

" *I require you not to fail to come preſently to* Sinope,
" *and bring me a ſufficient guard with you, while I ſell thoſe*
" *lands by my Law, which you have gained by your va-*
" *lour.*"

He obſerves, " That the reaſon of excepting POMPEY
" was not from any reſpect to him, but for fear he ſhould
" not ſubmit to the indignity of being accountable to
" their will: But POMPEY (ſays he) *is a man of that tem-*
" *per, that he thinks it his duty to bear what you pleaſe to*
" *impoſe; but if there be any thing which you cannot bear*
" *yourſelves*, he *will take care that you ſhall not bear it*
" *long againſt your wills*[a]." He proceeds to enlarge up-

[a] Is it poſſible to obſerve the many ſtrokes of flattery to POMPEY in this ſpeech, without feeling an utter contempt for the ſpeaker, a Patriot Conſul?

on

on " the dangers which this Law threatened to their Contr.
" liberties: that inſtead of any good intended by it to Rull. 28.
" the body of the Citizens, its purpoſe was to erect a 32.
" power for the oppreſſion of them; and on pretence of
" planting colonies in *Italy* and the provinces, to ſettle
" their own creatures and dependants, like ſo many gar-
" riſons, in all the convenient poſts of the empire, to
" be ready on all occaſions to ſupport their tyranny:
" That *Capua* was to be their head-quarters, their fa-
" vourite colony; of all cities the proudeſt, as well as
" the moſt hoſtile and dangerous, in which the wiſdom
" of their anceſtors would not ſuffer the ſhadow of any
" power or magiſtracy to remain; yet now it was to
" be cheriſhed and advanced to another *Rome:* That
" by this Law the lands of *Campania* were to be ſold or
" given away, the moſt fruitful of all *Italy*, the ſureſt
" revenue of the Republic, and their conſtant reſource
" when all other rents failed them; which neither the
" GRACCHI, *who, of all men, ſtudied the People's benefit* lb. 29.
" *the moſt*, nor SYLLA, who gave every thing away with-
" out ſcruple, durſt venture to meddle with." In the
concluſion he takes notice " of the great favour and ap-
" probation with which they had heard him, as a ſure
" omen of their common peace and proſperity; and
" acquaints them with the concord that he had eſta-
" bliſhed with his collegue, as a piece of news of all
" other the moſt agreeable, and promiſes all ſecurity to
" the Republic, if they would but ſhew the ſame good
" diſpoſition on future occaſions, which they had ſigni-
" fied on that day; and that he would make thoſe ve-
" ry men, who had been the moſt envious and averſe
" to his advancement, confeſs, that the People had ſeen
" farther, and judged better than they, in chuſing him
" for their Conſul."

In the courſe of this conteſt he often called upon the lb. 2. 28.
Tribunes *to come into the* Roſtra, *and debate the matter* 3. 1 & 2.
with him before the People; but they thought it more
prudent to decline the challenge, and attack him rather by
ſcedulouſly inſinuating to the multitude, " That his op-
" poſition

" poſition to the Law flowed from no good will to them, " but an affection to SYLLA's party, and to ſecure to " them the lands which they poſſeſſed by his grant; that " he was making his court by it to the ſeven tyrants, " as they called ſeven of the principal Senators, who " were known to be the greateſt favourers of SYLLA's " cauſe, and the greateſt gainers by it;" the two LUCULLUS's, CRASSUS, CATULUS, HORTENSIUS, METELLUS, PHILIPPUS. Theſe inſinuations made ſo great an impreſſion on the City, that he found it neceſſary to defend himſelf againſt them in a ſecond ſpeech to the People, in which he declared, " That he looked upon " the Law, which ratified all SYLLA's acts, to be of all " Laws the moſt wicked, and the moſt unlike to a true " Law, as it eſtabliſhed a tyranny in the City; yet, " that it had ſome excuſe from the times, and, in their " preſent circumſtances, ſeemed proper to be ſupport- " ed; eſpecially by HIM, who, for this year of his Con- " ſulſhip, *profeſſed himſelf the patron of peace*; but that " it was the height of impudence in RULLUS to charge " him with obſtructing their intereſts for the ſake of " SYLLA's grants, when the very Law, which that Tri- " bune was then urging, actually eſtabliſhed and per- " petuated thoſe grants, and ſhewed itſelf to be drawn " by a ſon-in-law of VALGIUS, who poſſeſſed more lands " than any other man by that invidious tenure, which " were all by this Law to be partly confirmed, and part- " ly purchaſed of him." This he demonſtrates from the expreſs words of the Law, " which he had ſtudiouſ- " ly omitted (he ſays) to take notice of before, that he " might not revive old quarrels, or move any argu- " ment of new diſſenſion *in a ſeaſon ſo improper:* That " RULLUS therefore, who accuſed him of *defending* SYL- " LA's *acts*, was, of all others, *the moſt impudent defender* " of them: For *none had ever affirmed them to be good* " *and legal, but to have ſome plea only from poſſeſſion, and* " *the public quiet*; but by this Law the eſtates, that had " been granted by them, were to be fixed upon a bet- " ter foundation, than any other eſtates whatſoever." He concludes, " by renewing his challenge to the Tri-

" bunes

" bunes to come and diſpute with him to his face." But after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, finding themſelves wholly unable to contend with him, they were forced at laſt to ſubmit, and to let the affair drop, to the great joy of the SENATE.

This alarm being over, another accident broke out, which might have endangered the peace of the City, if the effects of it had not been prevented by the authority of CICERO. OTHO's Law, mentioned above, for the aſſignment of *ſeparate ſeats for the Equeſtrian order* *, had highly offended the People, who could not digeſt the indignity of being thruſt ſo far back from their diverſions; and while the grudge was ſtill freſh, OTHO, happening to come into the theatre, was received by the Populace with *an univerſal hiſs*, but by the Knights, *with loud applauſe and clapping:* Both ſides redoubled their clamour with great fierceneſs, and from reproaches were proceeding to blows, till CICERO, informed of the tumult, came immediately to the theatre, and calling the people out into the temple of BELLONA, *ſo tamed and ſtung them by the power of his words* [b], *and made them*

* Vid. ſupr. p. 404.

[b] The ſpeech was ſoon after publiſhed, though from the nature of the thing it muſt have been made upon the ſpot, and flowed extempore from the occaſion; and as it was much read and admired for ſeveral ages after, as a memorable inſtance of CICERO's *command over men's paſſions*, ſo ſome have imagined it to be alluded to in that beautiful paſſage in VIRGIL,

' Ac veluti magno in populo cum ſæpe coörta eſt
' Seditio, ſævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
' Jamque faces & Saxa volant, furor arma miniſtrat:
' Tum pietate gravem & meritis ſi forte virum quem
' Aſpexère, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus adſtant;
' Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet.' VIRG. Æn. I. 152.

As when ſedition fires th' ignoble crowd,
And the wild rabble ſtorms and thirſts for blood;
Of ſtones and brands a mingled tempeſt flies,
With all the ſudden arms that rage ſupplies:
If ſome grave ſire appears amidſt the ſtrife,
In morals ſtrict and innocence of life,
All ſtand attentive, while the ſage controuls
Their wrath, and calms the tempeſt of their ſouls. Mr. PITT.

them ſo aſhamed of their folly and perverſeneſs, that on their return to the theatre they turned their hiſſes into applauſes, and vied with the Knights themſelves in demonſtrations of their reſpect to OTHO.

There happened about the ſame time a third inſtance, not leſs remarkable, of CICERO's great power of perſuaſion. SYLLA had by an expreſs law "excluded the
Vell. Pat. l. 2. 28. "children of the proſcribed from the Senate, and all "public honours;" which was certainly an act of great violence, and "the decree rather of a tyrant than the "Law of a free State:" So that the perſons injured by it, who were many, and of great families, were now making all their efforts to get it reverſed. Their petition was highly equitable, but, by CICERO and the Ariſtocratical faction, cenſured as highly unreaſonable, in the preſent diſorders of the City: And why? Becauſe, without queſtion, the firſt uſe, that they would naturally make of the recovery of their privileges, would be to revenge themſelves on their oppreſſors. It was CICERO's buſineſs therefore to prevent that inconvenience, and, as far as it was poſſible, with the conſent of the ſufferers themſelves: On which occaſion *this great commander of the human affections*, as *Quintilian* calls him, found means to perſuade thoſe unfortunate men, "that "to bear their injury was their benefit; and that the "government itſelf could not ſtand, if SYLLA's Laws "were then repealed, on which the quiet and order of "the public were eſtabliſhed."—The three caſes juſt mentioned make *Pliny* break out into a kind of rapturous admiration of the man, "who could perſuade the "People to give up their bread, their pleaſure, and their "injuries[c], to the charms of his eloquence."

Another

Macrob. Sat. 2. 10. One topic, which CICERO touched in the ſpeech, and the only one of which we have any hint from antiquity, was to reproach the rioters for their want of taſte and good ſenſe, *in making ſuch a diſturbance while* Roſcius *was acting*.

[c] This laſt mentioned effect of CICERO's eloquence, muſt ſurely appear to an unprejudiced reader as *incredible*, as it is extraordinary. Did CICERO, to induce the petitioners to withdraw their petition, employ the

Another tranſaction of moment in which he was engaged, a little before the laſt mentioned, was the defence of *C. Rabirius*, a Senator, accuſed, by the Tribune *Labienus*, of treaſon * or rebellion, for having killed L. SATURNINUS, a Tribune, about thirty-ſeven years before, who had cauſed a dangerous ſedition in the City. The fact, if true, had been done in conſequence of a decree of the Senate, by which all the Citizens were required to take arms in aid of the Conſuls C. MARIUS and L. FLACCUS.

* *Per duellionem.*

Vid. ſupr. p. 134. ad ann. 653.

It is highly probable, that to puniſh *Rabirius* was not the thing aimed at[d]; (nor to vindicate the character or proceedings of SATURNINUS;) but to attack that *af-*

the ſame arguments which ſwayed him to oppoſe it? Did he ſay to them, "You had better deſiſt from your purſuit: For ſhould you obtain a reſtoration of your privileges, you would naturally make uſe of the grant to revenge yourſelves on your oppreſſors?" In a ſpeech made ſeveral years afterwards he declared, "That he had excluded from honours a number of brave and honeſt young men, whom fortune had thrown into ſo unhappy a ſituation, that if they had obtained power, they would probably have employed it to the ruin of the State." Suppoſing this to have been CICERO's opinion, *that they would have ſo employed their power*—did he deliver this opinion to them as the reaſon of his oppoſing their requeſt?

In Piſon. 2.

Or did he tell them, "That their injury was their benefit; for that the government itſelf could not ſtand, if SYLLA's iniquitous Law relating to them were repealed?" Would it not have been a moſt intolerable impertinence (not to ſay impudence) after POMPEY had repealed the moſt material and important of all SYLLA's Laws, without ruining the State, or doing it any real miſchief, to ſpeak "of the quiet and order of the Republic, as depending on the maintenance of SYLLA's Laws?" (many of which, beſide the Law relating to the Tribunes, had without ceremony, or any inconvenience, been violated.) Doubtleſs, if the petitioners were prevailed upon by *words* to deſiſt a while from their purſuit, it muſt have been by a "promiſe to do them juſtice, ſo ſoon as the preſent alarm, cauſed by the rumour of a dreadful conſpiracy, ſhould be over."

[d] "Jus omne retinendæ majeſtatis Rabirii cauſa continebatur." [Cic. in Oratore.] "Non enim C. Rabirium culpa delicti," non invidia, vitæque turpitudo, non denique veteres, juſtæ graveſque inimicitiæ civium, in diſcrimen capitis vocaverunt: "Sed ut illum ſummum auxilium majeſtatis, atque imperii, quod nobis a majoribus eſt traditum, de Republica tolleretur! ut nihil poſthac auctoritas Senatus, nihil conſulare imperium, nihil conſenſio bonorum contra peſtem ac perniciem Civitatis valeret." Cic. pro Rab. c. 1.

ſumed prerogative of the *Senate*, by which, in the caſe of a ſudden commotion, they uſed to arm the City at once, by requiring the Conſuls *to take care, the Republic received no detriment:* Which vote, it was pretended, gave a ſanction to every thing that was done in conſequence of it. The practice of thus inveſting the Magiſtrates with ſo extraordinary a power commenced in the early times of the Republic; and tho' the firſt inſtance of it was on the occaſion of a great and ſudden danger from a foreign enemy, the example was afterwards followed in caſes of domeſtic feuds and diſturbances, but "had been always complained of by the "Tribunes as an infringement of the conſtitution, by "giving to the Senate an arbitrary power over the lives "of Citizens, which could not legally be taken away "without a hearing and judgment of the whole Peo-"ple:" And, indeed, experience had ſhewed, that by ſuch a vote the Tribunes themſelves, whoſe perſons the Laws had made ſacred, were expoſed to be cut off without ſentence or trial, and even when engaged in the moſt laudable meaſures for the public good.

Vid. Vol. II. ad ann. 289.

This point, therefore, was to be tried on the perſon of *Rabirius*. The *Duumviri*, or two Judges for this trial, according to *Suetonius*, were drawn by lot, and C. JULIUS CÆSAR, who the ſame author tells us had inſtigated [e] *Labienus* to begin the proſecution, happened to be

[e] By ſome paſſages in *Cic. pro Rabir.* it appears, that *Labienus* pretended at leaſt to commence the proſecution, in order *to revenge the death of his uncle*, who was ſlain in company with SATURNINUS.

In this affair there were two circumſtances which deſerve notice. The firſt is, that SATURNINUS, after he had ſurrendered himſelf, was killed, *contrary to the will* of the Conſul MARIUS, and in violation of the *public faith* pledged to him by MARIUS. Now unleſs the extraordinary commiſſion of *Dent operam*, &c. from the Senate to the Conſuls, empowered them only to kill, not to ſpare, MARIUS was free to pledge the *public faith* to SATURNINUS; and, when that had been done, it was highly criminal in any private Citizen to kill him, how ſlagitious ſoever his conduct had been. It appears, that *Labienus* had urged *this* in his accuſation: For CICERO thus anſwers: "If, as you "have very often affirmed, any promiſes of indemnity were made to "SATURNINUS, they were made, not by *Rabirius*, but by MARIUS, "and,

Guthrie's Tranſlat.

be one of the two: LUCIUS J. CÆSAR was the other, according to *Dio*, who reports that they were both named by the *Prætor*[f]. HORTENSIUS pleaded the cauſe of the accuſed, and proved (as CICERO affirms) by many witneſſes, *that* SATURNINUS *was actually killed* by the hand of a ſlave, who for that ſervice obtained his freedom from the Republic. The Judges, however, condemned *Rabirius*; whereupon he appealed from their ſentence to the PEOPLE. CICERO pleaded his cauſe before the *Centuries*, but was not ſuffered, by the proſecutor, to ſpeak above half an hour. He opened the defence with great gravity, declaring, "that in the memory of man there had not been a cauſe of ſuch im- Midd. p. 164.

"and, if they were broken, that breach is to be imputed to him. "What promiſe could paſs? Who could make any promiſe but by a "reſolution of the Senate? Are you ſo much a ſtranger to this City? "Are you ſo very ignorant of our government and conſtitution, as to "be ignorant of that?" *&c.*

The force of this anſwer I ſhall leave to the reader's conſideration.

The other circumſtance (of which CICERO takes no notice) is that "RABIRIUS carried about from houſe to houſe, in a triumphant and "moſt inſulting manner, the head of SATURNINUS;" which proceeding ought naturally to make *Rabirius* be conſidered as more maliciouſly concerned, than any other perſon in the murder. "MARIUS ſenatus "conſulto armatus Saturninum & Glauciam in Capitolium perſequutus "obſedit——in deditionem accepit: nec deditis fides ſervata——Ca"put ejus [Saturnini] Rabirius quidam Senator per convivia in ludibrium "circumtulit." Aurel. Vict. cap. 73.

[f] M. *Crevier*, to reconcile, as well as he can, theſe differing accounts, conjectures, that the two Judges were *drawn by lot, by a Prætor.*

The Jeſuit *Catrou* writes, that though "it properly belonged to the "*Duumviri* to try the cauſe in the firſt inſtance, it was brought before "the *Prætor*, and CÆSAR got himſelf nominated to be *one of the Præ*"*tors aſſeſſors*; but that CICERO unriddled the affair, *brought the cauſe* "*before the People, and got* Rabirius *acquitted.*" Now both *Suetonius* and *Dio* agree in this, that *the accuſed* brought the affair, *by appeal*, before the PEOPLE: Neither of them ſay that he was acquitted. Nay, *Dio* ſays, he would certainly have been condemned, if any ſentence had been given; which if true, it is hard to gueſs what *Suetonius* means by ſaying, that nothing was of ſo much ſervice to the accuſed, at his trial before the PEOPLE, as the forward ſeverity of the Judge who had condemned him. "[CÆSAR] ſorte judex in reum ductus, tam cupide condemnavit, ut ad populum provocanti nihil æque ac judicis acerbitas profuerit:" For it does not appear, that any ſervice was done him, but by the *Prætor*, who contrived to diſſolve the Aſſembly. Hiſt. Rom. l. lxi. p. 1.

" portance, either undertaken by a Tribune, or de-
" fended by a Conſul: That nothing leſs was meant by
" it, than that for the future there ſhould be no Senate
" or public council in the City; no conſent and concur-
" rence of the HONEST, againſt the rage and raſhneſs of
" the wicked; no reſource or refuge in the extreme
" dangers of the Republic —He wiſhes, that he had
" been at liberty to confeſs what HORTENSIUS indeed
" had proved to be falſe, that SATURNINUS, the enemy
" of the *Roman* People, was killed by the hand of *Ra-*
" *birius*—— That he ſhould have proclaimed and boaſt-
" ed of it, as an act that merited reward inſtead of pu-
" niſhment —Here he was interrupted by the clamour
" of the oppoſite faction; but he obſerves it to be the
" faint effort of a ſmall part of the Aſſembly; and that
" the body of the People, who were ſilent, *would never*
" *have made him Conſul, if they had thought him capable*
" *of being diſturbed by ſo feeble an inſult*; which he ad-
" viſed them to drop, ſince it betrayed only their folly,
" and the inferiority of their numbers[g].—The Aſſembly
" being quieted, he goes on to declare, that though
" *Rabirius* did not kill SATURNINUS, yet, together with
" the Conſuls and all the beſt of the City, he took arms
" with intent to kill him, to which his honour, virtue,
" and duty, called him.—That to charge *Rabirius* with
" this crime, was to condemn the greateſt and worthi-
" eſt Citizens whom *Rome* had ever bred; and though
" they were all dead, yet the injury was the ſame to
" rob them of the honour due to their names and me-
" mories[h]." To this he added many oratorical flou-
riſhes

[g] It would give great light to the hiſtory of theſe times, if we could know the *dates* of the *publication* of CICERO's ſpeeches. We may well doubt, whether the Orator was really ſo *ſtout*, on this occaſion, as he repreſents himſelf: His cajoling the multitude by ſuch an extravagant ſtrain of panegyric upon C. MARIUS [whom at other times he ſpeaks of as the moſt villainous of all villains] would naturally make one diſbelieve his venturing to reproach the *popular faction* with the *inferiority* of their numbers in the preſent Aſſembly; and eſpecially if (as *Dio* reports) they were the *majority*.

[h] There is one particular in CICERO's ſpeech on this occaſion, in which

it

riſhes concerning fame and glory and immortality, and in praiſe of MARIUS, "one of the wiſeſt, as well as "braveſt of the *Roman* heroes, whoſe ſpirit, worthy for "its holineſs to be worſhipped, he calls to witneſs how "much he thinks himſelf obliged to vindicate and fight "ſtrenuouſly for the renown of all ſuch meritorious he-"roes:" But all this was to very little purpoſe, if we may believe *Dio*; for the People would have condemned the criminal, had not METELLUS CELER, at that time Augur and Prætor, contrived by a [l] ſtratagem to diſſolve the Aſſembly before they came to vote: and *Labienus* did not afterwards revive the proſecution, tho' he was free to do it [k].

it may, to ſome readers, be difficult to diſcern the ſkill of the orator. His chief purpoſe, as we have ſeen, was to maintain that *aſſumed prerogative* of the SENATE, whereby, whenever they pleaſed to think it neceſſary or convenient, they gave an abſolute uncontroulable power to the Conſuls, by the vote *Dent operam*, &c. and yet in this very oration, he makes a new * and a fine encomium on CAIUS GRACCHUS, who was murdered, together with 3000 Citizens, by the Conſul OPIMIUS, in conſequence of the Senate's exerting the ſaid ASSUMED PREROGATIVE. *Vid. ſupr. p. 414, 415.

[l] The Aſſemblies by Centuries were in ſome ſenſe military, the People being under arms, and drawn up in line of battle. They were held in the field of *Mars* without the City, which might therefore in the early times, when *Rome* was weak, and had but a very ſmall territory, be expoſed to a ſudden incurſion of their neighbours: To obviate which danger, a guard was poſted, and an enſign planted upon the *Janiculum*; and theſe continued there ſo long as the Aſſembly laſted, the ſoldiers, who formed the guard at firſt, being relieved by others who had given their votes. This precaution was no longer neceſſary at the time of which we are ſpeaking, but was retained through a ſuperſtitious regard to an ancient uſage; and the Aſſembly could decree nothing legally, but while the banner was ſeen flying. METELLUS haſtened to the *Janiculum*, and cauſed the enſign to be taken down; and the Aſſembly of courſe broke up. Vid. Vol. IV. B. vi. ch. x. Dio. l. 37. 42.

[k] By the iſſue of this affair, as well as from the paſſage above cited [p. 419. note [d]] of CICERO's ſpeech, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that no deſign had been formed againſt the life of *Rabirius*; and if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture, concerning the view of the popular Faction in this proſecution, I ſhould ſay, it was to deter the Conſul and his friends, *in this very time of alarm*, from having recourſe to the old, but dangerous expedient, of *Dent operam conſules*, &c. and if CICERO had paid more regard to the admonition, it might have been better for him, and for the public tranquillity.

Middl. p. 228.

CICERO made a new Law this year to correct the abuſe of a privilege, called *Legatio Libera*, that is, an honorary legation or embaſſy, granted arbitrarily by the Senate to any of its members, when they travelled abroad on their private affairs, in order to give them *a public character, and a right to be treated as Ambaſſadors, or Magiſtrates*; which, by the inſolence of theſe great gueſts, was become a grievous burden upon all the ſtates and cities through which they paſſed. CICERO's *deſign was to aboliſh it*, but being driven from that *by one of the Tribunes*, he was content *to reſtrain the continuance of it*, which before was unlimited, *to the term of one year*.

De Leg. 3. 8.

It was about this time that the news came from the Eaſt, of POMPEY's having happily finiſhed the long war in that part of the world, by the taking of * *Jeruſalem*. The honours decreed him by the Senate, at the motion of CICERO, have been related †; and it is not to be doubted, that the Conſul, by his zeal on this occaſion, attached to him more firmly than ever POMPEY's friends; of whoſe ſupport in the exerciſe of his Magiſtracy he foreſaw he ſhould very ſoon ſtand in need [1].

*Vid. ſup. p. 385.

†Vid. ſup. p. 389.

And

[1] It has been related above that CICERO, by a promiſe to his collegue ANTONIUS, of yielding to him the beſt of the provinces aſſigned to them, had engaged him not to obſtruct the meaſures of his adminiſtration. It was the cuſtom for the Senate to appoint what particular provinces were to be diſtributed every year to the ſeveral Magiſtrates, who uſed afterwards to caſt lots for them among themſelves; the Prætors for the Prætorian, the Conſuls for the Conſular provinces. In this partition, therefore, when *Macedonia*, one of the moſt deſirable governments of the empire for command and wealth, fell to CICERO's lot, he exchanged it immediately with his collegue for *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which he reſigned afterwards to Q. METELLUS. CICERO, in a letter to ATTICUS [Lib. 2. Ep. 1.] mentions an oration he made to the PEOPLE, on occaſion of his reſigning his pretenſions to this province; and ſpeaks of that oration as the *ſixth* of his *ten Conſular orations*. [*Sexta cum provinciam in concione depoſui.*] The *two firſt* were againſt RULLUS's *Agrarian* Law. The *third* concerning OTHO. The *fourth* in defence of RABIRIUS. The *fifth* concerning *the children of the Proſcribed*. The ſeventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, againſt CATILINE. It was probably, therefore, after his defence of *Rabirius*, that he

And now he took the opportunity, which his Conſu- Y. of R. lar authority gave him, of acquiring *the friendſhip and ſupport* of [m] LUCULLUS, whom probably he thought he might at this time oblige, without diſobliging his rival, whoſe conqueſts were finiſhed, and whoſe glory was complete. 690.

LUCULLUS was ſoliciting the demand of a triumph for his victories over MITHRIDATES; in which purſuit he had been obſtructed for three years ſucceſſively by the intrigues of ſome of the Magiſtrates, who, by putting this affront upon him, paid their court to POMPEY. By the Law and Cuſtom of the Republic, no General, while he was in actual command, could come within the gates of *Rome*, without forfeiting his commiſſion, and conſequently all pretenſions to a triumph; ſo that LUCULLUS continued all this time in the ſuburbs, till the affair was decided. The Senate favoured his ſuit, and were ſolicitors for him, but could not prevail, till CICERO's authority at laſt helped to introduce his triumphal car [n] into the City; making him ſome amends by Midd. p. 229. Plut. in Luc. Academ. l. 2. 4.

he made this reſignation. At what time he caſt lots with his collegue, is not ſaid. By CAIUS GRACCHUS's Law relating to the Senate's appointment of the provinces to the Conſuls and Prætors, the Senate was annually to name the provinces *before the elections* of the Magiſtrates. [*Cic. de Prov. Conſ.* 2. *pro Dom.* 9. *Sall. de Bell. Jug.* 29. 47.] Vid. V. IV. B. vi. ch. 10.

[m] L. LUCULLUS cum victor a Mithridatico bello revertiſſet, inimicorum calumnia triennio tardius, quàm debuerat, triumphavit. Nos enim Conſules introduximus pene in urbem currum clariſſimi viri: *Cujus mihi Conſilium & auctoritas quid tum in maximis rebus profuiſſet, dicerem, niſi de me ipſo dicendum eſſet.* Cic. in Luc.

[n] The pomp of this triumph was not remarkable for the quantity of ſpoils, or number of priſoners. The chief fruits of LUCULLUS's victory were in the hands of POMPEY. A gold ſtatue of MITHRIDATES, ſix feet high, a ſhield adorned with precious ſtones, and abundance of gold and ſilver plate, together with 2700000 drachmas in coined ſilver, were the moſt ſhining part of the ſhew. But there were alſo written ſcrolls, on which were ſet down the ſums with which LUCULLUS had ſupplied POMPEY for the war with the Pirates, and thoſe he had remitted at different times to the Quæſtors. He had likewiſe given 950 drachmas to each of his ſoldiers. Plut. in Luc. l. s. d. 30 13 6½

He gave a feaſt to the whole People, at which above 100000 caſks (containing twelve gallons each) of *Greek* wine were conſumed. He adorned

Y. of R. 690. by this ſervice for the injury of the *Manilian* Law, which had deprived him of his government. After his triumph, he entertained the whole *Roman* People with a ſumptuous feaſt, and was much careſſed by the Nobility, as one whoſe authority would be a proper check to the ambition and power of POMPEY: but having now obtained all the honours, which he could reaſonably hope for, and obſerving the turbulent and diſtracted ſtate of the City, he withdrew himſelf, not long after, from public affairs, to ſpend the remainder of his days in a polite and ſplendid retreat. He was a generous patron of learning, and himſelf eminently learned, ſo that his houſe was the conſtant reſort of the principal ſcholars and wits of *Greece* and *Rome*; where he had provided a well-furniſhed library, with porticos and galleries annexed, for the convenience of walks and literary conferences, at which he himſelf uſed frequently to aſſiſt; giving an example to the world of a life truly noble and elegant, if it had not been ſullied by too great a tincture of *Aſiatic* ſoftneſs, and *Epicurean* luxury.

Plut. in Luc.

WE COME NOW to the famed CONSPIRACY, of which SALLUST has written the hiſtory, and which is the ſubject of a great part of CICERO's writings. He had intimations of it, in the very beginning of his Magiſtracy, but it did not break out till towards the end of his year.

In order to a more perfect knowledge of this part of the *Roman* ſtory, it will be proper to give ſome account of the life and fortunes of CATILINE, the contriver of the intended miſchief, together with a character of the man, as formed upon a view of his conduct *prior* to that wicked conſpiracy: and becauſe the METHOD taken to avert the impending evil was *extraordinary*, and *not univerſally approved*, and was *attended with very momentous conſequences*, it may likewiſe be proper to acquaint ourſelves more particularly, than we have hither-

Ibid. adorned the public places and buildings with a great number of ſtatues, but the moſt valuable thing which he brought from the Eaſt, was the Cherry-tree, unknown till then in *Europe*, but which grew in *Pontus* without cultivation.

to

to done, with the principal perſons, who, in the Senate appeared in oppoſition to each other on this occaſion. SALLUST mentions but three who made ſpeeches, the Conſul CICERO, CÆSAR, and CATO. Of the firſt a good deal has already been ſaid; but we ſhall become better acquainted with him, by the following brief *hiſtories of* CÆSAR and CATILINE *to the time of the wicked conſpiracy of the latter.* And becauſe *the hiſtories* of theſe two *Romans* have, in ſome parts of them, a connexion with each other, it may be beſt to place them together, immediately before SALLUST's account of the diſcovery of the plot, and give firſt *the hiſtory of* CATO *to that time*, which has no connexion, or very little, with either of the other, and is inſerted here only to make us know the character he *then* bore.

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO, commonly called CATO *Minor*, or CATO of *Utica*, was great grandſon of CATO the *Cenſor*, and deſcended from a ſon which the *Cenſor* had, in his old age, by a ſecond wife, the daughter of one of his clients. CATO of *Utica* had, by both father and mother's ſide, one ſiſter, named *Porcia*. His mother by a former marriage had a ſon, whoſe name was *Servillus Cæpio* (for whom CATO's fraternal affection was not leſs remarkable than that of LUCULLUS for *his* brother) and ſeveral daughters, of whom the moſt known was the mother of BRUTUS[o]. Plut. Cat. Min. Vid. ſupr. p. 324.

It is ſaid of CATO, that from his infancy he diſcovered by his ſpeech, his countenance, and even his childiſh ſports and recreations an inflexibility of mind; for he would force himſelf to go through with whatever he had undertaken, though the taſk was ill ſuited to his ſtrength: He was rough towards thoſe that flattered him, and quite untractable[p] when threatened; was rarely ſeen

[o] All theſe lived together, and were bred up in the houſe of *Livius Druſus*, their uncle by their mother, a man of weight in the government at that time.

[p] When CATO was a child, the *Italian* allies ſolicited for the freedom of the City; *Pompedius Silo*, one of the deputies, and who had contracted a friendſhip with *Druſus*, lodged at his houſe for ſeveral days, in which time being grown familiar with the children, he ſaid to them,

A. R. ſeen to laugh, or even to ſmile; not eaſily provoked to anger, but, if once incenſed, hard to be pacified.

SYLLA, having had a friendſhip with the father of CATO, ſent often for him and his brother, and talked familiarly with them. CATO, who was then about fourteen years of age, ſeeing the heads of great men brought thither, and obſerving the ſighs of thoſe that were preſent, aſked his Præceptor, *Why does no body kill this man?—Becauſe*, ſaid the other, *He is feared more than he is hated.* The boy replied, *Why then did not you give me a ſword, when you brought me hither, that I might have ſtabbed him, and freed my country from this ſlavery.*

Plut. in Cat.

He learnt the principles of the Stoic philoſophy (which ſo well ſuited his character) under *Antipater* of *Tyre*, and applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of it. Eloquence he likewiſe ſtudied, as a neceſſary means to defend the cauſe of Juſtice; and he made a very conſiderable proficiency in that ſcience. To increaſe his bodily ſtrength, he inured himſelf to ſuffer the extremes of heat and cold; and uſed to make journeys on foot, and bare headed, in all ſeaſons. When he was ſick, patience and abſtinence were his only remedies: he ſhut himſelf up, and would ſee no body till he was well. Tho' remarkably ſober in the beginning of his life, making it his rule to drink but once after ſupper, and then retire, he inſenſibly contracted a habit of drinking more freely, and of ſitting at table till morning. His friends endeavoured to excuſe this, by ſaying, that the affairs of the public engroſſed his attention all the day, and that, being ambitious of knowledge, he paſſed the night

Plut. in Cat. them, *Well, will you deſire your uncle to befriend us in our buſineſs? Cæpio* ſmiling, ſeemed to conſent; but CATO made no anſwer, only he looked ſtedfaſtly and ſternly upon the ſtranger: *And you*, ſaid Pompedius, *will not you, as well as your brother, interceed with your uncle in our behalf?* CATO ſeeming by his ſilence and by his look to reject their petition, *Pompedius* ſnatched him up, and, holding him out of the window, ſhook him ſeveral times, threatening to let him fall, if he would not comply: the boy remained unmoved and ſeemingly unconcerned: whereupon *Pompedius*, ſetting him down again, ſaid ſoftly to his friends, "were this child a man, I believe we ſhould not gain "one voice among the People."

at

at table in the converſation of [tipling [q]] philoſophers. CÆSAR wrote, that CATO was once found dead drunk at the corner of a ſtreet by a great number of people, who were going early in the morning to the levée of ſome great man; and that when, by uncovering his face they perceived who it was, they bluſhed for ſhame, *You would have thought*, added CÆSAR, that CATO *had found them drunk, not they him. Pliny* obſerves, that by this reflection, CÆSAR praiſes his enemy, at the ſame time that he blames him. And *Seneca* (his extravagant panegyriſt) ventures to aſſert, that it is eaſier to prove drunkenneſs to be a virtue, than CATO to be vicious. He affected ſingularity, and, in things indifferent, to act directly contrary to the taſte and faſhions of the age, [which ſome hold to be a ſure mark of a flaw in the underſtanding.] Magnanimity and conſtancy are generally aſcribed to him; and *Seneca* would fain make that haughtineſs and contempt for others, which, in CATO, accompanied thoſe virtues, a matter of praiſe. CATO, ſays *Seneca*, having received a blow in the face, neither took revenge nor was angry; he did not even *pardon the affront*, but *denied that he had received it:* His virtue raiſed him ſo high, that injury could not reach him. He is reputed to have been chaſte in his youth. His firſt love was *Lepida*, but when the marriage was upon the point of being concluded, METELLUS SCIPIO, to whom ſhe had been promiſed, interfered, and the preference was given to him. This affront extremely exaſperated our Stoic: He was for going to Law with SCIPIO, and when his friends had diverted him from that deſign, by ſhewing him the ridicule of it, he revenged himſelf by making verſes upon his rival. When this firſt flame ſubſided, he married *Atilia*, the daughter of *Serranus*, had two children by her, and then divorced her for her very indiſcreet conduct.

Plin. Ep. 3. 12.

Sen. de Tranq. Vit. 15. Plut.

Sen. de Conſtan. Sap. c. 15. Plut.

It has been already mentioned, that he ſerved as a volunteer under *Gellius* in the war of *Spartacus*, and

Vid. ſupr. p. 282.

[q] *Cato vino laxabat animum, curis publicis fatigatum.* Sen. de Tranq. Vitæ c. 15.

when

Y. of R. 690. when military rewards were offered him by the commander, refuſed them, becauſe he thought he had no title to them.

Some years after, he went a Legionary Tribune into *Macedonia*, under the Prætor *Rubrius*: In which ſtation he appeared, in his dreſs and during a march, more like a private ſoldier than an officer; but the dignity of his manners, the elevation of his ſentiments, and the ſuperiority of his views, ſet him far above thoſe, who bore the titles of Generals and Proconſuls. It is ſaid that CATO's deſign in all his behaviour, was to engage the ſoldiers to the love of virtue; whoſe affections he engaged thereby to himſelf, without having that in his intention. For the ſincere love of virtue (adds *Plutarch*) implies an affection for the virtuous. Thoſe who praiſe the worthy without loving them, pay homage to their glory; but are neither admirers, nor imitators of their virtues.

When the time of his ſervice expired, and he was leaving the army, the ſoldiers were all in tears, ſo effectually had he gained their hearts by his condeſcending manners, and ſharing in their labours [as MARIUS had uſed to do.]

Before he returned to *Rome*, he reſolved to make the tour of *Aſia* (where POMPEY then was, at the head of the *Roman* armies) not only to ſee that fine country, but to acquaint himſelf with the manners of its inhabitants, and be an eye-witneſs of the condition of its ſtates and provinces. In the courſe of his travels he came to *Antioch*, curious to ſee one of the fineſt cities of the Eaſt. When not far from it, he perceived, without the gates, a multitude of people in white habits, and, on both ſides of the way, young perſons and children ranged in order. He imagined, that this was intended for his reception; which diſpleaſed him: for he did not affect pomp and ceremony. He was travelling on foot according to his conſtant cuſtom, but his friends being on horſeback, he ordered them to diſmount, in civility to thoſe, who he believed were come out with a deſign to do him honour, [Among them were

Plut. in Pomp. & in Cat.

were the Prieſts, and the Magiſtrates of the city.] But when he was at ſome ſmall diſtance, the perſon who had ranged the multitude in order, having a crown upon his head, and a ſtaff in his hand, came forwards, and aſked him, *where he had left* Demetrius [POMPEY's freedman] *and whether he would ſoon arrive?* On that queſtion, the friends of CATO burſt out into a loud laugh; but, for himſelf, ever ſerious and auſtere, he went on, without anſwering one word to the man who had queſtioned him; but cried out, *Oh wretched city*[r]*!* Vid. ſupr. p. 386. in the note.

We are told, that CATO coming to make his compliments to POMPEY at *Epheſus* [no body knows when] that General ran to meet him, and gave him the higheſt praiſes both while preſent, and after he was withdrawn; but did not preſs his worthy gueſt to ſtay with him, as he uſed to do other young *Romans*. Plut. in Cat.

After his return home he was choſen to the Quæſtorſhip, and had ſcarce entered upon his charge, when he made a grat reformation in the Quæſtor's office, and particularly with regard to the *Regiſters*. Id. ibid.

Theſe *Regiſters*, whoſe places were for life, and through whoſe hands inceſſantly paſſed the public accounts, being to act under young Magiſtrates unexperienced in buſineſs, aſſumed an air of importance; and, inſtead of aſking orders from the Quæſtors, pretended to direct and govern, as if they themſelves were the Quæſtors. CATO reduced them to their proper ſphere. One of theſe fellows had the protection of CATULUS, then CENSOR[s], whom he engaged to go to the Quæſtor's office to ſolicit for him. As CATULUS lived in friendſhip with CATO, and was of the ſame faction, he doubt-

[r] *Julian*, the Apoſtate, revived the reproach, ſeveral ages afterwards, againſt the inhabitants of *Antioch*, when he was angry with them. *Julian, Miſopog.*

[s] The other CENSOR, was CRASSUS. Theſe Magiſtrates diſcharged no one function belonging to their office. A diſpute aroſe between them, in relation to the people of *Gallia Tranſpadana*, to whom CRASSUS, ſupported by CÆSAR, was for granting the freedom of the City. CATULUS oppoſed the deſign; and the collegues agreed in nothing, but the reſolution to abdicate their office; which they actually did. *Plut. in Craſſ. & Suet. in Cæſ.*

ed

A. U. C. of R. 690. ed not of ſucceſs in his application. But the Quæſtor remonſtrated to him, that the perſon, for whom he intereſted himſelf, was very criminal, having forged a will. CATULUS, nevertheleſs, ſued for favour, on his own account, to the guilty Regiſter. Hereupon CATO expoſtulated with the Patriot, on his acting a part ſo inconſiſtent with his dignity, and his virtue; but finding him ſtill perſiſt in his ſolicitation, ſaid to him, in a very different tone of voice, *It would be a great ſhame for you,* CATULUS, *if while you are* CENSOR, *and charged with the inſpection of our manners, I ſhould order my ſerjeants to turn you out of my office.* Angry and confounded, CATULUS opened his mouth, as if to reply; but having nothing reaſonable to ſay, retired ſilent and out of countenance. However, he managed ſo knaviſhly, as to ſave the Regiſter from any further puniſhment, than the loſs of his employment and ſallary.

One thing by which CATO extremely pleaſed the People, was his making the aſſaſſins, to whom SYLLA had given conſiderable rewards out of the treaſury, for murthering the proſcribed, diſgorge their gains.

Plutarch tells us, that CATO was ſo exact in performing the duties of a Senator, as to be always the firſt who came to the houſe, and the laſt who left it; and that he never quitted *Rome* during thoſe days, when the Senate was to ſit.

Nor did he fail to be preſent at every Aſſembly of the People, that he might awe thoſe who, by an ill-judged facility, beſtowed the public money in largeſſes, and frequently through mere favour granted remiſſion of debts due to the State. At firſt his auſterity and ſtiffneſs diſpleaſed his collegues, but afterwards they were glad to have his name to oppoſe to all the unjuſt ſolicitations, againſt which they would have found it difficult to defend themſelves. CATO very readily took upon him the taſk of refuſing.

The amount of all this ſeems to be, that CATO had been a ſtout, ſtubborn, ill-natured boy; that he affected ſingularity when a man; yet was capable both of friend-

friendſhip and of love; was condeſcending to his inferiors; a brave and hardy ſoldier; a good ſenator; in his principles a Stoic; in his practice chaſte and temperate, only a little given to tipling in good company; complexionally true and honeſt; and aſpiring to the character of rigid, unrelenting juſtice.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR was born in the year of *Rome* 654, in the Conſulſhip of M. ANTONIUS and A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS. The *Julian* family was *Patrician*: It had been tranſplanted from *Alba* [t] to *Rome* by king TULLIUS HOSTILIUS, and from the beginning of the Commonwealth had been adorned with the higheſt dignities. CÆSAR was in his ſixteenth year when he loſt his father, of whom all that we know is, that he had been Prætor, and that he died ſuddenly one morning while putting on his ſhoes. CÆSAR's mother was *Aurelia*, a lady of merit, and of a very noble family, though *Plebeian*; ſhe is much praiſed for the care ſhe took of her ſon's education. It has been already mentioned, that in the year 671, he was in great danger of being put to death as a *Marian*, being the nephew of MARIUS's wife JULIA, and having married CINNA's daughter, whom all the tremendous power of the Dictator could not induce him to repudiate. He was ſaved through the interceſſion of the friends of his family; to whom, at the ſame time, SYLLA is ſaid to have foretold, that the youth, for whom they interceded, would one day be the ruin of their party. *Suetonius* adds, that SYLLA often admoniſhed the *Optimates* to be upon their guard againſt that looſe-girded boy.

Pigh. ad ann. 654, & 676.

Plin. vii. 53.

Auct. de Cauſ. Cor. Eloq. c. 28.

Suet. J. Cæſ. 1.

[t] It is ſaid, that the JULII traced back their origin to JULUS the ſon of ÆNEAS, and therefore, without doubt, the grandſon of VENUS. The firſt of the *Julian* family, who bore the ſurname of CÆSAR was SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR, Prætor in the year of *Rome* 545. It is generally thought that this ſurname denotes an infant, for the birth of whom it was neceſſary to cut open the mother's womb, *a Cæſo matris utero*, Plin. vii. 9. and that very dangerous and uncommon operation, called the *Cæſarian* operation, has its name from thence. According to another etymology, CÆSAR ſignifies a child born with long hair, *a Cæſarie*.

Suet. in Cæſ. 6.

Y. of R. 690. But CÆSAR, tho' he thus eſcaped being murdered by the Dictator, did not think it ſafe for him to continue in *Italy*; he paſſed into *Aſia*, made his firſt campaigns under *Minucius Thermus*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, and, at the taking of *Mitylene*, acquired the honour of a *civic* crown, which was given him by his general.

Id.

From thence he went to the army of SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, then commander againſt the pirates in *Cilicia*, but he did not ſtay long there. Upon the news of SYLLA's death he returned to *Rome*, and was very * active in obtaining an amneſty for thoſe of the *Marian* party. Following the example of young perſons deſirous of acquiring a name, he accuſed of extortion *Dolabella*, who had been Conſul in the year 672, and on his return from his government of *Macedonia* had obtained the honour of a triumph. CÆSAR produced a great number of witneſſes againſt the accuſed, and, tho' not twenty-three years of age, pleaded the cauſe in ſo maſterly a manner, that his diſcourſe was cited above a hundred years after his death, as not to be read without admiration. Nevertheleſs, HORTENSIUS and COTTA, who were then the leading men at the bar, ſaved *Dolabella* by their eloquence; and CÆSAR is ſaid to have been mortified at his failure of ſucceſs. To perfect himſelf in eloquence, he ſoon after went to *Rhodes*, to hear the leſſons of *Apollonius Molo* the rhetorician, under whom CICERO had improved his talents. In his

*Vid. ſup. p. 257.

Auct. de Cauſ. Cor. Eloq. c. 34.

[u] *Suetonius*, who ſeems to delight in expatiating on the private vices imputed to thoſe whoſe lives he writes, tells us, that CÆSAR incurably hurt his character, by his familiarity with *Nicomedes*, king of *Bithynia*, a prince of corrupt manners, to whoſe court he went twice; but that this was the only blot upon him of that ſort. *Pudicitiæ ejus famam nihil quidem præter Nicomedis contubernium læſit, gravi tamen & perenni opprobrio & ad omnium convitia expoſito.* The hiſtorian gives us many ſevere ſtrokes upon him, but they are all from perſons intereſted to diſhonour him, and whoſe malice is evident, whether they ſpoke truth or not. His gallantries, mentioned by this writer, were not what would diſtinguiſh his character from thoſe of his contemporaries; and he had CATO's teſtimony to his exemplary ſobriety. *Suet. in Cæſ.* 53.

paſſage

paſſage thither he was taken by pirates near the iſle of *Pharmacuſa*, which lies oppoſite to the city of *Miletus* in *Aſia*. To theſe robbers he behaved himſelf, though their priſoner, as if he had been their maſter. When they aſked him twenty talents for his ranſom, he laughed at them, telling them they did not know who their priſoner was; and he promiſed them fifty: After which he diſpatched moſt of his attendants to the neighbouring cities, to collect that ſum for him; and with only his phyſician, and two domeſticks, remained eight and thirty days in the power of thoſe villains, and during all that time maintained an air of command; ſo that when he laid down to ſleep, if they diſturbed him with their noiſe, he ſent them orders to be ſilent. To amuſe himſelf he compoſed verſes and oratorical diſcourſes, which he afterwards read to the pirates; and if they did not admire his performances, he called them fools and barbarians: and though he made himſelf familiar with them, and took part in their ſports and exerciſes, yet he always ſuſtained his dignity, and threatened them from time to time with crucifixion. The pirates were not diſpleaſed with his eaſy manner, and were far from taking his menaces to be ſerious. However, when he had paid them the ſum promiſed, he cauſed himſelf to be conveyed to *Miletus*, and, having there with wonderful activity fitted out all the ſmall veſſels he found in that port, came by ſurpriſe upon the pirates, who were ſtill at anchor near the iſle of *Pharmacuſa*. He ſunk ſome of their ſhips, and took others; and having put his priſoners into confinement at *Miletus*, went immediately to *Junius*, the Proconſul of *Aſia*, who was then in *Bithynia*, to aſk his orders for puniſhing them. The Proconſul, weak, avaricious, and envious of the young man's glory, anſwered, That he did not intend to have the priſoners executed, but to ſell them. CÆSAR returned to *Miletus* with all expedition, and by his own private authority, before any orders could come from the Proconſul, cauſed the pirates to be crucified as he had often threatened them he would do: Only,

Plut. in J. Cæſ.

Y. of R. 690. Only, to mitigate the puniſhment, he directed that their heads ſhould be firſt ſtruck off.

From thence he went to *Rhodes*, purſuant to his firſt deſign, but did not continue there long. MITHRIDATES was at that time ravaging the neighbouring countries: whereupon CÆSAR, that he might not appear idle and indolent, when the allies of *Rome* were threatened with danger, went over from *Rhodes* into *Aſia*, and, having aſſembled ſome troops, drove the king's lieutenant out of the province, and thereby kept the cities, that were wavering, from a revolt.

On his return to *Rome*, he employed all poſſible methods to make himſelf friends, gain the multitude, and draw all eyes upon him. He was frequently the advocate of the diſtreſſed; his manners were affable and polite, condeſcending to the loweſt of the People; and he was magnificent in his retinue and his table. His enemies imagined, that he would ſoon be ruined by his expences, and that his credit would ſoon expire with his patrimony. And indeed he was ruined as to his fortune; for before he obtained any Magiſtracy he was 2518751. thirteen hundred talents in debt; but his credit with the multitude had taken deep root. It ſeems to be agreed, that he was what is called a man of pleaſure, and was much in favour with the women. In his early youth he had an intrigue with *Servilia*, CATO's ſiſter, the mother of BRUTUS; and riper years did not put an end to it.

The firſt office which he obtained by the ſuffrages of the People, was that of *Military Tribune*, or *Tribune of the ſoldiers*, and in that poſt he ſupported, with all his credit, thoſe who were for reſtoring to *the Tribunes of the People*, all the privileges and authority, of which SYLLA had deprived them.

The *Marian* party were much delighted with his behaviour on occaſion of the funeral of his aunt JULIA, the widow of MARIUS. He made a ſpeech in praiſe of that lady in the Forum; and cauſed *images of* MARIUS to be carried in the funeral proceſſion: As no ſuch thing had been ſeen in public ſince SYLLA's Dictatorſhip,

ſhip, this boldneſs occaſioned ſome clamours, but the People anſwered them with applauſes, were tranſported with joy, and admired his courage.

At the funeral of his wife CORNELIA, the daughter of CINNA, CÆSAR increaſed the good will and affection which the People had conceived for him. It had been cuſtomary to make funeral orations upon ancient ladies; but CÆSAR was the firſt who did that honour to a young one, his deceaſed wife; and for ſo doing was now conſidered as a man eſtimable for the goodneſs of his heart, as before for a thouſand other ſhining qualities. Being Quæſtor [a] when he made theſe orations upon his aunt and wife, he ſoon after ſet out for *Spain*, to perform the buſineſs of that office, under the Prætor, or Proconſul, *Antiſtius Vetus*.

In the year 688, COTTA and TORQUATUS being Conſuls, CÆSAR was Ædile. In the games and theatrical [b] ſhews, which in this office he exhibited, according to cuſtom, he acquitted himſelf with a magnificence, that ſurpaſſed every thing of that kind, which had ever been ſeen.

To do honour to his father's memory, CÆSAR, during his Ædileſhip, entertained the People with combats of gladiators, to the number of 320 pair; and he had provided many more, but an alarm having been ſpread

Vid. ſupr. p. 403. note [c].

[a] By the *Roman* Laws, the tie between a Quæſtor and his ſuperior was ſacred. CÆSAR, faithful to this maxim, expreſſed his gratitude and friendſhip to *Vetus*, by ſhewing great kindneſs to his ſon.

It was at this time, that on ſeeing a ſtatue of *Alexander*, he is ſaid to have ſighed, and reproached himſelf for having done nothing at an age, at which the *Macedonian* had ſubjected the greater part of the world. He aſked his diſcharge, and quitted *Spain* before the time, animated with a paſſionate deſire to ſignalize himſelf, and raiſe his fortune.

[b] Among theſe ſhews there were ſome at the joint expence of himſelf and his collegue *Bibulus*, others which he gave at his own expence, and this occaſioned the honour of the whole to be aſcribed to CÆSAR; whereupon *Bibulus* is ſaid to have complained in a ſtrain of pleaſantry of his own hard fortune, ſaying, that the ſame thing had happened to him as to POLLUX, to whom, conjointly with his brother, a temple was built in the *Forum*, and that, nevertheleſs, POLLUX was univerſally forgot, the temple being never called by any other name, than the temple of CASTOR. *Suet. in Cæſ.*

Y. of R. 690. in the City, the Senate paſſed a decree to fix the number of gladiators, that ſhould be allowed to fight on theſe occaſions.

Suet. CÆSAR ſeized the opportunity which his office of Ædile gave him, to place in the Capitol, during the night, certain ſtatues of MARIUS, which he had cauſed to be made ſecretly, with victories bearing trophies, and with inſcriptions that celebrated the conqueror of the *Cimbri*. At break of day the ſplendor of theſe ſtatues, which were maſter pieces of art, and finely gilded, drew a mighty concourſe of ſpectators, and every body admired ſo bold an act, of which the author was preſently known by all the world. Many conſidered this ſtep as an enormous crime, the honours formerly done to MARIUS having been aboliſhed by the decrees of the Senate. They ſaid, it was an eſſay of CÆSAR's to try what the *Roman* People were capable of bearing, and to pave his way to the tyranny. On the other hand, the *Marians*, encouraged by an event ſo pleaſing, and ſo little expected, came flocking from all parts, and, by their number, aſtoniſhed thoſe who had imagined that party to be almoſt annihilated. The Capitol in the mean time reſounded with acclamations; many even melted into tears at the ſight of thoſe ſtatues, proſcribed from the time of SYLLA's ſovereignty; and they extolled CÆSAR to the ſkies, as a man worthy of the honour of being allied to MARIUS.

Plut. The affair was laid before the Senate, and it was upon this occaſion that CATULUS[c] ſaid, *It is time, Fathers, to take care of ourſelves: for* CÆSAR *no longer attacks the* COMMONWEALTH *by undermining and ſapping, but by open aſſaults*. Nevertheleſs, CÆSAR, by his eloquence, gained the Senate's approbation of what he had done.

Suetonius tells us, that CÆSAR having, by his ſplendid ſhews, gained the good will of the People, engaged ſome of the Tribunes to move for a decree, by which

[c] Concerning this ſententious patriot, vid. ſupr. p. 405 & 408, and more hereafter.

Egypt,

Egypt ſhould be aſſigned to him as a province [d]; and that the pretence for aſking this extraordinary commiſſion was, that the *Alexandrians* had by violence expelled their king, whom the Senate had complimented with the title of Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People [e]. As *Egypt* was not a province of the empire, it is hard to gueſs

[d] "Tentavit per partem Tribunorum, ut ſibi Ægyptus Provincia "plebiſcito daretur. *Suet.* c. 11.

[e] M. *Crevier* is of opinion, that what CÆSAR wanted, was a commiſſion for reducing *Egypt* and the iſle of *Cyprus* into a *Roman* province, and this in conſequence of a Will ſaid to have been made by *Alexander* III. king of *Egypt*, who died at *Tyre*: by which Will he left the *Senate* and *People* of *Rome* all his right to the inheritance of the *Lagides*. He adds, "'Tis difficult to decide, whether this will was real or only pre- "tended. CICERO mentions it in one of his orations, but without ex- "plaining himſelf clearly [*Cic.* 2. *in Rull.*] Certain it is, that the Senate "ſent deputies to *Tyre*, to take poſſeſſion of the money depoſited there "by *Alexander*.—CÆSAR was ſupported in his project by CRASSUS, "then *Cenſor*; but he met with oppoſition from CRASSUS's collegue, "CATULUS, and from ſeveral others, who maintained that there was "no ſuch Will, and that it was not for the honour of the *Roman* Peo- "ple to ſeem greedy of the inheritance of kings."

As to the pretenſion of the *Romans* to the inheritance in queſtion, (ſuppoſing the Will to be genuine) M. *Crevier* gives us what he thinks the moſt probable account.

"After the death of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, the *Egyptians* placed his "daughter *Cleopatra* upon the throne. SYLLA, then Dictator, having "with him *Ptolemy Alexander*, the ſon of another *Alexander*, *Lathyrus*'s "brother, who died before him, ſent that young prince into *Egypt*, to "reign there jointly with *Cleopatra*. But *Alexander* at the end of nine- "teen days cauſed *Cleopatra* to be murdered, for which horrible cruelty "he was himſelf killed by the people of *Alexandria*. I ſuppoſe, that "this *Alexander* left a ſon of the ſame name, who, as his father and "grandfather had reigned over *Egypt*, had well-founded pretenſions to "that kingdom, eſpecially as the legitimate poſterity of *Lathyrus* was "extinct by the death of *Cleopatra*. The *Egyptians*, however, recog- "nized *Ptolemy Auletes*, the natural ſon of *Lathyrus*, for their king.

"I further ſuppoſe, that the diviſions which happened in *Egypt*, "whilſt POMPEY was making war in *Aſia*, and which occaſioned the "ſending of Embaſſies to that general, aroſe from the oppoſite pre- "tenſions of *Alexander* III. and *Auletes*. POMPEY would not take cog- "nizance of this difference. *Ptolemy Auletes* continued in poſſeſſion of "the throne, and *Alexander*, withdrawing to *Tyre*, died there ſoon "after.

"*Uſher* and *Prideaux*, whom M. *Rollin* has followed in his *Ancient* "*Hiſtory*, gives us a different ſucceſſion of the crown of *Egypt* from

Y. of R. 690. gueſs what the hiſtorian means: But whatever the buſineſs was, CÆSAR was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the *Optimates*, and did not carry his point.

Midd. 143. In the year 689, he was one of the *Aſſiſtant Judges* to the *Prætor*, whoſe province it was to ſit upon the *Sicarii*, that is, thoſe who were accuſed *of killing*, or *carrying a dagger with intent to kill*: and he concurred with the other Judges in condemning by *the Law of aſſaſſinate*, thoſe, who in SYLLA's *proſcription had been known to kill, or receive money for killing a proſcribed Citizen*; which money CATO, when he was *Quæſtor* the year before, *had made them refund to the treaſury*.

Plut. in Cat. Suet. J. Cæſ. 11.

In the preſent year, 690, he ſued for the *High-Prieſthood*, vacant by the death of METELLUS PIUS; a poſt of the firſt dignity in the Republic. The Tribune LABIENUS had opened his way to it, by the publication *of a new Law for transferring the right of electing from the college of Prieſts to the People*, agreeably to the tenor of a former Law, which had been * repealed by SYLLA. CÆSAR carried this high office before he had yet been *Prætor*, [being only *Prætor Elect* this year] againſt two conſiderable competitors, of the firſt authority in *Rome*, Q. CATULUS, and P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS; the one of whom had been Cenſor, and then bore the title of *Prince of the Senate*; and the other been honoured with *a triumph*: Yet he procured *more votes againſt them, even in their own tribes, than they both had for them out of the whole number of the Citizens*.

*Vid. ſupr. p. 240.

Suet. J. Cæſ. 13. Pigh. Annal.

Hitherto all that we have learnt of CÆSAR, is, that he was of the firſt claſs of the Nobles, a rake in his early years, and a ſpendthrift, but remarkably brave and intrepid, magnanimous, polite, eloquent, generous, li-

" *Lathyrus*: But from a note upon M. *Prideaux*'s text, I think it evi-
" dent, that *Uſher*'s opinion is not to be ſuſtained. *Grævius*, in a note
" upon the firſt *Agrarian* of CICERO, mentions the *third Ptolemy Alexander*, of whom I ſpeak in this place. I thought this a point ne-
" ceſſary to be cleared up, and I know no better means of reconciling
" the teſtimonies of *Porphyry*, *Appian*, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*,
" than the plan which I follow. This ſyſtem connects all the frag-
" ments which we find upon this ſubject in different authors."

beral

beral even to profuſion: That with regard to the public affairs, he was of the popular party, and had the courage to make funeral panegyrics on his aunt *Julia*, the widow of MARIUS, and on his own wife *Cornelia*, CINNA's daughter, whom he had refuſed to repudiate at the command of SYLLA, [with whoſe ſovereign will and pleaſure POMPEY ſhewed a mean compliance, by † parting with *Antiſtia*.] That, when he was *Ædile*, he exhibited very fine and expenſive ſhews, and replaced in the Capitol the ſtatues of MARIUS (of which action he obtained the Senate's approbation:) That, *notwithſtanding a Law made by* SYLLA (as *Suetonius* ſignificantly remarks) *exempting from puniſhment the aſſaſſins, who for hire had killed the Citizens by him proſcribed:* (which aſſaſſins CATO had the year before conſtrained, as villains and murderers, to refund the money paid them out of the treaſury, in reward of their bloody atchievements) he condemned them to ſuffer as guilty of murder: and that, by theſe popular meaſures, and his extraordinary liberality, he became ſo great a favourite, as to be preferred, for the *High-Prieſthood*, to two eminent Conſulars, CATULUS and SERVILIUS.

† Vid. ſupr. p. 292.

It ſeemed proper to give this ſhort ſummary, containing every thing that is *well atteſted*, and of *moment* in CÆSAR's character and public conduct prior to the preſent time, that the reader may from thence, and not from the conjectures of hiſtorians, or party-men, or from predictions made of events after the events were paſt, form his judgment of the diſpoſition of this illuſtrious *Roman*, when CICERO was Conſul. For it may be obſerved, that almoſt all the modern writers on this ſubject have endeavoured [f], in imitation of ſome of the ancients,

[f] Some conſiderations have already been offered in the foregoing ſheets, to ſhew the injuſtice done to the reader, and the inconvenience which may happen to the writer, by prefacing the hiſtory of a man's actions with his moral character; ſuch as, to the writer who has conſidered the whole tenour of his life, he may ſeem, upon the whole, to have deſerved. The character given by *Plutarch* of MARIUS, previous to what he relates of the life and actions of that famous *Roman*, furniſhed

Vid. ſupra, p. 56. note [e].

A. U. of R. 690. ancients, to prepoſſeſs their readers with the moſt unfavourable

niſhed an inſtance of the injuſtice and inconvenience of that practice. What has been ſaid of CÆSAR by ſome hiſtorians, before they relate his actions, furniſhes another.

CICERO's *Engliſh* hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the dedication of the Capitol by CATULUS (in 684) after the rebuilding of it, writes thus:

Midd. p. 114. "On the occaſion of this feſtival he is ſaid to have introduced ſome "inſtances of luxury, not known before in *Rome*, of covering the area, "in which the People ſat, *with a purple veil, imitating the colour of the "ſky, and defending it from the injuries of it, and of gilding the tiles* of "this fabric, which were made of copper: For though the cielings of "temples had before been ſometimes *gilt, yet this was the firſt uſe of "gold on the outſide of a building.*" CATULUS, however, is not ſuppoſed by this writer to have had any unjuſtifiable views in his introp. 32. duction of thoſe inſtances of luxury. [He was not like CÆSAR, "*the* p. 113. "*grand purpoſe of whoſe whole life was to oppreſs the liberties of his coun-"try*; and who, *by his prodigality, was forced to repair his own ruin, "by ruining the Republic.*"] CÆSAR, in the ſports exhibited for his "father's funeral, made the whole furniture of the theatre of ſolid ſil-"ver: But *the exceſs of his expence was but in proportion to the exceſs "of his ambition: for the reſt were only purchaſing the Conſulſhip, he the "Empire.*" But why are we to ſuppoſe, that CÆSAR was *then* more criminally ambitious than CATULUS? The reaſon, I ſuppoſe, is, that "CATULUS, being the ſon of that CATULUS who was the ableſt "ſtateſman of his time, and the chief aſſertor of the *Ariſtocratical* inte-p. 51. "reſt, and condemned to die by MARIUS, had inherited the *virtues*, as "well as *principles*, of his father." Whether this be any great compliment to the father, the reader will judge when he has attended to the following conjecture of our author concerning the ſon.

p. 52. "BRUTUS, after ſuſtaining the ſiege of *Modena*, ſurrendered himſelf "into POMPEY's hands, but being conducted, as he deſired, by a guard "of horſe, to a certain village upon the *Po*, [*Oroſius* ſays to *Rhegium*] "he was there killed by POMPEY's orders. This act was cenſured as "cruel and unjuſt, and POMPEY generally blamed for killing a man of "the firſt quality, who had ſurrendered himſelf voluntarily, and on the "condition of his life: But *he acted probably by the advice of* CATU-"LUS in laying hold of the pretext of BRUTUS's *treaſon* [ſo called by "the conquerors] to deſtroy a man who, from his rank and authority, "might have been a dangerous head to the *Marian* party, and *capable "of diſturbing that* ARISTOCRACY which SYLLA *had eſtabliſhed*, and "which the Senate, and *all the better ſort*, were very deſirous to main-"tain." To this let it be added, that CATULUS was by SYLLA declared to be *the beſt man in the Republic*: from whence we may (not unreaſonably) conclude, that he was one of the *worſt*; that he was one of that tyrant's ſatellites, and had a heart, if not a hand, in all his reformations and maſſacres: And this will account for his being the zealous friend and defender of his brother ſatellite, CATILINE; which has created

favourable opinion of CÆSAR's heart and deſigns, before

ated a difficulty to thoſe who have entertained a high opinion of CATULUS's virtue, without ever aſking themſelves why; or, perhaps, becauſe they have found that CICERO ſpeaks well of him. Not one good action is recorded of CATULUS, except his oppoſition to the paſſing of the *Gabinian* and *Manilian* Laws; which oppoſition we ſhall not readily aſcribe to a concern for the *public weal*, if we call to mind *his malicious* * *proſecution* of CORNELIUS, on account of the ſeaſonable and neceſſary Laws propoſed by that honeſt Tribune. Of this proſecution M. *Morabin* (CICERO's French hiſtorian) in his excellent work, writes thus: " Les plus accredités d'entre les Senateurs porterent temoignage contre " cet ancien Tribun, et tout le peuple etoit dans une merveilleuſe per- " plexité ſur ce qui en arriveroit. De quoi s'agiſſoit il au fond? COR- " NELIUS avoit lû lui meme ſon projet de loi; et parcequ'aucun Tri- " bun n'en avoit uſé ainſi avant lui, faute peut-etre de s'etre trouvé dans " les memes circonſtances, il plaiſoit à HORTENSIUS, à CATULUS, à " METELLUS PIUS, à LUCULLUS, et à M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS " d'en faire un crime [de Léze Majeſté] à ce Magiſtrat, pretendant " qu'il avoit autant qu'il etoit en lui rendu inutile la voye d'oppoſition. " Le veritable attentat—c'etoit de leur avoir fait perdre le droit de diſ- " penſer des loix. Tant il eſt vrai que les plus honnêtes gens ſont ſu- " jets a s'oublier lorſqu'on les attaque ſur leurs intérêts." * Vid. ſupr. p. 405, 408. Hiſt. de Cic. p. 90.

Again, CICERO's *Engliſh hiſtorian*, ſpeaking of the Law propoſed by *Manilius* in favour of POMPEY, tells us, that " J. CÆSAR was a zea- " lous promoter of this law; but from a different motive than the love " either of POMPEY, or the Republic: *His deſign* was *to recommend him- " ſelf by it to the* PEOPLE, *whoſe favour, he foreſaw, would be of more uſe " to him than the* SENATE'S " Midd. p. 128.

And was not this the deſign of CICERO in his zealous defence of the *Manilian* Law? Let us hear his panegyriſt. Vid. ſupr. p. 319.

" *He was now in the career of his fortunes, and in ſight as it were of* " *the Conſulſhip, the grand object of his ambition; ſo that his conduct was* " *ſuſpected to flow from an intereſted view of facilitating his own advance-* " *ment, by paving his court to* POMPEY's *power:* But the *reaſons* already " intimated [The reaſons are, " The mutinous ſpirit in LUCULLUS's " troops, and the loſs of his authority with them, which GLABRIO " was ſtill leſs qualified to ſuſtain,—and POMPEY's ſucceſs againſt the " Pirates, and his being upon the ſpot with a great army] and POM- " PEY's ſingular character of modeſty and abſtinence, joined to the ſu- " periority of his military fame, *might, probably, convince him*, that it " was not only ſafe, but neceſſary at this time, to commit a war, which " no body elſe could finiſh, to ſuch a general; and a power, which no " body elſe ought to be entruſted with, to ſuch a man. This he him- " ſelf *ſolemnly affirms*, in the concluſion of his ſpeech: *I call the Gods " to witneſs*, ſays he, *and eſpecially thoſe who preſide over this temple, " and inſpect the minds of all who adminiſter the public affairs, that I* Midd. Vol. I. p. 127.

" *neither*.

Y. of R. 690. fore he makes his appearance upon the ſtage in the great ſcenes of action.

LUCIUS

" *neither do this at the deſire of any one, nor to conciliate* POMPEY's *fa-*
" *vour, nor to procure from any man's greatneſs*, either a ſupport in dan-
" gers, or *aſſiſtance in honours:—Whatever pains I have taken in this*
" *cauſe, I have taken it all, I aſſure you, for the ſake of the Republic*—
" After ſo many honours received from you and this very honour [the
" Prætorſhip] which I now enjoy, I have made it my reſolution, Ci-
" tizens, to prefer your will, the dignity of the Republic, and the ſafe-
" ty of the provinces, to all my own intereſts and advantages whatſo-
" ever."

Midd. Vol. II. p. 512. That the able hiſtorian and panegyriſt of the ſaint, *who now probably, in the regions above, lives in the fruition of endleſs happineſs*, did not, in the preſent inſtance, believe him, notwithſtanding his *ſolemn affirmation*, we may gather, I think, not only from ſome words in the beginning of the paſſage above cited, but more evidently from what he ſays on occaſion of the ſaint's obtaining the Conſulſhip.

Midd. p. 148. " CICERO was now arrived, through the uſual gradation of honours,
" at the higheſt which the People could regularly give, or an honeſt
" Citizen deſire.—The ſubordinate Magiſtracies, therefore, being the
" ſteps only to this ſovereign dignity, were not valued ſo much for
" their own ſake, as for bringing the candidates ſtill nearer to the prin-
" cipal object of their hopes, who, through this courſe of their ambiti-
" on, were *forced to practiſe all the arts of popularity*; to court the little
" as well as the great, *to eſpouſe the principles and politics in vogue, and*
" *to apply their talents to conciliate friends, rather than to ſerve the Pub-*
" *lic. But the Conſulſhip put an end to this ſubjection, and with the com-*
" *mand of the State gave them the command of themſelves:* ſo that the
" only care left was how to execute this high office with credit and dig-
" nity, and employ the power entruſted to them for the benefit and
" ſervice of their country.

" *We are now therefore to look upon* CICERO *in a different light, in*
" *order to form a juſt idea of his character:* To conſider him *not as an*
" *ambitious courtier applying all his thoughts and pains to his own advance-*
" *ment*; but as a great Magiſtrate and Stateſman, adminiſtering the
" affairs, and directing the councils of a mighty empire."

The extract given above (p. 318.) from *the Obſervations on the Life and Writings of* CICERO, furniſhes a plain proof, that the candid author of that elegant piece does not believe what the orator ſwears, on this occaſion, concerning his diſintereſtedneſs: neither does M. *Crevier* believe him, as the reader may ſee by the note in p. 319.

† Lib. 6. p. 21. Vid. Pref. to Midd. Life of Cic. p. xxv. Well—But CICERO's hiſtorian, upon the authority of *Dio* † [whoſe authority is to be of great weight when he places CÆSAR in a bad light, but of no weight when he ſpeaks diſadvantageouſly of CICERO] tells us, that CÆSAR had, beſide the deſign of recommending himſelf to the PEOPLE, another [leſs manifeſt to the world;] and this was, " *To caſt*
" *a freſh load of envy upon* POMPEY, *which*, by ſome accident, *might be*
" *improved*

" *improved afterwards to his hurt.*" Nor was this the worſt; for Midd. p.
" His CHIEF VIEW was to make the precedent familiar, that whatever 128.
" uſe POMPEY might make of it, he himſelf might, one day, make a
" bad one. For this is the common effect of breaking through the
" barrier of the Laws, by which many ſtates have been ruined, when,
" from a confidence in the abilities and integrity of ſome eminent Citi-
" zen, *they inveſt him*, on preſſing occaſions, *with extraordinary pow-*
" *ers*, for the common benefit and defence of the ſociety: for though
" power ſo entruſted may, in particular caſes, be of ſingular ſervice,
" and *ſometimes neceſſary*," [N. B. Theſe two words, *ſometimes neceſſary*, ſeem to be thruſt into the period merely for the ſake of CICERO, who, during his Conſulſhip, was *inveſted with the extraordinary powers* referred to] " yet the example is always dangerous, furniſhing a perpetual
" pretence to the ambitious and ill-deſigning to graſp at every preroga-
" tive, which had been granted at any time to the virtuous, till the
" ſame power, which would ſave a country in good hands, oppreſſes it
" at laſt in bad."

We ſhall hereafter ſee, that this is the very argument made uſe of by JULIUS CÆSAR againſt CICERO's diſpenſing with the Laws, in virtue of his unconſtitutional, and (in thoſe times, when very few of the nobles were better men than CATILINE himſelf) moſt dangerous powers from the Senate: Powers, with which, in all probability, CICERO would have been very unwilling to ſee any man of the popular party inveſted, though even for the cruſhing of CATILINE's conſpiracy. But the argument, perhaps, is of no force in the mouth of CÆSAR, becauſe he was not of the number of CICERO's *honeſt men*.

What CICERO's *Engliſh* hiſtorian has hazarded concerning CÆSAR, when ſitting as Judge on the *Sicarii*, I ſhall take notice of in the hiſtory of CATILINE; and likewiſe of the *ſuſpicions* entertained of CÆSAR's being engaged in CATILINE's firſt plot. [The concern which CÆSAR, had in the affair of *Rabirius* has been already conſidered.] Vide ſupr. p. 423. note [k].

To endeavour to blaſt the character of CÆSAR *as a Citizen of Rome*, before any mention of facts, by him committed, that really diſhonour him as ſuch, is not peculiar to CICERO's *Engliſh* hiſtorian. M. *Crevier* having mentioned what SYLLA anſwered to CÆSAR's friends and advocates, *In that boy I ſee many* MARIUS's, thus proceeds. " *Never was* Crev. Vol. X. p. 265.
" *prediction more exactly verified; and it proves that* SYLLA *had great*
" *penetration, and knew mankind extremely well.* How was this prediction verified? In what did CÆSAR reſemble MARIUS, except in military ſkill, courage, activity and fortitude? Did CÆSAR reſemble him in cruelty and abuſe of Power? CÆSAR, in making himſelf *monarch* of the State, was more like SYLLA than MARIUS, but he reſembled neither of them in their bad qualities. And SYLLA's *ſecond-ſight* ſeems to amount to no more than a diſcovery, that CÆSAR had too much ſpirit and honour to divorce his wife, meerly becauſe ſuch a monſter as SYLLA hated her as CINNA's daughter. Vide ſupr. p. 231.

Again, " As ſoon as CÆSAR was informed of SYLLA's death, he re-
" turned ſuddenly to *Rome, principally from the hope of ſeeing new diſtur-* Crev. Vol.
" *bances, and to take advantage of the commotions raiſed by* Lepidus— X. p. 473.

" his

Y. of R. 690. " his inclination for that [the popular] faction manifeſted itſelf by the " *ardour with which he laboured to obtain an amneſty for thoſe who had* " *been engaged in it* (and were in exile).) Every thing being quiet in " the Commonwealth, CÆSAR, *who had not yet ſufficient power to ex-* " *cite commotions in it*, &c.

Ibid. p. 478, 479. " *The ambitious deſigns he* then *revolved in his mind* more eaſily eſ- " caped the penetration of the moſt diſcerning, as he was a man of " pleaſure, or more properly ſpeaking, abandoned to debauchery.— " People could not conceive, that he could unite ſo ſerious and ſo ar- " duous a deſign, as that of changing the form of the Commonwealth, " with a life that ſeemed entirely engroſſed by follies and voluptuouſ- " neſs. CICERO himſelf, whoſe penetration was ſo great, and who " foreſaw events at ſo great a diſtance [or rather was one of the moſt " ſhort-ſighted of mankind, as will appear hereafter] was at a loſs in " reſpect to CÆSAR. I *diſcovered*, ſaid he, *in all his enterprizes, and* " *his whole conduct, a plan continually purſued for raiſing himſelf to the* " *tyranny*. But when *I obſerved how curiouſly and ſkilfully his locks were* " *adjuſted, and ſaw him ſcratching his head with one finger, it could not* " *enter into my imagination, that ſuch a man was capable of forming, and* " *executing the deſign of ſubverting the* Roman *Commonwealth*." [N. B. *Plutarch* adds, *but this was not ſaid till a long time after*; ſo that CICERO foretold an event after it was paſt.]

" *It is not to be doubted, but he had that object in view from his earlieſt* " *years:* For we find no ſtep of his, that does not tend thereto, and " this determinately and directly." How does this appear? Why, " He always ſhews himſelf intent upon reanimating *the faction of the* " *People*, reviving the MARIAN party, and oppoſing that of SYLLA. " The firſt office, which he obtained by the ſuffrages of the People, " was the *Tribuneſhip of the ſoldiers*; and, in that poſt, he *ſupported with* " *all his credit thoſe, who were for reſtoring to the Tribunes of the People* " *all the right and authority, of which* SYLLA *had deprived them*. [And which POMPEY did actually reſtore to them; herein doing well and wiſely in the judgment of CICERO.]

p. 482. " *On arriving in* Italy [*from* Spain] *he ſeized the firſt occaſion that* " *offered for raiſing diſturbances*; and as he knew, that the States of " *Gallia Tranſpadana*, who enjoyed only the privileges of *Latium*, ar- " dently deſired to obtain the freedom of *Rome*, *he made a tour through* " *their country, to exhort them to act, and would have made them riſe and* " *take arms, if the Conſuls had not kept in* Italy *the troops that were to have* " *been ſent againſt* MITHRIDATES. *Thus this attempt of* CÆSAR'S " *proved abortive*, &c. This attempt, which has neither *motive* nor " *conſequence apparent*, is imputed to CÆSAR upon the authority of *Sue-* " *tonius* alone; who ſpeaks of ſome *Roman colonies*, without mentioning " *Gallia Tranſpadana*, or any other country; and tells us, not any evil " that CÆSAR did, but what *he would have done, if*, &c."

Vol. XI. p. 445. Speaking of *Labienus*'s proſecution of *Rabirius*,—— " CÆSAR ſet him " to work; and being always intent upon depreſſing the authority of " the Senate, and exalting the faction of the People, *made no ſcruple to* " *employ the moſt odious means for attaining his ends*."

LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINA[g], of an illuſtrious family, (from which *Conſuls*, and *Military Tribunes with Conſular power*, had frequently been taken to govern the State) was a man of ſingular ſtrength both of body and mind, but of a diſpoſition extremely vicious. He had a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute the hardieſt attempt. From his youth up he took pleaſure in civil broils, civil wars, rapine, and maſſacres. He was wonderfully conſtituted for enduring cold, hunger, and want of reſt; of a ſpirit daring, and inſidious; expert in all the arts of diſguiſe and diſſimulation; greedily covetous of other men's wealth, laviſh of his own; violent in his paſſions, eloquent enough, but not endowed with much wiſdom. His boundleſs ambition hurried him into extravagant and romantic projects, making him aſpire to things greatly beyond the reach of his abilities. Salluſt & Cic.

SALLUST reports, that CATILINE, when a very young man, had been engaged in many ſcandalous intrigues: that he had debauched a young lady of illuſtrious birth, and even a Veſtal Nun: and that at laſt, (*poſtremo*, i. e. not long before his conſpiracy) he fell in love with *Aurelia Oreſtilla*, in whom no good man ever ſaw any thing to commend but her beauty, and finding her indiſpoſed to marry him, becauſe he had a ſon grown to man's eſtate, whom ſhe did not like for a *ſon-in-law*, he murdered him (at leaſt it was confidently ſo believed) to facilitate the wicked nuptials. "And this (ſays the "hiſtorian) in my opinion, was what hurried him to "the execution of his atrocious enterprize. For his "polluted ſoul, full of rage againſt both Gods and "Men, could find no reſt either waking or ſleeping, "ſo inceſſantly did a guilty conſcience torment him." Hence his face pale, his countenance ghaſtly, his gait and motion unequal, now quick, then ſlow; in a word, his appearance was that of a man out of his ſenſes.

[g] CATILINE was great grandſon to MARCUS SERGIUS SILUS, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery on many occaſions, in the war of HANNIBAL.

He

A. U. 690. Vid. Pighius.

He had probably been Quæſtor in the year 676, or 677, and after the expiration of his Quæſtorſhip, lieutenant to *Scribonius Curio*, Proconſul of *Macedon*, A. U. 678: and he was Prætor at *Rome* in 686.

Salluſt.

At the Conſular election, which was held in the ſummer of 687, P. AUTRONIUS PÆTUS and P. CORNELIUS SYLLA were declared Conſuls: But their election was no ſooner publiſhed, than they were accuſed of bribery and corruption by the *Calpurnian Law*, and being brought to trial, and found guilty before their entrance into office, their accuſers and competitors, L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS and L. AURELIUS COTTA, were proclaimed Conſuls elect. *Some little time after this*, CATILINE, who, on the expiration of his *Prætorſhip*, had obtained * the province of *Afric*, came to *Rome* to ſue for the Conſulſhip; but, being accuſed of extortion and rapine in that government, was not permitted to purſue his pretenſions [h].

* Cic. pro Cæl. Dio, lib. 36. Vid. Pigh. ad ann. 687.

At

[h] *Te vero Catilina conſulatum ſperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum eſt? a quibus enim petis? a principibus civitatis, qui tibi cùm L. Volcatius Coſ. in Conſilio fuiſſet*, ne petendi quidem poteſtatem eſſe voluerunt? *In Tog. Cand.*

CICERO's *Engliſh* hiſtorian imagines, that CATILINE came from *Afric* to ſtand candidate at the *Conſular election* held *this year*. His words are, "*came to* Rome this year *to appear a candidate at the election.*" And M. *Crevier* writes, ſeemingly, to the ſame effect.—"The *Africans* ſent "deputies to *Rome* to complain of the oppreſſions and violences of their "governor [CATILINE] and many very ſevere cenſures were paſſed "upon him in the Senate." [*Catilina ex prætura Africam provinciam "obtinuit, quam cùm graviter vexaſſet, legati Afri in Senatu tum abſente "illo quæſti ſunt, multæque graves ſententiæ in Senatu de eo dictæ ſunt.* "Aſcon. in Tog. Cand.] "This, however, did not hinder him from "returning to the City—when LEPIDUS and VOLCATIUS were Con- "ſuls (*i. e.* in 687) to ſtand for the Conſulſhip. But he no ſooner ar- "rived, than he was accuſed of extortion by CLODIUS.—This accu- "ſation hindered his appearing among the candidates.—The election of "the Conſuls excited a great commotion.—P. SYLLA and P. AUTRO- "NIUS had been nominated: but two of their competitors, L. COTTA "and L. TORQUATUS, having accuſed them of bribery, and proved "the charge againſt them, they were deprived of their office, and their "accuſers nominated in their ſtead."

Vol. XI. 363.

Father *Catrou*, after enumerating the *Crimes* of CATILINE, writes thus:

"Such

At this time, CN. PISO, a young nobleman, extremely bold, indigent, and factious, was inſtigated by his poverty

" Such was the villain who appeared in a *white robe* in the preſence " of the People, to *diſpute the Conſulate with* TORQUATUS and COTTA." The father does not ſuppoſe, that CATILINE came to *Rome* time enough to be competitor with AUTRONIUS and SYLLA, but arrived after they, being convicted of bribery and corruption, were declared diſqualified for the office: and the father ſuppoſes, that the People went to a *new election*, at which CATILINE would have ſtood candidate, but was not ſuffered ſo to do, becauſe of the complaints brought againſt him from *Africa*, and becauſe his trial was not over till after the Comitia, where TORQUATUS and COTTA were choſen Conſuls; and this accords better with SALLUST's account, than what is ſaid by the two other writers: For it is plain, from the words of the *Latin* hiſtorian, that the decree, which prohibited CATILINE's ſuing for the Conſulſhip, was not till after the election of AUTRONIUS and SYLLA to that Magiſtracy, and after their diſgrace. *L. Tullo M. Lepido coſſ. P. Autronius et P. Sulla, deſignati conſules, legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant.* Poſt paullo *Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum* reus, *prohibitus erat petere conſulatum, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit.* And may we not underſtand the words *petere conſulatum* to mean no more here than *ambire magiſtratum in toga candida?* It would ſeem that CATILINE's coming to *Rome*, in 687, was not in the hope of being choſen Conſul at the election of *that year*, but to make intereſt, and ſecure friends, againſt the Conſular election of the *next year* [688.] For, as Mr. *Kennet* obſerves, thoſe, who aſpired to that office, generally declared their pretenſions *about a year before the election*, all which time they ſpent in making circuits round the City to ſolicit votes. And ſo Dr. *Middleton* himſelf, in ſpeaking of CICERO's ſuing for the Conſulſhip, tells us, that " there were *two years neceſſarily* to intervene between " the Prætorſhip and Conſulſhip, the FIRST of which was *uſually* ſpent " in forming a general intereſt, and ſoliciting for it, as it were, *in a pri-* " *vate manner*," (that is, as he explains himſelf afterwards, mixing with the crowd, careſſing, and ſaluting the Citizens by name, when the whole City was aſſembled in the field of *Mars*:) The SECOND *in ſuing for it openly in the proper form and habit of a candidate.* And this latter ſeems to have been CATILINE's purpoſe: He came at the proper time to ſolicit and ſecure friends to ſupport him at the next Conſular election; which would be in 688. If he had ſtood candidate, and had been choſen this year, 687, there would have been but *one* year between his *Prætorſhip* and *Conſulſhip*; and he could not have ſpent more time in ſolicitation, than the ſhort interval between the condemnation of AUTRONIUS and SYLLA, and the nomination of TORQUATUS and COTTA in their place. Add to this, that as CATILINE, notwithſtanding his eagerneſs to get the Conſulſhip, did not ſtand candidate at the election of 688, we may reaſonably preſume, that he was barred from it

Tom. 15. p. 557, 558.

Midd. p. 133.

poverty, and depraved morals, to raiſe diſturbances in the State: with him CATILINE and AUTRONIUS entered into a combination about the fifth of *December* to aſſaſſinate the Conſuls TORQUATUS and COTTA, in the Capitol, on the firſt of *January*; which done, AUTRONIUS and CATILINE were to ſeize the Conſulſhip, and ſend PISO with an army to take poſſeſſion of both *Spains*. But their project ſome how getting air, they deferred the intended aſſaſſination to the 5th of *February*; at which time they propoſed to murder not only the Conſuls, but moſt of the Senators. And if CATILINE had not been ſo haſty as to give the ſignal, when not a ſufficient number of his aſſociates were yet aſſembled before the door of the Senate-houſe, (which fruſtrated the deſign) on that day had been perpetrated the moſt wicked deed that *Rome* had ever beheld ſince the foundation of the City.

Salluſt.

Not long after this diſappointment, PISO, though he had no higher office than that of *Quæſtor*, was ſent into further *Spain* with the authority of *Prætor*. He obtained the commiſſion by the intereſt of CRASSUS, who, knowing him to be a bitter enemy of POMPEY, favoured him for that reaſon: nor indeed was the Senate backward to grant him the province; thinking it an advantage to keep ſo troubleſome a Citizen at a great diſtance from *Rome*; and beſides there were many who thought he might prove a good defence againſt the power of POMPEY, which was become formidable. But PISO, in the way to his province, was murdered by ſome *Spaniſh* horſe of his own army. The hiſtorian adds, "Some ſay, this was owing to his unjuſt, haughty, "cruel behaviour in command, which the Barbarians "were not able to endure. Others pretend, that thoſe "troopers were ſome old truſty clients of POMPEY, and "that by him they were inſtigated to the murder [1]".

In

by the accuſation brought againſt him of extortion and oppreſſion in his government.

[1] This is *Salluſt*'s account. CICERO's *Engliſh* hiſtorian has choſen to add ſome particulars out of *Suetonius*. "This diſgrace of men ſo powerful

Midd. p. 131.

In the Conſulſhip of L. TORQUATUS and L. COTTA [A. U. 688 [k]] CATILINE was brought to a trial *for his oppreſſions in* Africa. Of his guilt no body doubted. CICERO, in a letter written ſome time before the trial, ſays to ATTICUS, "If it ſhall be judged that at noon "day it is not light, I ſhall certainly have CATILINE for "a

erful and deſperate, [AUTRONIUS, SYLLA, and CATILINE] engaged them preſently *in a conſpiracy againſt the State*, in which it was reſolved to *kill the new Conſuls*, with ſeveral others of the Senate, and ſhare the government among themſelves: But the effect of it was prevented by ſome information given of the deſign, which was too precipitately laid for execution. CN. PISO, an audacious, needy, factious, young nobleman, was privy to it; and as *Suetonius* ſays [upon the authority of a rabble of writers, *Fanuſius Geminus. Actorius Naſo*, &c.] two more of much greater weight, M. CRASSUS and J. CÆSAR; the firſt of whom was to be created Dictator, the ſecond his maſter of the horſe. But CRASSUS's heart failing him, either through fear or repentance, he did not appear at the appointed time, ſo that CÆSAR would not give the ſignal agreed upon, of letting his robe drop from his ſhoulder. The Senate was particularly jealous of PISO, and hoping to cure his diſaffection by making him eaſy in his fortunes, or to remove him at leaſt from the cabals of his aſſociates, gave him the government of *Spain*, at the inſtance of CRASSUS, who ſtrenuouſly ſupported him as a determined enemy to POMPEY. But before his ſetting out, CÆSAR and he *are ſaid* to have entered into a new and ſeparate engagement, that the one ſhould begin ſome diſturbance abroad, while the other was to prepare and inflame matters at home: But this plot alſo was defeated, by the unexpected death of PISO; who was aſſaſſinated by the *Spaniards*, as ſome ſay, for his cruelty, or, as others, by POMPEY's clients, and at the inſtigation of POMPEY himſelf.

M. *Crevier*, tho' not over favourable to CÆSAR, writes thus, "I "cannot readily believe that CÆSAR, whoſe diſpoſition was always far "from cruel, could have a part in ſo horrid a deſign, [the maſſacre "of the Conſuls and Senators.] I might ſay almoſt as much for CRAS-"SUS." Tome XI. p. 364.

Neither the authority of *Suetonius*, nor that of *Dio*, ought to be of great weight with us on this head, ſeeing they charge SYLLA with the ſame confidence that they charge AUTRONIUS; yet SYLLA is not once mentioned by SALLUST, as either guilty, or even ſuſpected of the preſent conſpiracy; and, being afterwards accuſed of it, was defended by HORTENSIUS, and acquitted: and CICERO warmly aſſerts his innocence.

[k] It was in this year, as CICERO tells us, that thoſe prodigies happened, which were interpreted to portend *the great dangers and plots that were now hatching againſt the State, and broke out two years after in* CICERO's *Conſulſhip*; *when the turrets of the Capitol, the ſtatues of the* Midd. p. 140.

Y. of R. 690. "a competitor[l]." Nevertheleſs, the criminal had, for his advocate, even the Conſul TORQUATUS; who, tho' not unacquainted (if we may believe CICERO) with the rumour of his client's having entered into a treaſonable conſpiracy, gave no credit to it at that time[m]: nor did the illuſtrious advocate find any great difficulty in getting his client acquitted: For *P. Clodius*, the proſecutor, a young nobleman as profligate as CATILINE himſelf, agreed for a ſum of money to betray the cauſe, by ſuffering the criminal to have, in reality, the nomination of the Judges.[n]

And the very next year (689) when CICERO was a candidate, *in form*, for the Conſulſhip, CATILINE, being then free, ſtood againſt him for the ſame dignity. It has been mentioned that, during that competition, in order to give a check to the open and ſhameful practice of bribery and corruption by ANTONIUS and CATILINE, a new and more rigorous Law, than any in force, was propoſed, but did not paſs; becauſe the Tribune *Mucius Oreſtinus* put his negative upon it. "This "Tribune had been CICERO's client, and defended by "him in an impeachment of plunder and robbery; "but, having now ſold himſelf to his enemies, made "it the ſubject of all his harangues to ridicule his birth "and character as unworthy of the Conſulſhip: In the "debate therefore, which aroſe in the Senate upon the "merit of his negative, CICERO, provoked to find ſo

Midd. p. 142. Aſcon. in Tog. Cand.

Gods, and the brazen image of the infant ROMULUS *ſucking the wolf, were ſtruck down by lightning.* In Catil. 3. 8.

[l] Catilina, ſi judicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. *Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 1. *ad Attic.*

[m] Quin etiam parens tuus, TORQUATE, Conſul reo de pecuniis repetundis Catilinæ fuit advocatus—cui cùm adfuit poſt delatam ad eum primam illam conjurationem, indicavit ſe audiſſe aliquid, non credidiſſe. *Orat. pro Sylla*, 29. N. B. *Torquatus*, SYLLA's accuſer, to whom CICERO addreſſes himſelf, was the ſon of that *Torquatus*, who, when Conſul, had defended CATILINE.

[n] A Catilina pecuniam accepit, ut turpiſſimè prævaricaretur. *De Haruſp. Reſp.* 20.

Hoc judicio abſolutus eſt Catilina, infamia judicum. Ut & Clodius infamis fuerit, quippe qui prævaricatus eſt. Nam & *rejectio judicum ad arbitrium rei videbatur eſſe facta.* Aſcon. in Tog. Cand.

"deſperate

" deſperate a confederacy againſt him, roſe up, and " after ſome raillery and expoſtulation with *Mucius*, " made a moſt ſevere invective on the flagitious lives " and practices of *his two competitors*, in a ſpeech uſu- " ally called, *In Toga Candida*, becauſe it was deliver- " ed *in a white gown*, the proper habit *of all candidates*, " and from which the name itſelf was derived."

In this ſpeech CICERO reproaches CATILINE with all his crimes and vices, and particularly with his inceſtuous wickedneſs [b]; his late plotting with PISO to cut off the chiefs of the Senate [c]; and his grievous *oppreſſion* of the *Africans* [d]: and he intimates to him, in a kind of menace,

[b] Hanc tu habes dignitatem, quâ fretus me contemnis & deſpicis? an eam quam reliquâ vitâ es conſecutus? cum ita vixiſti ut non eſſet locus tam ſanctus, quo non adventus tuus etiam cùm culpa nulla ſubeſſet, crimen adferret. *In Tog. Cand.*

Fabia virgo veſtalis cauſam inceſti dixerat, cùm ei Catilina objiceretur. Eratque abſoluta hæc Fabia, quia ſoror erat Terentiæ Ciceronis, ideo ſic dixit *etiam ſi culpa nulla ſubeſſet*; ita & *ſuis pepercit, & nihilò levius inimico ſummi opprobrii turpitudinem objecit.* Aſcon. in Loc.

Cùm deprehendebare in adulteriis; cùm deprehendebas adulteros ipſe; cùm ex eodem ſtupro tibi & uxorem & filiam inveniſti. *In Tog. Cand.*

Dicitur Catilinam adulterium commiſiſſe cum eâ, quæ ei poſtea ſocrus fuit; eo ſtupro duxiſſe uxorem cum filia ejus eſſet. Hæc Luceius *quoque* Catilina *objicit in orationibus, quas in eum ſcripſit.* Aſcon. in Loc.

[c] Prætereo illum nefarium conatum tuum & pene acerbum & luctuoſum populo Romano diem, cum, Cn. Piſone ſocio, neque alio nemine, cædem optimatum facere voluiſti. *In Tog. Cand.*

N. B. CICERO ſpeaks here of this plot as a fact known: yet, in his *Orat. pro Sylla*, he ſays, it was not known at the time of CATILINE's trial in 688, nor known at the time of his ſecond trial when all the *Conſulars* appeared for him.

[d] Te vero, Catilinâ, conſulatum ſperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum eſt? a quibus enim petis?—a principibus civitatis? qui tibi cùm L. Volcatius Conſul in Conſilio fuiſſet, ne petendi quidem poteſtatem eſſe voluerunt:—a ſenatoribus? Qui te auctoritate ſuâ, ſpoliatum ornamentis omnibus, vinctum pene Africanis oratoribus tradiderunt.

Ne ſe jam tùm reſpexit cum graviſſimis veſtris decretis abſens notatus eſt.

In judiciis quanta vis eſſet, didicit, cum eſt abſolutus, ſi aut illud judicium, aut illa abſolutio nominanda eſt.—diripuit ſocios, leges quæſtiones judicia violavit;—quid ego ut violaveris provinciam prædicem? nam ut te illic geſſeris non audeo dicere, quoniam abſolutus es. Mentitos

Y. of R. 690. menace, that, though through the iniquity of the Judges he had been acquitted on his trial for *extortion* and *rapine* in *Afric*, he would *be brought into judgment again*; *and, for his cruel murder of* MARIUS GRATIDIANUS [e] (a man dear to the People) *and others, proſcribed by* SYLLA (crimes which he could not have the impudence to deny) *would be condemned to a ſeverer puniſhment than could have been inflicted on him for his male-adminiſtration in* Afric, *had he been convicted of it.* And we find that CATILINE, in the very year when CICERO pronounced this invective, was tried for thoſe murders before the Judges who ſat upon the *Sicarii*, and who, though they condemned *Bellienus*, CATILINE's uncle, for killing *Ofella* *, and condemned *Luſcius*, and other ſatellites of SYLLA, for killing Citizens by him proſcribed, acquitted CATILINE, than whom none was more notoriouſly, or more odiouſly guilty. *Aſconius* [f] ſays, that this trial was after CATILINE's repulſe from the Conſulſhip; which indeed is ſufficiently ſupported by CICERO's now

* He was killed by a centurion, according to *Plutarch.*

eſſe equites Romanos, falſas eſſe tabellas honeſtiſſimæ civitatis exiſtimo: mentitum Q. Metellum Pium, mentitam Africam: vidiſſe puto neſcio quid illos judices, qui te innocentem judicarunt: *Oh miſer! qui non ſententias illo judicio te non abſolutum, verùm ad aliquod ſeverius judicium ac majus ſupplicium reſervatum.* In Tog. Cand.

[e] Quem amicum habere poteſt is, qui tot cives trucidavit? [*Conſulatum petis*] ab equeſtri ordine? quem trucidâſti.

A Plebe?—cui ſpectaculum ejuſmodi tua crudelitas præbuit, ut nemo ſine luctu aſpicere, ſine gemitu recordari poſſit. Ibid.

Ejuſdem illius Marii Gratidiani quod caput geſtarit, objicit, quo loco dicit Catilinam caput M. Marii geſtaſſe, quod caput etiam tum plenum animæ & ſpiritus ad Sullam uſque ab Janiculo ad ædem Apollinis manibus ipſe ſuis detulit. Aſcon. in loc.

Populum vero, cùm inſpectante populo collum ſecuit hominis maxime popularis, quanti faceret, oſtendit. *In Tog. Cand.*

Quid tu potes in defenſione tua dicere, quod illi [Luſcius & Bellienus] non dixerunt? Quæ tibi dicere non licebit.—Denique illi negare potuerunt, & negaverunt: tu tibi ne inficiandi quidem impudentiæ locum reliquiſti. Quare præclara dicentur judicia tuliſſe, ſi, quid inficiantem *Luſcium* condemnarunt, *Catilinam* abſolverint confitentem. *In Tog. Cand.*

[f] The ſame *Aſconius* tells us, that ANTONIUS and CATILINE, in their anſwer to this invective, dwelt wholly on the obſcurity of the Orator's birth, his being a *new-man*. Aſcon. in Tog. Cand.

threaten-

threatening him with it as a danger to which he remained expoſed [g].

But what ſeems here the moſt worthy of remark is, that the cruel murders with which CICERO, in his invective, reproaches CATILINE, murders notorious, facts confeſſed, and which the Orator has, in ſeveral parts of his writings, painted in the moſt ſhocking colours [h], are the very crimes, from the puniſhment of which he once reſolved to defend the criminal, for the ſake of making him his friend; and unqueſtionably would have defended, had CATILINE been accuſed in form, and brought to trial *before* the Conſular election of 689; and provided he would have condeſcended to be the Orator's partner and aſſociate in canvaſſing for the Conſulſhip at that election. It ſeems very plain, that *all the Conſulars* did appear for CATILINE, (when brought to trial *after* his repulſe) thoſe Senators whom CICERO calls *good and honeſt men, and friends of the Republic:* It is no wonder therefore that he was acquitted.

In juſtice to the reader it ought to be here confeſſed, that the foregoing account of the *two trials of* CATILINE, the one for *oppreſſions*, the other for *murder*, does not accord with what is ſaid of them, by certain modern writers, who, with great reaſon, are much eſteemed. Two letters from CICERO to ATTICUS, in each of

[g] Hujus autem criminis periculum, quod objicit Cicero, paucos poſt menſes Catilina ſubiit, poſt effecta enim comitia conſularia & Catilinæ repulſam, fecit eum reum inter Sicarios L. Lucullus [Luceius] paratus erudituſque, qui poſtea conſulatum quoque petiit. Ibid.

[h] QUINTUS CICERO, in his letter to his brother MARCUS, *De Petit. Conſulat.* mentions the ſhocking barbarity of CATILINE. Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum conſulatum, qui hominem cariſſimum Populo Rom. M. Mariam inſpectante Populo Rom. vitibus per totam urbem ceciderit? ad buſtum egerit [Q. Catuli] ibi *omni cruciatu vivum lacerarit?* Stanti collum gladio ſua dextera ſecuerit, cùm ſiniſtra capillum ejus a vertice teneret? Caput ſua manu tulerit, cùm inter digitos ejus rivi ſanguinis fluerent? [QUINTUS adds, with regard to CATILINE's general courſe of life] Qui poſtea cum hiſtrionibus et cum gladiatoribus ita vixit, ut alteros libidinis, alteros facinoris adjutores haberet? Qui nullum in locum tam ſanctum, ac tam religioſum acceſſit, in quo non, etſi in aliis culpa non eſſet, tamen ex ſua nequitia *dedecoris ſuſpicionem* relinqueret?

Y. of R. 690. which mention is made of ſome accuſation on which CATALINE was to be tried, have occaſioned a deal of perplexity to the *commentators* upon thoſe letters, and to the *tranſlators* of them, and to *modern compilers* of *Roman* hiſtory, who cannot agree concerning the date of the *ſecond* of thoſe letters, nor the *time* when CATILINE was tried for *extortion*: Nor is it ſtrange, that the moderns ſhould differ on theſe articles, ſeeing *Aſconius* and *Feneſtella*, cotemporaries, and both living in the reign of AUGUSTUS, differ upon the queſtion, whether CICERO did actually defend CATILINE or not.

The reader will, I hope, excuſe the digreſſion, if I ſtep a little aſide to examine into theſe matters; which I am diſpoſed to do, not merely for the ſake of aſcertaining the facts (which, alone, can hardly be thought worth the trouble) but in order to be better acquainted with CICERO, from whoſe writings our modern *Hiſtories of his Times* are chiefly extracted. I ſhall begin with inſerting ſuch parts of the two letters, as regard the buſineſs in hand.

Book I. Ep. I. CICERO to ATTICUS.

" I ſend you the beſt account, which conjecture ena-
" bles me to give you, of the competitors I ſhall have
" for the Conſulſhip. *Galba* is the only man who has
" *declared* his purpoſe of ſtanding,—[yet] it ſeems cer-
" tain, that not only he, but *Antonius* and *Cornificius*
" will be candidates.—Some talk of *Cæſonius*.—Aqui-
" lius *I don't believe has any ſuch intention*.—But *I* SHALL
" *certainly have* CATILINE *for a competitor, if the*
" *Judges will declare, that it is not light at noon day*."

CICERO ATTICO *ſal.*

" *Petitionis noſtræ, quam tibi ſummæ curæ eſſe ſcio, hu-*
" *juſmodi ratio eſt, quod adhuc conjectura provideri poſſit.*
" Prenſat *unus* P. Galba.—*Competitores, qui certi eſſe*
" *videantur*, Galba & Antonius & Q. Cornificius.—
" *Sunt qui etiam* Cæſonium *putant*. Aquilium *non ar-*
" *bitramur, qui denegat.*—CATILINA, ſi judicatum erit
" meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor."

Ep.

Ep. II. CICERO to ATTICUS.

" In the conſulſhip of LUCIUS JULIUS CÆSAR and " CAIUS MARCIUS FIGULUS. My wife is ſafely de- " livered of a ſon.——I formerly gave you a full ac- " count how things ſtood with regard to my ſuit for " the Conſulſhip. *At this time I am thinking to defend* " *my competitor* CATILINE; we have Judges to our " mind, yet ſuch as the *accuſer* himſelf is pleaſed with: " I hope, if he be acquitted, that he will be the more " ready to ſerve me in our common petition; but if it " fall out otherwiſe I ſhall bear it with patience. It is " of great importance to me to have you here as ſoon " as poſſible: For there is a general perſuaſion, that " certain nobles of your acquaintance will be againſt " me; and you, I know, could be of the greateſt ſer- " vice in gaining them over. Wherefore don't fail to " be here in *January* as you intended."

CICERO ATTICO *ſal.*

" L. JULIO CÆSARE, C. MARCIO FIGULO Coss. " *filiolo me auctum ſcito, ſalva Terentia. Ego de meis ad* " *te rationibus ſcripſi antea diligenter.*—Hoc tempore CA- " TILINAM, competitorem noſtrum, defendere cogita- " mus. *Judices habemus quos voluimus, ſumma* accuſato- " ris *voluntate. Spero, ſi abſolutus erit, conjunctiorem il-* " *lum nobis fore in ratione petitionis: ſin aliter acciderit,* " *humaniter feremus. Tuo adventu nobis opus eſt maturo.* " *Nam prorſus ſumma hominum eſt opinio, tuos familiares,* " *nobiles homines, adverſarios honori noſtro fore. Ad eo-* " *rum voluntatem mihi conciliandam maximo te mihi uſui* " *fore video. Quare Januario menſe, ut conſtituiſti, cura* " *ut Romæ ſis.*"

[L. JULIO CÆSARE. C. MARCIO FIGULO Coss.] *Sous le conſulat de L. Julius Cæſar, & C. Marcius Figulus.* On theſe words M. l'Abbé de St. *Real* makes the following remark. " *Il y a des difficultés extraordinaires* " *à dater cette lettre, & les commentateurs s'y ſont epuiſés.* " *Par ces Conſuls qui y ſont nommés il ſemble qu'elle ſoit de* " 689, *qui eſt leur année. Cependant* cela paroit comme " impoſſible

" impoſſible par le dernier article, où Ciceron exhorte
" Atticus à venir paſſer à Rome tout * le mois de Jan-
" vier : *car il ne peut entendre que le Janvier de cette me-*
" *me année, puiſque c'etoit pour l'aider a obtenir le conſulat*
" *de la ſuivante, ce qui ſe devoit decider, ſuivant la coutume*
" *au commencement d'Aout, pour le plus tard. Or quand*
" *meme ſon fils ſeroit né, & cette lettre ecrite le premier jour*
" *de cette année* 689, *le tems ſeroit bien court pour l'envoy-*
" *er en Greece, & pour faire arriver Atticus à Rome, dans*
" *le meme mois. Cette conſideration jointe à ce que la plu-*
" *part des vieilles editions mettent Januario ineunte, au lieu*
" *de Januario menſe comme il y a dans le plus correctes des*
" *nouvelles editions, a fait croire a pluſieurs commentateurs,*
" *qu'elle eſt de l'année precedente* 688, *& que Ciceron a ſeu-*
" *lement entendu en nommant les Conſuls qu'il y nomme,*
" *qu'ils venoient d'etre elus pour l'année ſuivante, & non*
" *pas qu'ils fuſſent deja en exercice.*

" *Mais puiſque cette maniere de dater eſt ſi hors d'uſage,*
" *que ces commentateurs n'en ont pû trouver un ſeul ex-*
" *emple, dans toute l'Antiquité Romaine, pour appuyer leur*
" *opinion, il me ſemble qu'il y a bien moins d'inconvenient*
" *à croire que cette lettre eſt effectivement de l'année qu'elle*
" *marque. Car il n'eſt pas impoſſible que Ciceron crût qu'*
" *Atticus etoit deja en chemin quand il l'ecrivoit. Peut*
" *être auſſi ne comptoit il pas qu' Atticus pût arriver dans*
" *tout Janvier quoiqu'il le lui ecrivit pour le preſſer da-*
" *vantage. Que ſi la naiſſance d'un premier fils eſt un*
" *evenement de nature à etre daté plus particulierement,*
" *que par l'année dans laquelle il eſt arrivé, en l'ecrivant*
" *à ſon meilleur ami, n'eſt-il pas à preſumer que Ciceron en-*
" *tendoit quelque jour particulier de cette meme année, quoi-*
" *qu'il ne l'ait point exprimé? Que ſi cela eſt, quel jour*
" *peut-il avoir entendu naturellement, en diſant ſeulement*
" *que ſon fils eſt né ſous tels Conſuls, que le premier jour*
" *de leur conſulat? comme nous entendons le premier jour*
" *de l'année en diſant ſeulement le* jour de l'an. *Voila,*
" *ce me ſemble, de quelle maniere on peut ſe hazarder*
" *raiſonnablement à deviner, pour ſe determiner dans les*
" *difficultés de cette nature, & non pas, comme la plupart*
" *des commentateurs, par des ſubtilités de Grammaire.*"

* Probably there is here an error of the preſs.

CICERO'S

CICERO's *Engliſh hiſtorian* agrees with M. *de St. Real*, concerning the year in which this letter was written. Midd. Life of Cic. Vol. I. p. 146.

" It is certain, that *his ſon* [CICERO's ſon] *was born* " in this ſame year [689] as he expreſsly tells us, *in* " *the Conſulſhip* of L. JULIUS CÆSAR and C. MARCIUS " FIGULUS. *L. Julio Cæſare & C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ.* " *filiolo me auctum ſcito, ſalva Terentia.*" Ad Attic. L. 1. ep. 2.

And CICERO's *French* hiſtorian is of M. *de St. Real*'s opinion as to the *day* as well as *year* when CICERO wrote the letter in queſtion.——La naiſſance du fils de Ciceron,—ſe trouve fixée *au premier jour de* 689, dans une lettre que le meme Ciceron ecrivoit à Atticus pour le preſſer d'arriver inceſſament, par la raiſon du beſoin qu'il avoit de lui auprés de quelques perſonnes puiſſantes qui paroiſſoient vouloir le traverſer dans ſa demande. Morabin, Hiſt. de Cic. p. 92.

M. *Mongault*, in an anſwer to M. *de St. Real*, has given reaſons for adhering to the opinion of the old commentators. But it ſeems his reaſons were of no weight with either of the ſaid hiſtorians, who could not be ignorant of what he has ſaid on this head. M. *Mongault* writes thus: Cette lettre [the letter beginning with the words *L. Julio Cæſare* &c.] a été ecrite peu de tems aprés la precedente, comme M. de St. Real l'a reconnu lui meme ſans y penſer lorſqu'il a traduit *Ego de meis ad te rationibus ſcripſi antea diligenter*, par *je vous ai ecrit, il n'y a guéres, fort particulierement ſur ma pretention*, ce qui a un rapport viſible à la lettre precedente: or elle *a été certainement ecrite vers* le *dix-ſeptiéme de Juillet*, donc celle-ci a dû l'etre *avant le premier Janvier ſuivant*. Mongault. Remarks on Cic. Letters to Atticus. tome 1. p. 89.

Mais voici quelque choſe de plus *deciſif*. Ciceron dit qu'il penſoit à plaider pour Catilina ſon competiteur: or *l'affaire de Catilina dont Ciceron parle ici, fut jugée ſous le conſulat de* COTTA *&* TORQUATUS (688) CÆSAR & FIGULUS n'etant encore que *Conſuls deſignés*.

We ſee that all the four writers above cited take for granted, that the trial of CATILINE, on the accuſation brought againſt him by *Clodius*, for male adminiſtration in

Y. of R. 690. in *Afric*, is the trial concerning which CICERO ſays, in the firſt letter, "*If* CATILINE *be acquitted, I ſhall cer-* "*tainly have him for a competitor*;" and concerning which he ſays in the ſecond letter, "*I am thinking to defend my competitor* CATILINE."

Pre-poſſeſſed with this perſuaſion, M. *de St. Real* and M. *Morabin*, to reconcile it with the date of the ſecond letter, *L. Julio Cæſare* and *C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ.* put off the trial to the year 689, when CÆSAR and FIGULUS were actually in the Conſulſhip; contrary to the expreſs teſtimony of CICERO himſelf, who tells us, that the Conſul TORQUATUS *with all the ornaments of his Magiſtracy* appeared at that trial, and was CATILINE'S *advocate* [a].

M. *Mongault* too, pre-poſſeſſed with the perſuaſion, that both the letters ſpeak of one and the ſame accuſation (*viz.* that of CATILINE'S *male-adminiſtration in* Afric) in order, I ſuppoſe, to reconcile this perſuaſion with CICERO'S teſtimony concerning the time when CATILINE was tried on that accuſation, will by all means have *L. Julio Cæſare* and *C. Marcio Figulo Coſſ.* to mean *when* CÆSAR *and* FIGULUS *were* CONSULS ELECT; but he ſtands alone in this particular.

CICERO'S *Engliſh hiſtorian*, through a ſtrange degree of inattention, has repreſented CICERO preparing in 689, a defence of CATILINE, in a cauſe which, according to the ſaid hiſtorian's own account, had been tried and determined the year before [b].

That the trial of CATILINE for his male-adminiſtration in *Afric* was not the trial of which CICERO ſpeaks in the ſecond letter to ATTICUS, is ſufficiently manifeſt from comparing the two letters together. In the firſt, CICERO ſays, *No body but* GALBA *has declared himſelf—If* CATILINE *ſhould happen to be* ACQUITTED, *I ſhall certainly have him for a* COMPETITOR. In the ſecond, he ſays, *I am thinking to defend my* COMPETITOR CATILINE. The trial therefore, referred to in the firſt

[a] Orat. pro Sylla, 29. et pro Cœl. 4.

[b] See *Middleton*'s Life of Cicero, p. 138. compared with p. 146.

letter,

letter, was now over, and CATILINE had been *acquitted*, he being actually at this time one of CICERO's *Competitors*.

If this be not ſatisfactory, what follows will, I imagine, remove all doubt; and may perhaps evince, that ſome modern hiſtorians, who treat profeſſedly of the times in which CICERO lived, are not to be read without the ſame caution, which CICERO's *Engliſh hiſtorian* adviſes us to uſe, in reading the *Greek* hiſtorians PLUTARCH, APPIAN, and DIO, *who*, he ſays, *were ſubject to prejudices in their relation of* Roman *affairs*. Mid. Pref. p. xxiv.

CATILINE was twice tried upon criminal accuſations, and twice acquitted *bis abſolutum eſſe Lentulum, bis Catilinam*. That his firſt trial was in the Conſulſhip of TORQUATUS and COTTA, for oppreſſions and exactions in *Africa*, cannot be queſtioned by any body who has attended to what CICERO ſays in his oration for SYLLA, and in that for COELIUS. Ad. Attic. lib. 1. ep. 16.

But another queſtion ariſes—*Whether* CICERO *pleaded for* CATILINE *or not, at that trial?* "*This queſtion is* "*not decided* (ſays M *Mongault,*) Aſconius *maintains* "*the negative againſt* Feneſtella:" And M. *Mongault*[e], in ſupport of *Aſconius*'s opinion, adds, "*There is no frag-* "*ment remaining of* CICERO's *oration, nor any citation* "*from it:*" An argument in which there ſeems but little force; becauſe as CICERO in his poſterior ſpeeches and letters reproached CATILINE ſo often, and ſo bitterly, with all his crimes, it is not likely the orator would preſerve, and publiſh a ſpeech, wherein he had employed his eloquence to defend him.

CICERO's *French hiſtorian* is of opinion, that CATILINE having found means to bribe both his Accuſer and the Judges, *did not* make application to CICERO to defend him, though the Orator was well diſpoſed to do it. He imagines, that CATILINE being aware of CICERO's views, which did not coincide with his own,

[e] M. *Mongault* thinks it highly probable, that CICERO, if he had defended CATILINE, would in his ſpeech *in Tog. Cand.* have reproached him with ingratitude, as he did the Tribune *Mucius*, whom he had formerly defended, when accuſed of robbery.

choſe

A. of R. 690. choſe rather with money to purchaſe an acquittal, than owe it in any meaſure to a man with whom he ſo little agreed in ſentiment[d].

Midd. p. 139. CICERO's *Engliſh hiſtorian* is poſitive, that CICERO *did not defend* CATILINE, but imagines a different reaſon for his declining that taſk. He writes thus:

" CATILINE was brought to a trial for *his oppreſſions* " *in* Afric: He had been ſoliciting CICERO to under- " take his defence; who at one time was much inclin- " ed, or determined rather, to do it, for the ſake of " obliging *the nobles*, eſpecially CÆSAR and CRASSUS, " or of making CATILINE at leaſt his friend, as he ſig- Ad. Att. 1. 2. " nifies in a letter to ATTICUS: *I deſign* (ſays he) *at* " *preſent to defend my competitor* CATILINE, *we have* " *Judges to our mind, and yet ſuch as the* ACCUSER *him-* " *ſelf is pleaſed with: I hope if he be acquitted, that he* " *will be more ready to ſerve me in our common petition*; " *but if it fall out otherwiſe, I ſhall bear it with patience.* " But CICERO *changed his mind* and *did not defend him*; " upon a nearer view perhaps of his deſigns and traite- " rous practices; to which he ſeems to allude, when " deſcribing the art and diſſimulation of CATILINE he Pro Cœl. 6. " declares, *that he himſelf was once almoſt deceived by him* " *ſo as to take him for a good Citizen, a lover of honeſt men, a* " *firm and faithful friend*, &c. But it is not ſtrange, that " a candidate for the Conſulſhip, in the career of his

[d] CATILINA, qui quoiqu'accuſé de concuſſion & par conſequent exclus de droit de toutes les charges, lui paroiſſoit le pretendant le plus formidable. En effet l'argent qu'il diſtribua à P. Clodius Pulcher ſon accuſateur et à ſes juges eux memes leva dans le tems cet obſtacle & il ne fut point obligé de recourir à Ciceron, qui s'etoit attendu à le defendre & qui en avoit au moins eu la volonté. Il s'etoit flatté qu'en ſe le conciliant par ce bon office ils s'entendroient mieux dans leur pourſuite commune, & que Catiline le préféreroit à tout autre pour ſon collégue: en cela je n'ai garde de vouloir juſtifier Cicéron; ſur tout aprés avoir eppris de lui que Catilina étoit ſi manifeſtement coupable, qu'on auroit auſſi-tot nié qu'il fût jour en plein midi, que de detruite les preuves de ſon crime.

Catilina preſſentit ſes vues: comme elles ne quadroient en rein avee les ſiennes, il aima mieux acheter ſon abſolution à prix d'argent, que de s'engager à des retours, s'il arrivoit qu'il la dût â l'eloquence d'un homme avec qui il ſympathiſoit ſi peu. Morabin. Hiſt. de Cic. p. 91.

" ambition

" ambition ſhould think of defending a man of the " firſt rank and intereſt in the City, when *all the Con-* " *ſular Senators*, and even *the Conſul himſelf*, TOR- " QUATUS, appeared with him at the trial, and gave " teſtimony in his favour. Whom CICERO excuſed, " when they were afterwards reproached with it, by " obſerving, *that they had no notion of his treaſons, nor* " *ſuſpicion at that time of his conſpiracy; but out of mere* " *humanity and compaſſion defended a friend in diſtreſs,* " *and in that criſis of his danger overlooked the infamy of* " *his life.* Pro Syll. 29.

" His proſecutor was P. CLODIUS, a young noble- " man as profligate as himſelf; ſo that it was not dif- " ficult to make up matters with ſuch an accuſer, who " for a ſum of money agreed to betray the cauſe, and " ſuffer him to eſcape: which gave occaſion to what " CICERO ſaid afterwards in a ſpeech againſt him in " the Senate, while they were ſuing together for the " Conſulſhip: *Wretch! not to ſee that thou art not ac-* " *quitted, but reſerved to a ſeverer trial, and heavier pu-* " *niſhment.*" Vid. infr. 464. Orat in Tog. Cand

There are, to my apprehenſion, not a few infirmities in this paſſage of the celebrated hiſtorian's work. For,

1. The ſecond letter to ATTICUS, to which reference is made, ſays not a word of CÆSAR, or of CRASSUS, or of CICERO's being determined to defend CATILINE, *for the ſake of obliging the nobles*, but for the ſake only of making CATILINE his friend.

2. In the next place the hiſtorian cites the authority of *Aſconius*, for ſaying that CICERO *did not defend* CATILINE; yet *Aſconius* delivers that only as his opinion, in oppoſition to the aſſertion of *Feneſtella*, and gives reaſons which are of very little weight. By the way, it ſhould be remembered, that the queſtion upon which *Aſconius* and *Feneſtella* differ is, whether CICERO defended CATILINE at his trial in 688, for *extortion?* No body ſuppoſes that CICERO, after making that *invective* called *Orat. in Toga Candida*, and after CATILINE's *repulſe from the Conſulſhip* in 689, did actually defend him at his *trial for murder*; though this was moſt certainly

690. tainly the trial at which CICERO once *purpoſed* to defend him; it being apprehended at the time when CICERO wrote the ſecond letter to ATTICUS, that CATILINE would, *before* the Conſular elections of that year 689, be brought into judgment on the accuſation of *killing the proſcribed.*

3. The hiſtorian thinks it not improbable, that CICERO's change of mind proceeded from his having (in 688) a nearer view of CATILINE's deſigns and traiterous practices; whereas we ſhall preſently ſee, that *in the latter part of the year* 689, thoſe traiterous practices were (according to CICERO) an abſolute ſecret to *the Conſulars*, who all appeared for him at the trial which he then underwent.

4. The hiſtorian relates, as if it were a thing not only *credible*, but certainly *true*, that CICERO, who ſpeaks ſo often of the *notoriety* of CATILINE's many and moſt atrocious crimes anterior to his conſpiracy, and has repreſented his whole life as an uninterrupted ſeries of uncommon wickedneſs, *took him*, nevertheleſs, or, at leaſt, *was once almoſt deceived by him, ſo as to take him for a good Citizen, a lover of honeſt men, a firm and faithful friend.*

5. There is no evidence, that *all the Conſular Senators appeared* (as the hiſtorian pretends) *for* CATILINE *in* 688, *at his trial for oppreſſions and rapine:* But we learn from a paſſage, in *Orat. pro* * *Sylla*, that *all the Conſulars* did appear for CATILINE at a poſterior trial which he underwent. And when CICERO, in his ſpeech *in Tog. Cand.* ſaid to him, *Wretch! not to ſee that thou art not acquitted, but reſerved only to a ſeverer trial, and heavier puniſhment*, it is not more plain, that this menacing prediction related to a trial, which he had ſtill to undergo; than it is, that this future trial would be *for having killed ſome of the proſcribed, and particularly* MARIUS GRATIDIANUS, a fact which CATILINE *could not have the impudence to deny.*

* C. 29.

Vid. ſupr. p. 463.

Vid. ſupr. p. 454. note [e].

From the *paſſage* in CICERO's ſpeech for P. SYLLA, to which I here refer, and which will preſently be given at length, it is very evident that TORQUATUS, the proſecutor,

proſecutor, apprehenſive leſt the *advocation* of CICERO, and the *patronage* of the CONSULARS, who had all been zealous in the meaſures taken to cruſh CATILINE, might be conſidered, as a preſumptive proof of SYLLA's being entirely innocent of CATILINE's conſpiracy, had therefore reminded the Judges of the *appearing of all the Conſulars for* CATILINE *himſelf*, when brought into judgment upon a criminal accuſation—"Yes (anſwers CICERO) it is very true, they did appear for "him: and your father, when Conſul, was CATILINE's advocate, at his trial for *oppreſſions and rapine*; but your father was *then* ignorant of his traiterous plots: nor did your father afterwards, when "he had received ſome intimation of thoſe plots, appear for him at his *ſecond* trial, tho' all the other "Conſulars did; they being *then* as ignorant of his "treaſonable practices, as your father was at the time "of the *firſt trial*. But when thoſe men [c] who had "been *really accomplices of* CATILINE *in the conſpiracy* were brought into judgment for it, none of the "*Conſulars* appeared for *them*, or gave them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance." And the orator ſeems, on this occaſion, to intimate, that treaſon againſt the Senate was the only crime, from the puniſhment of which a man might not honourably defend the guilty: [yet* he had formerly cenſured HORTENSIUS with ſome ſeverity for defending VERRES.]

*Vid. ſup. p. 297.

Accuſati ſunt uno nomine CONSULARES.—*Affuerunt*, inquit, CATILINÆ, *illumque laudarunt*. Nulla tum patebat, *nulla erat cognita conjuratio*: defendebant amicum, aderant ſupplici, *vitæ ejus turpitudinem in ſummis ejus periculis non inſequebantur*. Quin etiam *parens tuus*, TORQUATE, CONSUL *reo de pecuniis repetundis* CATILINÆ *fuit advocatus*:——At idem *non adfuit* ALIO IN JUDICIO, CUM ADESSENT CETERI. Si POSTEA *cognorat ipſe aliquid, quod* IN CONSULATU *ignoraſſet*:

[c] Thoſe of the conſpirators, who, after CATILINE's defeat and death, were tried in form, found guilty and puniſhed.

P. Sylla was, at the ſame time, accuſed by the younger TORQUATUS, and defended by CICERO.

Y. of R. 690. *noraſſet: ignoſcendum eſt* iis, *qui* POSTEA *nihil audierunt.* Sin *illa res de pecuniis repetundis* PRIMA valuit: non *inveterata*, quàm *recens*, debuit eſſe gravior. Sed ſi tuus parens etiam in illa ſuſpicione periculi ſui, tamen humanitate adductus advocationem hominis improbiſſimi Sella curuli, atque ornamentis & ſuis, & conſulatus honeſtavit; quid eſt quamobrem CONSULARES, qui CATILINÆ *adfuerunt*, reprehendantur? At iidem iis, qui † ante hunc [Syllam] cauſam de conjuratione dixerunt, non adfuerunt. TANTO SCELERE adſtrictis hominibus ſtatuerunt nihil a ſe adjumenti, nihil opis, nihil auxilii ferri oportere. *Orat. pro Sylla*, 29.

† Lege Plautia de Vi interrogati. Vid. Cic. pro Cœl. 29.

M. *Crevier*, being fully perſuaded, I ſuppoſe, that the ſecond letter to ATTICUS was written in the Conſulſhip of L. CÆSAR and C. FIGULUS [A. U. 689] and therefore that CICERO's determination, there mentioned, to defend CATILINE, could not relate to his trial for *oppreſſions*, which was over, writes thus:

" CICERO *the year before*, when he was preparing to " ſtand *this year* (689) for the Conſulſhip, had ſaid, Tome XI. " upon ſeeing CATILINE accuſed of extortion, *we ſhall* p. 409. " *certainly have him for a competitor, if it be judged* " *that it is not light at noon day.* CATILINE was tried " and acquitted, and being afterwards accuſed either " of *inceſtuous commerce with the Veſtal* FABIA [f], or of " *the*

[f] " For the inceſt, which CATILINE committed with the Veſtal " FABIA, a criminal proſecution, in form, (ſays M. *Crevier*, Tom. " IX. p. 361.) was commenced againſt him. But FABIA was CI- " CERO's wife's ſiſter, and CATILINE was protected by CATULUS. " Favour prevailed, and the criminals were acquitted. It will per- " haps appear ſurpriſing, that CATULUS, *a man of worth, and a good* " *Citizen*, ſhould intereſt himſelf for CATILINE." [N. B. It is the character here given of CATULUS, which, being ſuppoſed his due, occaſions the ſurprize at his appearing in favour of CATILINE; but the wonder ceaſes at once, when we call to mind that CATULUS was one of SYLLA's creatures, and a brother ſatellite of CATILINE, and his zealous defender, when tried for the murder of the *proſcribed*; by the confiſcation of whoſe eſtates, CATULUS, HORTENSIUS, METELLUS PIUS, and the reſt of the murderous crew were become

" *the murder of the proſcribed*, applied himſelf to CICERO, to be his defender. It is not certainly known, " whether CICERO pleaded ſo bad a cauſe; but it is " certain, that he was not averſe to the undertaking, " and that he reaſoned thus. *Either I ſhall get him* " *acquitted, in which caſe I may count upon his hearty* " *concurrence with me in our common ſuit for the Conſul-* " *ſhip; or he will be condemned, and in that caſe I ſhall* " *not be entirely diſconſolate.*"

Now if CICERO defended, or deſigned to defend CATILINE, in a trial which he underwent in the year 689, it could be no other, than that for *killing the proſcribed*; for it does not appear, that he was ever tried upon the affair of the Veſtal.

" CATILINE, ſays CICERO's *Engliſh hiſtorian*, was " *ſuſpected* alſo at the ſame time [in 689] of another " heinous and capital crime, an inceſtuous commerce " with FABIA *one of the Veſtal virgins*, and ſiſter to CI- " CERO's wife. This was *charged upon him ſo loudly* " *by common fame*, and gave ſuch ſcandal to the City, " that FABIA *was brought to a trial for it*, but either " through her innocence, or the authority of her bro- " ther CICERO, ſhe was readily acquitted: which gave " occaſion to CICERO to ſay, among other reproaches " on his flagitious life, *That there was no place ſo ſacred,* " *whither his very viſits did not carry pollution, and leave* " *the imputation of guilt, where there was no real crime* " *ſubſiſting.*"

come rich.] M. *Crevier*, for the fact of CATILINE's being tried for the affair of the *Veſtal*, cites *Aſcon. in Or. Cic. in Toga Cand.* and *Oroſius*, l. vi. c. 3. But *Aſconius* does not ſay it, but ſeems rather to intimate, that FABIA only was tried. *Vide ſupr.* p. 453. note [b]. What *Oroſius* ſays, is this, *Eodem anno* [683] *apud Romam Catilina inceſti accuſatus, quod cum Fabia virgine Veſtali commiſiſſe arguebatur*, CATULI *gratia fultus evaſit.* Without debating whether theſe words of *Oroſius*, (from which, if what the writer ſays be true, it would follow that CATILINE underwent *three* trials in all) be of any force againſt CICERO's *bis abſolutum Catilinam*, I ſhall only obſerve, that the *time*, in which *Oroſius* places this trial, proves that it could not be the ſame trial at which CICERO, in the ſecond letter to ATTICUS, declares his deſign to defend the criminal.

Y. of R. 690. Though the learned hiſtorian ſpeaks here of the affair of the Veſtal, as in the year 689, [CATILINE was alſo *ſuſpected at the ſame time*, &c.] yet, according to *Oroſius*, the only writer (and he was of the fifth century) who reports that CATILINE was tried on that accuſation, the trial was about the year 683; and according to *Salluſt*, who is our beſt authority, the inceſt was committed when CATILINE was a young man, or, at moſt, not old enough to ſtand for the Conſulſhip: He was *adoleſcens*.

Nor is it credible, that CICERO would threaten CATILINE with a trial for that crime, of which the Orator believed, or pretended, at leaſt, to believe him innocent.

It may fairly be concluded therefore, that the cauſe in queſtion was the impeachment of CATILINE for killing ſome of the *proſcribed*; and that at this trial CATULUS, and *all the other worthy Conſulars*, with whom CATILINE lived in ſtrict friendſhip, appeared in his defence, gave him an excellent character [*illum laudarunt*] and got him acquitted. CATULUS indeed was particularly intereſted in this affair, on account of the great honour which, by one of the murders in queſtion, had been done to his father; to whoſe manes, and at whoſe tomb MARIUS GRATIDIANUS was, by CATILINE, moſt devoutly and moſt bloodily ſacrificed.

Vid. ſupr. p. 231.

And now, that I may purſue the purpoſe of this digreſſion, Does it not indicate an extreme and moſt unreaſonable prejudice againſt CÆSAR, to impute, without any heſitation, to him principally the acquittal of CATILINE, and give this acquittal as one proof among many (equally cogent) of CÆSAR's pernicious deſigns againſt his country?

For thus proceeds CICERO's *Engliſh hiſtorian*, after mentioning CÆSAR's being one of the Aſſiſtant Judges to the Prætor who was to ſit upon the *Sicarii*,—" This " gave him an opportunity of citing before him as " criminals, and condemning by the Law of Aſſaſſinate, " all thoſe, who in SYLLA's *proſcription had been known to kill, or receive money for killing a proſcribed Citizen*; which

" which money CATO alſo, when he was *Quæſtor*
" the year before, *had made them refund to the treaſury.*
" CÆSAR's view was [not to execute juſtice upon thoſe
" murderers, whom CATO had in effect already con-
" demned as murderers, but] *to mortify the Senate, and*
" *ingratiate himſelf with the People, by reviving the* MA-
" RIAN *cauſe*, which had always been popular, and of
" which he was naturally the head, on account of his
" near relation to old MARIUS. For which purpoſe
" he had the hardineſs likewiſe [when Ædile in 688] *to*
" *replace in the Capitol thoſe trophies and ſtatues of* MA-
" RIUS, *which* SYLLA *had ordered to be thrown down and*
" *broken to pieces.* But *while he was proſecuting with ſuch*
" *ſeverity the agents of* SYLLA's *cruelty, he not only ſpared,*
" *but favoured* CATILINE, *who was one of the moſt cruel*
" *in ſpilling the blood of the proſcribed; having butchered*
" *with his own hands, and in a manner the moſt brutal,*
" C. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS, *a favourite of the Peo-*
" *ple, nearly related both to* MARIUS and CICERO;
" *whoſe head he carried in triumph through the ſtreets*
" *to make a preſent of it to* SYLLA. But CÆSAR's
" zeal provoked L. PAULLUS[g] [L. LUCEIUS] to bring
" CATILINE alſo under the laſh of the ſame Law, and
" to accuſe him in form, *after his repulſe from the Conſul-*
" *ſhip* [conſequently after *Midſummer* 689] of the mur-
" der of many Citizens in SYLLA's proſcriptions, of
" which, though he was notoriouſly guilty, yet, con-
" trary to all expectation, he was acquitted." [*Bis ab-*

[g] L. PAULLUS was not the accuſer of CATILINE in this cauſe, nor in this year 689; but towards the end of the year 690, upon the *Plautian* Law of treaſon: and no trial enſued. See *Salluſt.*— *Aſconius* writes thus: CATILINA *eſt abſolutus quem poſt repulſam in petitione Conſulatûs* L. LUCULLUS, *qui poſtea quoque eundem honorem petiit, lege de Sicariis poſtulaverat.* On which words *Freinſhemius* makes the following comment. Haud facile eſt ſtatuere, quis ſit hic LUCULLUS. Aſconius ex quo hæc deſumpta ſunt, paulo poſt mentionem facit orationum LUCEII in CATILINAM. *Hinc nobis veriſimile videtur hic legendum eſſe* LUCEIUS, *pro* L. LUCULLUS. *Pulcrè enim omnia conveniunt. Hic accuſator* CATILINÆ *dicitur ab Aſconio fuiſſe* paratus erudituſque: LUCEII *eruditio nota eſt ex epiſtolis ad eum* CICERONIS. *Idem qui Catilinam nunc accuſat, conſulatum poſtea petiit nec conſecutus eſt.* LUCEIUS *conſulatum cum* CÆSARE & BIBULO *fruſtra petiit.*

Y. of R. 690. *ſolutum Catilinam.* Ad Attic. 1. 16. Salluſt. 31. Dio. l. 36. p. 34.]

M. *Crevier* is not ſo *poſitive*, as to CÆSAR's *partiality* in this affair; he ventures no farther than *conjecture*.

" The ſeverity with which CATO had made *the murderers of the proſcribed* refund the money they had " received out of the treaſury, cleared the way for " CÆSAR's condemnation of them as guilty of murder. It is perhaps the only public affair, wherein " CATO and CÆSAR were of one mind. CÆSAR, on " the expiration of his Ædileſhip, accepted a commiſſion for trying Homicides. He was then what the " *Romans* called *Judex Queſtionis*; that is, a commiſſioner appointed to preſide in the place of a Prætor, at " the trial of cauſes within a certain juriſdiction. He " *probably* contrived to get this employment, in order " to bring into judgment, and to puniſh, as murderers, " thoſe who had killed the proſcribed, though they were " excepted by name in SYLLA's Laws. They had been " already condemned, in ſome manner, by CATO; and " when they were brought before CÆSAR's Tribunal, " the People had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing them puniſhed for thoſe very crimes, which they had before been " rewarded for perpetrating. The cataſtrophe of thoſe " villains was matter of public rejoicing. Among the " condemned was a centurion, called *L. Luſcius*, whom " SYLLA's victory had ſo enriched, that he was at this " time worth ten millions of ſeſterces. *Bellienus*, CATILINE's uncle, who had killed *Lucretius Ofella*, was " alſo condemned. But CATILINE, the moſt criminal " of them all, was, upon trial, acquitted. Hiſtory does " not tell us the reaſon of this inequality in the ſentences of the Judges, where the cauſes were ſo ſimi- " lar. We may conjecture, that CÆSAR *was too much* " CATILINE's *friend, to be willing to deſtroy him.* In " conſequence of this acquittal, CATILINE, loaded " with crimes, a conſpirator againſt the State, *thrice* " brought into judgment upon heavy accuſations, and " as often acquitted (without ceaſing to be thought criminal)

" minal) *was now* [*in* 689] *in a condition to ſtand for the* " *Conſulſhip.*"

The reader may obſerve, that CATILINE is almoſt as troubleſome to the commentators in *their* way, as he was to CICERO in *his* way.

M. *de St. Real*, and M. *Mornbin*, to get rid of their difficulties, have contradicted CICERO in relation to the TIME when CATILINE was tried for *extortion*.

M. *Mongault* has been conſtrained to make L. CÆSARE, C. FIGULO Coss. mean *the year when* CÆSAR *and* FIGULUS *were* CONSULS ELECT: And, with regard to the *time*[a], when CATILINE was tried for *killing the proſcribed*, to contradict every writer, ancient and modern, who has mentioned that trial.

CICERO's *Engliſh hiſtorian*, as I obſerved before, has, through inattention, fallen into an abſurdity like that of *yeſterday we ſhall go into the country*. Vid. ſupr. p. 460.

M. *Crevier*, though avoiding the miſtakes of the other four, has, contrary to the teſtimony of ASCONIUS, and the evidence of CICERO's own words, in his invective *in Toga Candida*, repreſented the trial of CATILINE for murder, as *prior* to *his repulſe from the Conſulſhip*, and prior to that *invective*. And he ſpeaks of CATILINE as having been *thrice* tried and acquitted before his ſtanding for the Conſulſhip, whereas in fact he had been but *once* brought into judgment; which was for male-adminiſtration in *Afric*.

And when M. *Crevier* ſays, " Hiſtory does not tell " us the reaſon why the judgments of the court were ſo

[a] Upon the words *bis abſolutum eſſe Lentulum, bis Catilinam* (in CICERO's 16th letter to ATTICUS, [lib. I.] written in 692. M. *Mongault* makes the following remark.

" *Que Lentulus & Catilina avoient été abſous chacun deux fois.*"—Ca- " tilina avoit été mis en juſtice LA PREMIERE FOIS *pour avoir fait* " *mourir inhumainement du tems de Sylla, Marius Gratidianus* couſin ger- " main, du pere de Ciceron, & qui avoit été adopté par le grand Ma- " rius; & il fut *accuſé* DEPUIS *de concuſſion*, comme on a vu dans les " lettres 10 & 11. de ce livre, Catilina avoit encore été accuſé d'avoir " eu commerce avec une Veſtale; mais Ciceron ne parle point de cette " accuſation, parceque cette Veſtale etoit ſœur de ſa femme, & qu'il " ſuppoſe qu'elle avoit été accuſée ſans fondement."

" unlike,

Y. of R. 690. Vid. ſupr. p. 466. Orat. pro Sylla 29.

" unlike, when the cauſes were ſo ſimilar," it is plain, that he has overlooked what CICERO himſelf (M. *Crevier*'s principal hiſtorian for theſe times) confeſſes, that *all the Conſular* Senators (except TORQUATUS) appeared for CATILINE at his trial, poſterior to that for *oppreſſions*, conſequently his trial for *murdering the proſcribed*.

With regard to this trial of CATILINE for *murder*, I further obſerve, that though his acquittal be imputed, by ſome modern writers, to CÆSAR, as if he were the ſole judge at the trial, yet it is evident, that more Judges than one ſat upon the cauſe, and it is not clear, that CÆSAR was of the number. *We have*, ſays CICERO, (who then purpoſed to be CATILINE's advocate) *Judges to our mind, yet ſuch as the accuſer himſelf is perfectly content with.* Judices habemus quos voluimus, ſumma accuſatoris voluntate. And if LUCEIUS, CICERO's particular friend [b] and great admirer, was the *accuſer*, (which ſeems highly probable *) have we not good ground to ſuſpect that the whole tranſaction was colluſive? After CATO had forced the aſſaſſins to refund the pecuniary rewards of their villanies, and after CÆSAR had ſet on foot proſecutions againſt them *as murderers*, it was hardly poſſible for CATILINE to avoid a trial. The buſineſs therefore of the *Optimates*, the intimate friends of CATILINE, was to provide a *proſecutor* and an *advocate*, and *judges*, through whoſe *prevarication*, *eloquence*, and *iniquity*, he might be ſure to eſcape; eſpecially as the moſt eminent *Patriots*, the *Conſulars*, the *Chiefs of the* HONEST, were to appear to his character, and make his panegyric. It is a great pity, that we have not the oration which CICERO had prepared in defence of CATILINE's hacking to pieces MARIUS GRATIDIANUS, the Orator's near kinſman, and carrying the bloody head *plenum animæ & ſpiritus* through the ſtreets, to make a preſent of it to SYLLA. The fact being confeſſed *, the Orator's taſk was only to ſhew,

* Vide ſupra, p. 469. note g.

* Vid. ſupra, p. 454. note e.

[b] This is the eminently learned man, who, at CICERO's requeſt, undertook to write the hiſtory of CICERO's Conſulſhip, and to praiſe his conduct beyond its merit. *Ep. Fam.* 12. *Ad Attic.* 4. 6.

that

that it was a glorious action, and highly beneficial to the Republic.

I paſs now to the examination of that charge againſt CÆSAR, which is ſo often repeated by modern writers of *Roman* hiſtory. He is repreſented as forming projects, even from his early youth, to *overturn the Commonwealth, invade the liberties of his fellow-citizens, enſlave his country*, and to do, no body knows what! "CÆ-
"SAR'S *whole life*, ſays CICERO'S Engliſh hiſtorian, *made* Midd. p.
"*it probable that there could hardly be any plot in which he* 225.
"*had not ſome ſhare.*" Yet of his evil diſpoſitions before CICERO'S Conſulſhip, or even at that time, there is not the leaſt ſhadow of evidence produced: But, inſtead of proper proof, we have *his ſpeaking honourably of his aunt and of his wife at their funerals; his erecting*, when Ædile, *the ſtatue of* MARIUS, and *his eſpouſing the popular party*, againſt the faction of SYLLA'S cut-throats, and the creatures of his uſurped deſpotiſm.

In order to ſet this matter in a true light, let us conſider the import of the words *Republick, Free-State, Conſtitution*, when they are uſed in relating the hiſtory of *theſe times.*

CICERO'S *Engliſh hiſtorian*, in a *treatiſe* which he publiſhed *on the* Roman *Senate*, contends, that "by *the ori-* p. 33. &
"*ginal conſtitution* of the government, even under the 110.
"kings, the collective body of the People was the real
"ſovereign of *Rome*, and the dernier reſort in all caſes."
—And that even in the moſt outrageous "inſults on the p. 123.
"authority of the Senate, though the *honeſt* of all ranks
"loudly inveighed againſt them, and deteſted the au-
"thors of them as men of dangerous views, who aſpired
"to powers that threatened the liberty of the City;
"*yet none ever pretended to ſay, that the acts themſelves*
"*were illegal, or that the* PEOPLE *had not a clear right,*
"*by the very Conſtitution of the Republic, to command and*
"*enact whatever they thought expedient.*"

And the ſame writer tells us, that before CICERO'S Conſulſhip, this *Democracy* had been changed by SYLLA into an *Ariſtocracy.*

SYLLA

Y. of R. 690. Midd. Life of Cic. p. 31.

"SYLLA having ſubdued all, who were in arms
"againſt him, was now at leiſure to take his full re-
"venge on their friends and adherents; in which by
"the deteſtable method of a *proſcription, of which he*
"*was the firſt inventor*, he exerciſed a more infamous
"cruelty than had ever been practiſed in cold blood,
"in that, or, perhaps, any other City. The proſcrip-
"tion was not confined to *Rome*, but carried through
"all the towns of *Italy*, where, beſides the crime of
Salluſt. 15. Plut. in Syll. Ibid. p. 32.
"party, which was pardoned to none, it was fatal to
"be poſſeſſed of money, lands, or a pleaſant ſeat; all
"manner of licence being indulged to an inſolent army,
"of carving for themſelves what fortunes they pleaſed.
"—As ſoon as the proſcriptions were over, and the
"ſcene grown a little calm, L. FLACCUS, being choſen
"Inter-rex, declared SYLLA *Dictator for ſettling the*
"*ſtate of the Republic*, without any limitation of time,
"and ratified *whatever he had done, or ſhould do, by a*
"*ſpecial law, that impowered him to put any Citizen to*
"*death, without hearing or trial. This office of* DICTA-
"TOR, which in early times had oft been of ſingular
"ſervice to the Republic in caſes of difficulty and diſ-
"treſs, *was now grown odious and ſuſpected in the preſent*
"*ſtate of its wealth and power, as dangerous to the public*
"*liberty*, and for that reaſon had been wholly diſuſed,
Vell. Pat. 2. 28.
"and laid aſide, for *one hundred and twenty years*; ſo
"that FLACCUS's Law was the pure effect of force and
"terror; and though pretended to be made by the
"People, was utterly deteſted by them. SYLLA, how-
"ever, being inveſted by it with abſolute authority,
"*made many uſeful regulations* for the better order of the
"government; and by the plenitude of his power
"*changed in great meaſure the whole conſtitution of it, from*
"*a* democratical *to an* ariſtocratical *form*, by advancing
"the prerogative of the Senate, and depreſſing that of
"the People. *He took from the Equeſtrian order the*
"*judgment of all cauſes, which they had enjoyed from the*
"*time of the* GRACCHI, *and reſtored it to the Senate*; de-
"prived the People of the right of *chuſing the prieſts*,

and

" and replaced it *in the colleges of prieſts*; but *above all,*
" *he abridged the immoderate power of the Tribunes*, which
" had been *the chief* [c] *ſource of all their civil diſſenſions*;
" *for he made them incapable of any other Magiſtracy after*
" *the Tribunate*; *reſtrained the liberty of appealing to them*;
" *took from them their capital privilege, of propoſing Laws*
" *to the People*; *and left them nothing but their negative*;
" or, as CICERO ſays, *the power only of helping, not of*
" *hurting any one.* But that he might not be ſuſpected
" of aiming at a perpetual tyranny, and a total ſubver-
" ſion of the Republic, he ſuffered the Conſuls to be
" choſen in a regular manner, and to govern, as uſual,
" in all the ordinary affairs of the City: whilſt he em-
" ployed himſelf in reforming the diſorders of the State
" by putting his new Laws in execution; and in *diſtri-*
" *buting the confiſcated lands of the adverſe party among*
" *his Legions*: So that the REPUBLIC ſeemed to be once
" more SETTLED ON A LEGAL BASIS, and the Laws and
" judicial proceedings began to flouriſh in the Forum."

After giving this account of SYLLA's uſurpation and tyranny, and after relating his end, the hiſtorian has theſe very curious paſſages:

SYLLA had *one felicity peculiar to himſelf*, of being the Midd. p.
" only man in hiſtory, in whom the *odium of the moſt* 50.
" *barbarous* [d] *cruelties was extinguiſhed by the glory of his*
" great

[c] The hiſtorian, when he ſays, that *the immoderate power of the Tribunes* had been *the chief ſource* of all the civil diſſentions at *Rome*, ſeems to have forgot that the ſame immoderate power had likewiſe been *the only ſource* of the real *liberty*, *the public virtue*, *the conqueſts*, and *the glory* of the Republic; and that the ABUSE of the *Tribunitian Authority* had been wholly occaſioned by the ambition, avarice, and uſurpations of the Ariſtocratic faction, CICERO's *honeſt* men, his *good Citizens*. See *Introduction to the 4th book of this hiſtory*; *and Introduction to the 7th book*.

[d] M. l'Abbé *de St. Real* ſpeaks to the ſame effect; only he imputes the *oblivion*, into which SYLLA's cruelties were caſt, to his ABDICATION alone.

Sylla, par un retour ineſperé, ennuyé de vengeance, de pouvoir, de ſang & de commandement; moins peut être par moderation, & par grandeur d'ame, comme on l'a toujours publié, que par inquiétude; s'aviſa de quitter ſa Dictature & l'Empire, & de remettre le commandement entre les mains des Conſuls: Changement prodigieux, qui rendit

dés

A. U. of R. 690. "great acts. CICERO, though he had a good opinion "of his cauſe, yet *deteſted the inhumanity of his victory,* "*and never ſpeaks of him with reſpect, nor of his govern-*
De Fin. 312. "*ment, but as a proper tyranny*; calling him *a maſter of*
De Off. 2. 8. "*three moſt peſtilent vices, luxury, avarice, and cruelty.*"

Notwithſtanding the *peculiar felicity* abovementioned, CICERO, we ſee, *remembers* SYLLA's *inhumanity*, and never ſpeaks of him with reſpect; and "*As ſoon as* SYLLA
Midd. p. 50. "*was dead*, the old diſſenſions, that had been ſmothered "awhile by the terror of his power, burſt out again in- "to a flame, between the two factions, ſupported ſe- "verally by the two Conſuls, Q. CATULUS and M. "LEPIDUS, who were wholly oppoſite to each other "in party and politics. LEPIDUS reſolved, at all ad- "ventures, *to reſcind the acts of* SYLLA, *and recal the* "*exiled* MARIANS; and began openly to ſolicit the "People to ſupport him in that reſolution: but *his at-* "*tempt, though plauſible, was factious and unſeaſonable,* "*tending to overturn* THE PRESENT SETTLEMENT *of* "*the* REPUBLIC, *which* after its late wounds, and loſs "of civil blood, *wanted nothing ſo much as reſt and qui-* "*et, to recover a tolerable degree of ſtrength.*" That is to ſay, SYLLA's gang of robbers and murderers wanted nothing ſo much as public peace and quiet, that they might have no diſturbance in the enjoyment of their plunder and depredations. And CATULUS, the collegue of LEPIDUS, being one of that gang, and being aided by the reſt, diſappointed all his deſigns, though "he "had with him ſeveral of the chief Magiſtrates, and "the good wiſhes of all the Tribunes," and of all the popular party; in whoſe minds *the odium of* SYLLA's

dés ce jour Sylla l'Idole des Romains. *On oublia tout le ſang de la proſcription; pour ne ſe reſſouvenir que de la liberté rendue*; & on vit en lui l'exemple d'un uſurpateur le plus violent, & le plus ſanguinaire, mort paiſiblement dans ſon lit, *aimé, adoré de* TOUS LES CITOYENS. [These laſt words are mere romance, as the whole ſequel of the hiſtory evinces.] Si SYLLA avoit toujours été bon Republiçain, on l'auroit moins aimé, que quand, aprés avoir ſubjugué ſa Patrie, il lui a plu de lui rendre la liberté. *Tome* 3. p. 61.

cruelties

cruelties was not extinguiſhed by the glory of his great acts.

But whoever might diſlike SYLLA's eſtabliſhment, *it was factious* (in the opinion of the hiſtorian above cited) to *ſolicit the People to make any alteration in it.*

The very ingenious M. *Crevier* is of the ſame opinion. Speaking of that *wiſe* ſentence pronounced by CATULUS, on occaſion of CÆSAR's erecting the ſtatue of MARIUS.—CÆSAR *no longer undermines, but openly attacks the Republic*—" The reflection was juſt. *The govern-* " *ment was at that time founded upon the Laws and In-* " *ſtitutions of* SYLLA, and it was not poſſible to revive " the party of MARIUS [*i. e.* the *popular party*] with- " out introducing a general ſubverſion of all things. Vid. ſupr. p. 439. Tome XI. p. 265.

Again " We have ſeen, that SYLLA had deprived " them [the ſons of the proſcribed] of the capacity of " holding dignities, and of being admitted into the " Senate. This was very hard: but SYLLA's *Inſtitu-* " *tions were* then *the baſis of the government*, and it was " impoſſible to infringe them, without putting the " whole State into confuſion. The Conſul [CICERO] " was therefore obliged to oppoſe their demand, how " equitable ſoever it ſeemed." p. 323.

The learned writer will, I hope, excuſe me, if I ſay, that the *reaſon* he aſſigns for thinking that CATULUS ſpoke wiſely, and CICERO acted juſtly in the inſtances mentioned, could have no place in the minds of CATULUS and CICERO: becauſe, in fact, the Laws and Inſtitutions of SYLLA were not *the baſis of the government*, when CATULUS uttered his wiſdom in 688; nor when CICERO oppoſed the demand made by the ſons of the proſcribed in 690.

The principal Laws and Inſtitutions of SYLLA, thoſe that concerned the conſtitution of the government, had been abrogated ſome years before. The TRIBUNES had been reinſtated in the ancient privileges of the Tribunate: to the PEOPLE had been reſtored the prerogative of *electing the prieſts*; and the SENATORS had been deprived of *the ſole right of judicature.* p. 211. p. 206. p. 210.

Except

Y. of R. 690. Except the practice of chuſing annually twenty Quæſtors, inſtead of Eight, to ſupply the numerous vacancies in the Senate, whoſe complement of members SYLLA had much enlarged, ſcarce any thing remained of his innovations, but the *new Senators, whom he had made powerful by making them rich, in the manner deſcribed* * *above.*

* See p. 473.

Theſe ruffians and their creatures were CICERO's REPUBLIC, and their ſettlement in the poſſeſſion of all the power of the State was the *ſettlement*, which he was ſo zealous to maintain and preſerve; and which the ſons of the *proſcribed*, had they been reſtored (as equity required) to a capacity of holding public dignities, and of being admitted into the Senate, might poſſibly have endangered. As CÆSAR had no zeal for the preſervation of *this ſettlement*, but was for reinſtating the children of the proſcribed in the *rights and privileges* they were born to, we ſee in what ſenſe he was, *at this time, an enemy to the* REPUBLIC.

I ſhall here add M. *Vertot*'s account of the State of *Rome*, when CICERO was Conſul.

Vert. Rev. Rom. l. xiii. "Debauchery, luxury, and their natural conſequence, "poverty, gave birth to CATILINE's conſpiracy: the "exceſſive ambition of ſome private men ſtrengthened "it, at a time when ROME *had ſcarce any thing left of "a Republican government, beſides the bare name.* The "great ones alone reigned with abſolute authority. "The whole adminiſtration was centered in a few fa- "milies, who handed the Conſular dignity about from "one to another[z]. A ſmall number of Citizens, by "turns, diſpoſed of the command of the armies, as al- "ſo the government and revenues of the provinces. "They being arbiters of peace and war, and accuſtom-

[z] CICERO's *election to the Conſulſhip*, who was a *New-man*, and whoſe promotion is wholly aſcribed to his merit, might ſeem to oppoſe what is here ſaid, if SALLUST had not made us know, that the elevation of the Orator to that dignity, was but an exception from a general rule, and chiefly owing to the public's being alarmed with the rumour of a dreadful conſpiracy ready to break out, of which the courtezan *Fulvia* had, to many perſons, given hints and intimations.

"ed

" ed to the homages and honours that go along with " ſovereign power, it happened very ſeldom, that any " of them, at the quitting of their great places, could " eaſily reſolve to return to a private life, becauſe this " would put them again upon a level with their Fel- " low-Citizens. Some gained the affection of their ſol- " diers, either by a remiſſneſs in military diſcipline, " or by ſelf-intereſted liberalities. Others bought " with large ſums the votes of the People, *to raiſe* " *themſelves*, or *their creatures*, *to the chief poſts*. Thoſe " that were out-bribed, and loſt the day, eaſed their " envy, by endeavouring to render the power of their " rivals ſuſpected, and caſt about to promote their ruin " at the expence of the public peace [h]."

If this be a true account of the *Roman* Government and Adminiſtration in the time of CICERO, can this *nominal* REPUBLIC be called ROME *in its Free-State?* the REPUBLIC *in its ancient Form and Conſtitution?* Yet this is that REPUBLIC, of which, as if it were in its perfect * ſtate, CICERO's *Engliſh hiſtorian*, in giving the character of his hero, thus writes : * Vid. ſupra, p. 4.

" As to his public conduct, no man was ever a more Vol. IV. p. " determined PATRIOT, or a warmer lover of his coun- " try than he. His whole character, natural temper, " choice of life and principles, made its true intereſt " inſeparable from his own. His *general* view there- " fore was always one and the ſame, to ſupport the " peace and liberty of *the Republic*, *in that Form and* " *Conſtitution of it which their anceſtors had delivered* " *down to them.* He looked upon *that* as the *only foun-* " *dation* on which it could be ſupported."

We have ſeen, that he was not of this mind when he ſpoke againſt *Rullus*'s Agrarian Law, nor when he rejected the petition of the ſons of the proſcribed; for then he thought SYLLA's *Laws* and Inſtitutions were the *only baſis* upon which the government could ſtand. Vid. ſupra. p. 415, 416, 417.

That CICERO, to the time of his attaining the Conſulſhip, never had any view in his *public conduct*, but

[h] See a citation, in p. 205, from *Middleton's Life of Cicero.*

his

Y. of R. 690. *his own intereſt* and *elevation*, is abundantly manifeſt from ſo much of his hiſtory as has been given in the foregoing pages. What his views were in his *public conduct* during his Magiſtracy, and after the expiration of it, we ſhall know by impartially conſidering his conduct. But the ſecret of all his politics and patriotiſm is ſufficiently divulged by his panegyriſt, where he ſays,

Midd. Vol. II. p. 159. "It is certain there was not a man in the *Republic* ſo "particularly engaged, both by principle and intereſt "to wiſh well to its liberty," [i. e. *to its being abſolutely governed by the* SENATE, *under the influence of* CICERO] "or who had ſo much to loſe by the ſubverſion of it: "For he was undoubtedly the *Firſt Citizen* in it; had "the *Chief Influence* in the SENATE, the chief authority "with the People,—as long as it was governed by ci-"vil methods, and ſtood upon the foundation of its "Laws:" With which * Laws the SENATE *frequently* diſpenſed; as did CICERO himſelf, *during his Conſulſhip*, as we ſhall preſently ſee: And there is hardly an *aſſaſſin* mentioned in the *Roman* ſtory, whoſe merit, if he killed a *popular* man, is not extolled by CICERO, for the heroic deed. But none have a larger ſhare of the Orator's praiſes than SCIPIO NASICA and OPIMIUS, the murderers of the two GRACCHI; the two beſt Citizens perhaps that *Rome* could ever boaſt.

*See Midd. Treat. on the Roman Senate, p. 116.

Thus much it was thought proper to obſerve concerning CICERO and his politics, that we may thence collect the degree of credit which is due to thoſe parts of the *Roman* hiſtory, which have been received upon the authority of CICERO alone, particularly men's characters, and the motives from which they acted.

Pref. xix. xx. "As to the nature of my work (ſays CICERO's *Engliſh* hiſtorian) tho' the title of it carries nothing more "than *the hiſtory of* CICERO's *Life*; yet it might pro-"perly enough be called, *the hiſtory of* CICERO's *Times*: "ſince from his firſt advancement to the public ma-"giſtracies, there was not any thing of moment tranſ-"acted in the State, in which he did not bear an emi-"nent part: ſo that, to make the whole work of a "piece, I have given a ſummary account of the *Roman* affairs

" affairs during the time even of his minority; and " agreeably to what I promiſed in my propoſals, have " carried on a ſeries of hiſtory, through *a period of above* " *ſixty years*, [that is, from A. U. 647, when CICERO " was born, to 710.] which for the importance of the " events, and the dignity of the perſons concerned in " them, is by far the moſt intereſting of any in the an- " nals of *Rome*.

" In the execution of this deſign, I have purſued, as " cloſely as I could, that very PLAN, which CICERO " himſelf had ſketched out, for the model of a com- " plete hiſtory, where he lays it down as a fundamen- " tal law, " *That the writers ſhould not dare to affirm* " *what was falſe, or to ſuppreſs what was true; nor give* " *any ſuſpicion, either of favour or diſaffection: That in* " *the relation of facts, he ſhould obſerve the order of time,* " *and ſometimes add the deſcription of places; ſhould firſt* " *explain the counſels; then the acts; and laſtly the events* " *of things: That in the counſels, he ſhould interpoſe his* " *own judgment on the merit of them; in the acts, relate* " *not only what was done, but how it was done; in the* " *events, ſhew what ſhare chance, or raſhneſs, or prudence,* " *had in them: that he ſhould deſcribe likewiſe the parti-* " *cular characters of all the great perſons, who bear any* " *conſiderable part in the ſtory; and ſhould dreſs up the* " *whole in a clear and equable ſtile, without affecting any* " *ornaments, or ſeeking any other praiſe, but of perſpicui-* " *ty.*

" As I have borrowed my PLAN, ſo *I have drawn my* " *materials alſo from* CICERO; *whoſe works are the moſt* " *authentic monuments that remain to us, of all the great* " *tranſactions of that age: being the orginal accounts of* " *one, who himſelf was not only a ſpectator, but a prin-* " *cipal actor in them.* There is not a ſingle part of his Vid. ſupr. " writings, which does not give ſome light as well into 396 & 397. " his own hiſtory, as into that of the Republic: But " *his familiar letters*, and *above all, thoſe to* ATTICUS, " *may juſtly be called the memoirs of the times*; for they " contain, not only a diſtinct account of every memo- " rable event, *but lay open the ſprings and motives,*

Y. of R. 690. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Attic. 16.

" *whence each of them proceeded*; ſo that as a polite writer, who lived in that very age, and perfectly knew the merit of thoſe letters, ſays, *the man who reads them, will have no occaſion for any other hiſtory of thoſe times*."

Another polite writer, *Thuanus*, is of opinion, that we have no hiſtories, upon the truth of which we can depend, but ſuch as have been written of tranſactions, wherein the hiſtorians themſelves were principal actors, and have been *ſincere enough to ſpeak the truth of their own motives and purpoſes*. Whether CICERO had this ſincerity, and likewiſe a due degree of candour in ſpeaking of *the motives and purpoſes of the Chiefs of the oppoſite party*, the reader will judge occaſionally.

Pref. p. xxiii.

[1] The hiſtorian, however, has made ſome uſe of other helps.——— " After I had gone through my review of CICERO's writings, my next " recourſe was to the other ancients, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, who " had touched upon the affairs of that age. Thoſe ſerved me chiefly " to fill up the interſtices of general hiſtory, and to illuſtrate ſe- " veral paſſages, which [illegible] but ſlightly mentioned by CICERO; as " well as to add ſome ſtorie[illegible] circumſtances, which tradition had pre- " ſerved, concerning CICERO [illegible]ſelf, or any of the chief actors, whoſe " characters I had delineated.

" But the *Greek* hiſtorians, who treat profeſſedly of theſe times, " PLUTARCH, APPIAN, DIO, though they are all very uſeful for il- " luſtrating many important facts of ancient hiſtory, which would other- " wiſe have been loſt, or imperfectly tranſmitted to us, are yet *not to be* " *read without ſome caution*, as being *ſtrangers to the language, and cuſ-* " *toms of* Rome, and *liable to frequent miſtakes*, as well as *ſubject to pre-* " *judices in their relation of* Roman *affairs*.

[N. B. We are not to underſtand this as ſaid of *all* the *Greek* hiſtorians, who have treated of *Roman* affairs, but of thoſe *Greek* hiſtorians who have written of *theſe times*, [and who do not ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of CICERO, as his *Engliſh* hiſtorian could wiſh:] For with regard to *other times*, [in which CICERO is not concerned, and when we have a favourite hypotheſis to ſupport,] *one* Greek *hiſtorian ought to be of greater authority with us than all the* Latin *writers together*. Middleton's Treatiſe of the Roman Senate, p. 20. See Obſervations, &c. p. 80.]

End of the FIFTH VOLUME.

